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THE
H I S T O R Y
OF THE
BRITISH DOMINIONS
IN
NORTH AMERICA:

FROM THE
FIRST DISCOVERY OF THAT VAST CONTINENT
BY SEBASTIAN CABOT in 1497.
TO
ITS PRESENT GLORIOUS ESTABLISHMENT AS CONFIRMED
BY THE LATE TREATY OF PEACE in 1763.
IN FOURTEEN BOOKS.

L O N D O N:
PRINTED FOR W. STRAHAN, AND T. BECKET AND CO. IN THE STRAND.
MDCCLXXIII.





British Statute Miles, 69 to a Degree.
British & French Sea Leagues, 20 to a Degree.
1773

A MAP of the
BRITISH DOMINIONS
IN
NORTH AMERICA,
according to the *TREATY* in 1763;
By Peter Bell, Geographer.
1773.

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THE NORTH AMERICAN

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HISTORY
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IN
NORTH AMERICA.

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CONTAINING,

- I. The first establishment of European Colonies in North America: Disputes there between the English and French: The nature of their Colonies; and the commencement of Hostilities between them in 1753.
- II. The continuation of those Hostilities until the Declaration of War in 1756.
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THE HISTORY OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE IN NORTH AMERICA.

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HISTORY OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE

Those claims rejected: Both sides prepare for War.—Admiral Boscawen sails with a Squadron to Newfoundland, and General Braddock sent with two regiments from Ireland to Virginia.—General reprisals granted against all French ships: Both nations justify their conduct in Europe, while Hostilities are continued in America.—Remarks.

THE great and populous continent of America remained unknown to the rest of the world, until the year of Christ 1492, when it was discovered by Christopher Columbus. The Spaniards called it the New World; and it is separated from the Old, by the Atlantic and Pacific oceans. The Atlantic is about three thousand miles wide between South America and Africa, and nearly the same breadth between North America and Europe; but the Pacific is about nine thousand miles wide between America and Asia. There are some reasons, however, to imagine, that America may nearly join either to the north part of Asia or Europe; or perhaps to both.

The example of the Spaniards excited other European princes to establish colonies in America, which is now inhabited from north to south by Europeans, who have almost extirpated the natives, and formed a kind of collateral power to the European states. The New World has enriched the Old; which has improved the New. Armies have been sent from Europe to fight in America; just as the Roman legions were sent to Asia to determine the fate of nations: and the like revolutions that have happened in ages past, may, in the course of time, happen again.

Never were any people possessed of a finer country, or more happily situated, than that now subject to the crown of Great Britain on the other side of the Atlantic ocean. Henry VII. king of England employed Sebastian Cabot in his service, to discover a north-west passage to the East Indies, in which he failed; but in 1497, he made land in West Greenland in 67 degrees of north latitude, and from thence coasted to Cape Florida in 25 degrees, taking possession, according to the forms of those times, as he sailed along, for the crown of England, which thereby claimed a right to the possession of the north-east coast of America prior to any other European power. The commotions between England and Scotland postponed the further prosecution of these discoveries; upon which Sebastian Cabot went to Spain, where he was made chief pilot of the kingdom, and was highly caressed, to prevent his engaging with any other court; though he received an annuity of 166*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* from the king of England, as a reward for his services; because he was justly reputed the first discoverer of the continent of North America. The English planted no Colonies there until the reign of Queen Elizabeth, who granted a patent to Sir
Walter

Walter Raleigh and his associates, in 1584, for all such parts of America as he should discover and plant, from 33 to 40 degrees of north latitude. Sir Walter formed a settlement in the island of Roanoke, near the mouth of Albemarle river in North Carolina, and called all this part of the continent by the general name of Virginia, in honour of his sovereign, Queen Elizabeth. This illustrious man may be considered as the father of the British Colonies, which have most unexpectedly proved of infinite emolument to his native country, where he fell a sacrifice to the resentment of Spain in the reign of James I. The colonization of Virginia, however, was not completed until the reign of Charles I. which was followed by forming other settlements in those extensive countries belonging to the British government, upon the northern coasts of America; as also in the islands of the West Indies, situated between the Atlantic ocean, the north sea, and the gulph of Mexico.

All this part of the continent was originally called Apalacha by the natives; and by the Spaniards, Florida. It was afterwards divided by the English into North and South Virginia: and then subdivided into the provinces, or colonies, of New England, Virginia, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, North and South Carolina, Georgia, Nova Scotia; besides New Britain, or Terra de Labrador, which is much the same with the country called Hudson's Bay and Streights, separated from the rest of the British territories by the river of St. Lawrence and part of Canada. Thus the principal Colonies of the British empire on the continent of North America lay contiguous, fit to be consolidated, and formed one continued chain of about 1500 miles in length, with the sea before them, and the Apalachian mountains behind, generally at about the distance of two or three hundred miles: But if the Iroquois, and other Indian nations under the protection of Great Britain, were included, the breadth must have extended to Canada and Louisiana.

James Cartier sailed up the river of St. Lawrence, and took possession of Canada for the French in 1534. In 1562 they began another settlement in Florida, as it was then called, in the latitude of 34 degrees; but they could not complete any settlement there until 1684, when De la Salle discovered the mouth of the Mississippi; and, in 1698, Iberville called the whole country Louisiana, in honour of Louis XIV. which has been greatly improved; especially since the year 1720. These large countries were situated at the back of the British Colonies; and it was soon evident that the court of France began to make North America an object of great attention, with a design to become masters of it all. They found that, by means of the great lakes, they could come close upon Virginia, Pennsylvania,

vania and New York; as also, that by the river St. Lawrence on one side, and Cape Breton on the other, they could endanger Nova Scotia. From hence it was manifest that Great Britain could not be too provident in assisting any of her Colonies that might be attacked or threatened by the French, who boasted they would drive the British colonists into the sea.

The French made repeated descents from Canada upon the British Northern Colonies, and destroyed their settlements: they made peace only to strengthen themselves for war, and broke every treaty to accomplish their views. Gallic faith was become proverbial, and the neighbours of France could reproach her with innumerable instances of a most profligate disregard to the most solemn treaties; while the power, populousness, and extent of their monarchy exempted the French from those apprehensions which bind the weaker side to be faithful to its engagements.

By the treaty of Ryswick in 1697, commissioners were to determine the disputes about Hudson's Bay: And by the treaty of Utrecht, in 1713, it was agreed that Hudson's Bay should be restored to Great Britain. By this treaty of Utrecht, all Nova Scotia was to be delivered to the English, with Newfoundland and the adjacent islands; which was confirmed by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748. But this last treaty was no sooner signed, than France began to restore her marine, which had been almost ruined in the late war; and no sooner had the British subjects begun to settle in Nova Scotia, than the French began to dispute about its boundaries, which they were determined to abridge in favour of themselves, while they were gradually drawing and extending a line along the borders of the British settlements from St. Lawrence to the Mississippi, and building forts to secure the most convenient passes on the lakes and rivers that formed the communication. They were sensible this would effectually cut off all intercourse and traffic between the British Colonies and the Indians up the interior countries, whom they could compel to fall under their subjection, or starve; notwithstanding it was agreed, by the 15th article of the treaty of Utrecht, that "the subjects of France, inhabitants of Canada, and elsewhere, should not disturb or molest in any manner whatever, the five Indian nations which were subject to Great Britain, nor its other American allies."

Many clamours were raised at the concessions made to France at the conclusion of the peace of Utrecht. The British ministry were blamed for not insisting on the surrender of Canada, as well as Nova Scotia and Newfoundland, for the security of the Northern Colonies; nor ought they to have allowed the French the possession of Cape Breton, if they had well

well considered or properly understood the nature of the fishery in those seas.

Both Canada and Nova Scotia were the ancient possessions of the crown of England; therefore King James I. knowing his title to be good, made a grant of Nova Scotia, in 1621, to the Earl of Stirling: but Charles I. and Charles II. gave it, together with Canada, to the French. Nova Scotia was to be fully restored to the English by the 13th article of the treaty of Utrecht; and it was then universally allowed, that its limits extended as far as New-England on the West, the river and gulph of St. Lawrence on the North and East, and the Atlantic ocean on the South.

It is very necessary to observe, that though the restitution of Cape Breton to the crown of England was certainly implied in that twelfth article, as well as that of Nova Scotia; though Cape Breton was always reckoned a part of Nova Scotia, and included therein by the patents; though Queen Anne declared, that she looked upon Cape Breton to belong to her, as part of the ancient territory of Nova Scotia; yet, by the thirteenth article of the same treaty, the English were negotiated out of this important place, which was given up to the French.

In the proposals which Louis XIV. made to Queen Anne, previous to the treaty of Utrecht, his whole soul seems to have been fixed upon the possession of Acadia or Nova Scotia; but by the sixth article in those offers, he proposed, That "after the conclusion of the peace, there should be commissioners named on both sides, as well for regulating, in the space of one year, the limits between Canada or New France on one side, as Acadia and the lands of Hudson's Bay on the other." And in the next article he proposed, That "the limits being once fixed, it should be forbidden to the subjects of both crowns to pass the said limits to go by land or by sea the one to the other; as likewise to disturb the trade of either nation among themselves, and to disturb the Indian nations who were allies, or had made their submission to either crown." The French wanted a speedy conclusion of the peace, and were desirous that commissioners should be appointed to settle and adjust the differences relating to commerce, as had been done between them and the Dutch at the treaty of Ryfwick; which the British ministry refused, because "whatever is referred, is given up."

By the treaty, however, the Canada or French line with the Hudson's Bay company of Great Britain was ascertained, from a certain promontory upon the Atlantic ocean, in 58 degrees 30 minutes of north latitude, to

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run south-west to Lake Mistassina; to be continued still south-west to the 49th degree; and from thence due west indefinitely. By this concession the French obtained a sea-line skirt of Terra de Labrador, or New Britain, the better to accommodate their fishery: but, if the British interest had been sufficiently regarded, the west line or parallel of 49 degrees north latitude ought to have been continued east a little above the mouth of St. Lawrence or Canada river.

Yet, in this peace of Utrecht, it was omitted to settle a line between the British Colonies and those of France from north to south; as also a line east and west between Carolina or Georgia and the Spanish claims in Florida.

France had still a political ascendancy over Great Britain in the war of 1744; and by the ninth article of the treaty of peace in 1748, it was stipulated, that commissaries should be appointed to restore and receive whatever might have been conquered on either side. The French soon after laid claim to the greatest part of Nova Scotia, and of the country belonging to the Iroquois Indians; therefore commissaries were appointed to settle the precise limits between the respective crowns.

The British commissaries were Governor Shirley and Mr. Mildmay, who went to Paris in 1750, and held many conferences with the French commissaries appointed for settling the controverted limits in America. It was a fruitless negociation; but the British commissaries drew up several judicious and laborious memorials, in support of their sovereign's right to Nova Scotia; and their memorials were published in 1756, by order of the Earl of Halifax and the other Lords of Trade, as a full exhibition of the British title to that part of America.

One great and indeed principal security of the British Colonies against the fatal effects of the French encroachments consisted in this, that the French settlements were not capable of subsisting a body of troops strong enough to overrun the British Colonies; nor had they any convenient harbour except in the island of Cape Breton. But it was apprehended, if the French made themselves masters of Nova Scotia, they would be in a condition to introduce and subsist a body of troops strong enough, with the French Acadians, the inhabitants of Canada and Cape Breton, and the Indians, to reduce all the British Colonies.

While the British commissaries were negotiating at Paris, the usurpations of the French were continued in America. They frequently made incursions

incursions into the peninsula of Nova Scotia, where they built several forts, and particularly a most important one to command the isthmus; thus deciding by the sword, in time of full peace, that controversy which they themselves had agreed should be amicably adjusted by their commissaries.

In the war of 1744, the French esteemed their fishery upon the banks of Newfoundland, Cape Breton, and Nova Scotia, as the principal branch of their commerce, and the foundation of their maritime force; but they had the mortification to see that trade suspended by the loss of Cape Breton in 1745, and all Canada endangered by a destined attempt upon Quebec in 1746. The French altered their plan after the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, and were resolved to get possession of North America by land, as they were not strong enough to dispute the dominion of the sea, which they had done in 1690 and 1692. They expended great sums of money upon their royal geographers and hydrographers, that their maps and sea-charts might quadrate with their political system of encroachments upon the territories of other nations; and thus, by establishing their imaginary rights by the pen, they were determined to confirm their accuracy by a forcible possession, and maintain it, if necessary, by the sword.

It has been ever understood, from the first settlement of American Colonies, that the possessors of the coast had an inherent right to the inland territory. Upon this principle, the British charters, granted to the several proprietors, ascertain the boundaries of the Colonies only from north to south, and leave them unlimited from east to west; but the French settled Canada to the north-east of the British Colonies, where they met with little interruption in their establishment, which tempted them to move to the south-west. They then began to prescribe those boundaries of the British settlements, which had always been considered as illimitable, by building a line of forts to prevent their extension westward, and to inclose them between two fires, by means of their fleet at sea, when their marine was restored, and their batteries at land.

The vast tract of country that forms a barrier for the British settlements between Louisiana and Canada, is inhabited by many different nations of Indians, who are the natural lords of the soil, which extends near two thousand miles in length, from the gulph of St. Laurence to the mouth of the Mississippi, and about six hundred miles in breadth from the head of the lakes to the Allegheny mountains. This great territory is full of prodigious mountains, capacious lakes, and large rivers. The French give us an account of twenty-eight Indian nations that were in alliance with them in Canada; whose country the French divided into

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ten provinces: They had also made sixteen settlements along the Mississippi in Louisiana, where they carried on a considerable trade.

In 1716, the French erected a fort near Onondago, to cut off the communication of the English with Lake Ontario; but Colonel Schuyler demolished the fort, and drove all the French out of that part of the country. This induced the English of New-York, in 1727, to build a fort at Oswego, on the coast of Lake Ontario. In 1731, the French erected a strong fort at Crown-point, on the south-west of Lake Champlain, at the back of New-England and New-York. The plan of usurpation at the back of the British settlements went gradually on from year to year; but they intended to give the finishing stroke of their ambitious encroachments, by erecting forts and settlements upon the river Ohio, which roused the British Colonists, and alarmed the government in England.

The Marquis Du Quesne was governor of Canada in 1750, when he sent M. de la Jonquier to make proper settlements upon the banks of the Ohio, a country whose inhabitants had been in alliance with the English above an hundred years; to which also the English had a claim as being a conquest of the Five Nations; and from which, therefore, the French were excluded by the 15th article of the treaty of Utrecht. The possession of the Ohio was absolutely necessary, that the great plan of connecting Canada with Louisiana might succeed; therefore the French began their hostilities against the English in that country soon after the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle; insulted their traders, plundered and made them prisoners, erected fortresses, and established settlements.

The governor of Virginia, in 1753, sent Major Washington to complain of these hostilities; but he returned with such an answer from the French commanding officer on the Ohio, as only shewed how much in earnest they were to maintain themselves in their new usurpations; and from this period we may look upon the war as begun.

No doubt the French ministers flattered themselves that England, inattentive to the interests of its colonies for so many years before, would not have the spirit to oppose force to force, and do itself justice by other weapons than the complaints of its ambassador, and the memorials of its commissaries at Paris: But the hour of vengeance was at last come; the interests of the British nation were attended to by those in power, the infinite importance of its Colonies was understood, and a resolution taken to have recourse to arms. Thus Great Britain prepared for war; a war truly national, and sprung from a root truly English. The nation was not suffered to sink into contempt, though the ministry, which had received

no material alteration since the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, were much troubled with qualms arising from their old kind of timidity.

The Earl of Albemarle was the British ambassador at the French court, where he strongly remonstrated against the proceedings and conduct of M. de la Jonquier on the Ohio, and demanded that the fort which the French had undertaken to build on the river Niagara might be razed. The French ministry were only for procrastinating the affair; while the governors of the British Colonies sent over fresh complaints to the British ministry, who began to think it necessary to act with spirit in America, if they negotiated with supineness in Europe.

On the 28th of August 1753, the Earl of Holderness signified his Britannic Majesty's commands to the several governors of North America, "That in case the subjects of any foreign prince or state should presume to make encroachments in the limits of his Majesty's dominions, or to erect forts on his Majesty's lands, or to commit any other act of hostility, and should, upon a requisition made to them to desist from such proceedings, persist in them, they should draw forth the armed force of their respective provinces, and use their best endeavours to repel force by force." Governor Shirley, about the same time, obtained permission to leave the French commissaries at Paris and repair to London, from whence he returned to his government of the Massachusetts Bay, where he received orders from Lord Holderness to keep that colony in a state of defence. Party-spirit was then predominant in most of the Colonies; but Governor Dinwiddie and Governor Dobbs recommended warlike measures to the colonies of Virginia and North Carolina, so that these two colonies, with those of New-England and New-York, were sensible of their danger, and prepared for their defence.

The Earl of Holderness, as one of the principal secretaries of state, had wrote another circular letter, to inform the American governors, "That his Majesty had information given him of the march of a considerable number of Indians not in his alliance, supported by some regular European troops, intending, as it was apprehended, to commit hostilities on some parts of his Majesty's dominions in America." And signifying to the governors, "That they should be upon their guard, and put the provinces under their government into a condition to resist any hostile attempts which might be made on them."

The British Colonies, exclusive of Georgia and Nova Scotia, were divided into eleven distinct governments, within each of which nothing

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of any consequence could be transacted but by their respective assemblies. They appeared insensible of the impending danger, when an immediate junction became absolutely requisite for their common security. They contemned the power of Canada, and confided in the number of their own inhabitants, of which the following is an authentic account taken from militia rolls, poll taxes, bills of mortality, returns from governors, and other authorities:

The colonies of		Inhabitants.
Halifax and Lunenburg in Nova Scotia	—	5,000
New Hampshire	—	30,000
Massachusetts Bay	—	220,000
Rhode Island and Providence	—	35,000
Connecticut	—	100,000
New York	—	100,000
The Jerseys	—	60,000
Pennsylvania	—	250,000
Maryland	—	85,000
Virginia	—	85,000
North Carolina	—	45,000
South Carolina	—	30,000
Georgia	—	6,000
Total		1,051,000

This number is exclusive of the Negroes, and the military forces in the pay of the government. The English inhabitants, though thus numerous, were extended over a large tract of land, five hundred leagues in length, on the sea-shore; and although some of their trading towns were thick settled, their settlements in the country towns lay at a distance from each other. Beside, in a new country, where land is cheap, people are fond of acquiring large tracts to themselves; therefore, in the out-settlements they must be more remote: and as the people that move out are generally poor, they fit down either where they can easiest procure land or soonest raise a subsistence. Add to this, that the English had fixed and settled habitations, the easiest and shortest passages to which the Indians, by constantly hunting in the woods, were perfectly well acquainted with; but the English knew little or nothing of the Indian country, nor of the passages through the woods that led to it.

The number of French inhabitants in North America, exclusive of regular troops and Negroes, were calculated as follows:

The

IN NORTH AMERICA.

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The colonies of	Inhabitants.
Canada	45,000
Louisiana	7,000
	<hr/>
	Total 52,000

The country was divided into feignories, and the lands held in soccage by the tenants, who were thereby obliged, on any occasion, to take up arms for their defence. The forces maintained by the king were distributed from Quebec down to New Orleans, among the small forts in the inland parts, and some to the distance of above a thousand miles. The English, it is true, were more than in the proportion of twenty to one; but union, situation, proper management of the Indians, superior knowledge of the country, and constant application to a purpose, might more than balance divided numbers, and easily break a rope of sand.

There were originally three sorts of government established by the English in America: 1st, A Royal Government, properly so called because the colony is immediately dependent on the crown; the king appoints the governor, council, and officers of state; but the people elect their representatives: such are the governments of Virginia, New York, the Jerseys, New Hampshire, both Carolinas, Georgia, Nova Scotia, and all the principal islands in the West Indies.—2d, A Charter Government was a company incorporated by royal charter, and invested with a kind of sovereign authority, to establish what sort of government they thought most expedient. These charter governments have generally thought fit to transfer their authority to the people; for the freemen not only elect their representatives in the general assembly, but annually choose their governor, council or assistants, and magistrates: they make their own laws, and are under no other restraint than this, that they enact no laws contrary to those of England; if they do, their charters are liable to be forfeited. Such are the governments of Connecticut and Rhode Island; and such were the governments of the Massachusetts, New Plymouth, and Province of Maine formerly; but their first charters being adjudged forfeited in the 36th year of the reign of King Charles II. the charter granted to the Massachusetts by King William III. has reserved the appointment of a governor, deputy-governor, and secretary to the crown: but the house of representatives in the general assembly yearly choose the council with the concurrence of the governor, who has a negative in all elections and acts of government. The governor and council appoint the principal magistrates, and the general assembly nominate the inferior civil officers; but all laws enacted are to be immediately transmitted to the king for his approbation

or

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or disallowance, to be signified to the governor within three years. From whence it appears, that the government of the Massachusetts, in which the colony of New Plymouth and the Province of Maine, with part of Acadia, are now comprehended, is, in some instances, different from either of the two former species of government, or rather a mixture of both.— 3d, A Proprietary Government; this is where the king by his charter constitutes a person the true and absolute proprietor of a colony, such as Pennsylvania, granted by King Charles II. in the fourteenth year of his reign, to William Penn Esquire, son and heir of Sir William Penn, the famous admiral who conquered Jamaica, and afterwards greatly distinguished himself by his courage and conduct under James Duke of York, in that signal battle fought and obtained against the Dutch fleet commanded by Van Opdam in 1665. The king granted this charter, saving always to himself, his heirs and successors, the faith and allegiance of the said William Penn, his heirs and assigns, and of all other the tenants and inhabitants within the territories so granted; and saving also to the crown the sovereignty of the same. By this charter, Mr. Penn was to hold and possess the colony to him, his heirs and assigns, and their only proper use and behoof for ever; to be held of the crown, as of the castle of Windsor, in free and common socage, by fealty only, for all services, and not *à capite*, or by knight's service; yielding and paying therefor to the crown two beaver-skins, to be delivered at the castle of Windsor, on the first of January in every year; and also the fifth part of all gold and silver ore which should be found within the limits granted, clear of all charges. His Majesty erected that country into a province and feignory, and ordered it to be thenceforth called Pennsylvania. A full and absolute power was granted to Mr. Penn and his heirs, and to his and their deputies and lieutenants, to enact and publish laws by and with the advice of the free-men of the country or their deputies, whom the proprietor was to assemble for that purpose. For farther particulars see under the history of this colony.

Maryland and Pennsylvania are now the only proprietary governments in North America. But, by a late statute, the proprietor must have the consent of the king in appointing a governor, when the proprietor does not personally reside in the colony, and of a deputy-governor when he does: Likewise, by another statute, all the governors of the British Colonies are liable to be called to account for mal-administration, by the court of King's Bench in England.

Thus there are various sorts of royal grants of colonies, which may be more particularly stated as follows:

1. To

1. To one or more personal proprietaries, their heirs and assigns, both property and government; such are Pennsylvania and Maryland. 2. The property to personal proprietors, the government and jurisdiction in the crown; as in the Carolinas and Jerseys. 3. Property and government in the crown; as in Virginia, New York, and New Hampshire. 4. Property in the people and their representatives; the government in the crown; as in Massachusetts Bay. 5. Property and government in the governor and company; called the freemen of the colony; such are Rhode Island and Connecticut: But this last seems to be the most effectual method of the first settling and peopling a colony.

In the beginning of these colony-grants there was only one house of legislature; the governor or president, the council or assistants, and the representatives or members voted together: But now, in conformity to the legislature in Great Britain, they consist of three separate negatives. Thus, by the governor representing the king, the Colonies seem monarchical; by a council they look to be aristocratical; and by a house of representatives, or delegates from the people, they appear democratical. There are a few irregularities or exceptions from these negatives in some of the colonies; as 1. In Connecticut and Rhode Island, their elective governor has no negative. 2. In Pennsylvania, the council have no negative. 3. In Massachusetts Bay, the council are not independent; but in some elections the council and representatives vote together.

About half a century past, upon some complaints concerning the Colonies, particularly of South Carolina, the British ministry were of opinion, that it would be for the general interest of the kingdom to have all charter and proprietary governments vacated by act of parliament, and a bill was accordingly brought in the House of Commons, where it was dropped by the address of Mr. Dummer, who was then agent for New England, and published an ingenious piece, wherein he gave the true state of the Colonies, and convinced the mother-country of their utility. However, since that time, their different constitutions have too much divided the general interest of the Colonies, which has been increased by an interference with each other. Thus the different colonies have respective interests, and the reason is plain why they were so much disunited in 1754. Each colony was independent of the other; some of them very remote, and those which were near were generally discordant in their councils, upon the manner of acting against the common enemy; disagreeing about the quota of men and money which they should respectively contribute, and considering themselves as more or less concerned according to the distance of the colonies from immediate danger; so that it was very difficult

cult for them to agree upon any one plan, and as difficult to execute it if any one could be agreed upon. Whereas the French settlements were under the absolute command of one governor-general, who could direct their forces as he pleased upon all emergencies. It was therefore easy to conceive, that a large body of men, part of these regular troops, with the assistance of the Indians scattered through the continent, upon the back of all the British settlements, might reduce a number of disunited and independent colonies, unsupported with regular troops, though much superior to them in point of the number of inhabitants. The effects of this difference of government, within the British and French Colonies, were most sensibly felt in the former war; and a most melancholy proof was given of it after the circular orders from Lord Holdernesse were received; for, notwithstanding the common danger, no two governments could agree upon any measures, to act with any degree of vigour for the general good.

The French meditated all possible arts to extend their frontier, which began to alarm the British provinces; and as Virginia appeared more immediately concerned, Governor Dinwiddie wrote to the neighbouring governors, importuning the aid of the other colonies, for repelling the invasion, and erecting a fort at the confluence of the Ohio and Monongahela. New York voted 5,000*l.* currency in aid of Virginia, where the sum of 10,000*l.* was voted, and 300 men raised for the protection of their frontiers. The command was given to Colonel Washington, who began his march on the 1st of May, 1754. He crossed the mountains, and penetrated as far as the Monongahela; but was attacked on the 3d of July by 900 French and 200 Indians, who obliged him to submit on very disagreeable terms. Thus the French remained masters of the Ohio, and built Fort Duquesne, which they kept until 1758, when it was reduced by General Forbes, and called Pittsburgh.

The glory of the British nation began to revive, and the Colonies shewed an unexpected exertion of public spirit, especially as they were patronized by the Earl of Halifax, who then presided at the Board for Trade and Plantations. The French had commenced actual hostilities in America, where they had sent 8,000 troops in 1752, of whom 2,500 went to Canada, 3,500 to the Mississippi, and 2,000 to St. Domingo. In the summer of 1754, they collected together at Brest and Rochfort a considerable number of seamen, to be sent to Canada to man some men-of-war that had been built there; and were preparing to send additional forces and warlike stores to that colony. This made it necessary for Great Britain to equip a fleet, as it was now determined not to lose a foot of land.

in America. His Majesty also directed two new regiments of foot to be raised in America, under the respective commands of governor Shirley and Sir William Pepperell; and two regiments were ordered from Ireland to Virginia, under the command of Major-general Braddock, who was patronized by the Duke of Cumberland.

The French nation were not desirous of war; because they knew they were contending for boundless wastes, from whence neither they nor their posterity could draw much advantage for ages to come. The people of England were eager for war, because they were contending for the preservation and security of a well cultivated country, inhabited by their own countrymen, and of infinite present advantage to the subjects of Great Britain, of whom many thousands owed their whole subsistence to the American colonies:

The parliamentary grants for 1755 amounted to 4,073,420*l.* out of which the sum of 40,350*l.* was granted for the two regiments of foot to be raised in America, 7,338*l.* for several officers to go in the expedition under General Braddock, and 1,779*l.* for hospital officers in that expedition; 40,418*l.* for supporting the colony of Nova Scotia, and 2,957*l.* for the colony of Georgia. Thus far the colonies were protected; but by the mutiny-act, which was principally constructed by Mr. Fox then secretary at war, the forces in America were subjected to a new military restriction in those parts; for a clause was inserted which provided that all troops which should be raised in any of the British provinces in America, by authority of the respective governments, should, at all times and in all places, when they happened to join, or act in conjunction with his Majesty's British forces, be subject to the same martial law and discipline.

The exercise of martial law hath been often opposed and condemned by parliament, as repugnant to Magna Charta, and inconsistent with the fundamental rights and liberties of a free people; nor was such power given to courts martial after the peaces of Ryfwick and Utrecht. Mr. Hollan, the worthy and judicious agent for the province of the Massachusetts Bay, offered a petition against this additional clause, which brought on a short debate in the House of Commons, but had no remarkable effect.

The French ambassador at the court of London made great protestations of the sincere desire which his court had, finally and speedily to adjust all disputes between the two crowns concerning America. He therefore proposed, "That before the ground and circumstances of the quarrel

should be enquired into, positive orders should be immediately sent to the respective British governors, forbidding them to undertake any new enterprise, or proceed to any act of hostility; and enjoining them, on the contrary, to put things, without delay, with regard to the lands on the Ohio, on the same footing that they were, or ought to have been, before the late war; and that the respective claims should be amicably referred to the Commissioners at Paris, that the two courts might terminate the difference by a speedy accommodation."

The British court immediately declared its readiness to consent to the cessation of hostilities; but upon this condition, that all the possessions in America should previously be put on the foot of the treaty of Utrecht, confirmed by that of Aix-la-Chapelle. His Britannic Majesty, therefore, proposed, that "the possession of the lands on the Ohio should be restored to the footing it was on at the conclusion of the treaty of Utrecht, and agreeable to the stipulations of the said treaty, which was renewed by that of Aix-la-Chapelle: and moreover, that the other possessions in North America should be restored to the same condition in which they actually were at the signing of the treaty of Utrecht, and agreeable to the cessations and stipulations therein expressed; and then the method of informing the respective governors, and forbidding them to undertake any new enterprise or act of hostility, might be treated of; and the claims of both parties reserved, to be speedily and finally adjusted in an amicable manner between the two courts."

The French ambassador then delivered the draught of a preliminary convention, which was nothing but the first proposal enlarged. The draught of a counter-convention was delivered to him by the British ministry, containing a proposal of the most moderate terms; being confined to those points only which were the indispensable right of his Britannic Majesty, and essential to the security of the colonies. No answer was made to this by France, whose ambassador was ordered to demand, as a previous condition, that England should desist from the three following points, which made a principal part of the subject in dispute.

- I. The south coast of the river St. Lawrence, and the lakes that discharge themselves into that river.
- II. The twenty leagues of country demanded along the Bay of Fundi: and
- III. The Lands between the Ohio and Ouabache.

The discussions which followed this extraordinary claim, concluded with the ambassador's presenting a memorial, wherein the affair of the islands

islands was treated of, as well as that of North America. This was answered by a very ample piece, wherein the ambassador's piece was refuted article by article, and the terms of the counter-convention fully justified: but this piece remained without a reply, by the sudden departure of the ambassador.

It was known that the French had a squadron at sea, and it was necessary that the British colonies should be carefully protected; for which purpose General Braddock was sent with the troops to Virginia, and a squadron was ordered to sail for Newfoundland under admiral Boscawen. As a kind of war was begun in North America, it was necessary to pursue it with power and vigour; and Great Britain was favoured at last by heaven with a success, in that part of the world, almost unparalleled in history.

Admiral Boscawen sailed from Plymouth to the banks of Newfoundland, where he took the Alcide and Lys, two ships belonging to the squadron commanded by M. Bois de la Mothe, who escaped with the other ships, and landed his troops at Louisburg and Quebeck.

Mr. Alderman Janssen was Lord Mayor of London in 1755, by whose application to the ministry, orders of reprisals were granted to his Majesty's ships against all kinds of French ships, by way of retaliation for the many murders the French had committed, their plundering of our traders to a great amount in the Indian country, and the encroachments they had made, since the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle. The Duke of Newcastle acquainted the lords of Council, that the Lord Mayor had sent him some excellent hints. These were to seize the French ships from the West Indies, stated at four hundred ships with twenty men in each, amounting to eight thousand seamen. "Would not so great a blow to their trade strike such a terror throughout France, as to incline its subjects to wish the English nation might be left in full and peaceable enjoyment of all their just possessions? and would not his Majesty's subjects in North America receive the important news with the greatest joy, and unite, as one man, to repel the common enemy, who must be greatly discouraged when they were once convinced, that we were determined, with our fleets, to cut off all farther reinforcements going from France, to support them in that part of the world."

The measure pointed out by the Lord Mayor was soon carried into execution; and, before the close of the year, there were actually three hundred and twenty ships taken, with about 8000 seamen on board.

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Commissioners were appointed for the sale of all the prizes taken before the declaration of war, and the money was lodged in the bank of England: It was then laid to amount to above seven hundred thousand pounds, and lay there as a deposit to indemnify the nation against the depredations which the French had committed in America; but private persons who suffered by those depredations never obtained any part of it.

While this kind of war was prosecuted, the conduct of both nations was justified. The Duke de Mirepoix delivered a memorial to the British ministry, concerning the French claims to the disputed part of Nova Scotia; which memorial set forth, "That Acadia, as claimed by the British commissaries, had above 460 leagues of coast; that ceded by the treaty of Utrecht, contained little more than sixty; and the restitution demanded by the Count D'Estrades about three hundred." This memorial deserved no other answer than that the ambassador must quit the kingdom as soon as possible; and the French ministry made a public declaration to all the courts of Europe, that "if his Britannic Majesty's allies took part in the war which was kindled in America, by furnishing succours to the English, his most Christian Majesty would be authorised to consider and treat them as principals in it."

The French insisted, that the differences between the two crowns related only to the continent of America, and censured the English for taking their ships without declaring war. They every where declared, that their flag was insulted, the law of nations contemned, and the faith of treaties broken. They affected to take the consequence and effect for the cause; and alledged, as the principal affair, what was only accessory and proceeded from it. France had invaded the British colonies, and was sending a large reinforcement to America. Now the same law, the same principle of self-defence, which authorises the resisting of an invader, equally authorises the preventing of the party attacked from being overpowered by so formidable a reinforcement. It was therefore very natural to expect, that his Britannic Majesty would provide for the protection of his subjects, by preventing the landing of so powerful an armament in America, and by endeavouring to preserve his American colonies. It was the invasion made by France and the violences that attended it which were hostile, and it can never be unlawful to repel an aggressor.

SECTION

SECTION II.

General Braddock lands in Virginia: His letters to the ministry concerning the state of the colonies.—An account of the governors of the different colonies, and of the French governor-general of Canada.—A grand congress held at Albany, when the general union of the colonies is agreed upon.—Mr. Pownall's plan is laid before the commissioners, who approve of it, and order quotas to carry it into execution.—General Braddock's proceedings: He holds a congress at Alexandria, where it is determined to carry on Four expeditions against the French: His unsuccessful expedition against fort Du Quesne; with remarks thereon.—The French are expelled Nova Scotia by Colonel Monckton.—The expedition against Crown Point by General Johnson, who defeats the French army commanded by the Baron de Dieskau.—General Shirley's expedition against Niagara, and its consequences; which end the military operations of 1755: with remarks.

GENERAL Braddock, with the two regiments from Ireland, arrived at Virginia on the first of February, 1755; and, on the fourth, wrote a letter from Williamsburg to Henry Fox, Esq; secretary at war, wherein he acquainted him, That “after a passage of seven weeks, in which he had very bad weather, he arrived there, where he found every thing in great confusion, as he expected it. That much money had been expended there, though very little had been done. That Sir John St. Clair was just arrived, and he referred to his letters for the bad condition of the independent companies of New York. That Governor Dinwiddie was of opinion the people of Virginia were well persuaded of the necessity of giving all the assistance in their power towards forwarding an affair that concerned them so nearly; and that Governor Dobbs was well enough satisfied with those of his province, and hoped to be more so thereafter. But that Pennsylvania would do nothing, and supplied the French with every thing they wanted.” This was, however, a rash and ill-grounded censure of that province. On the 24th, the general also wrote to Colonel Napier much to the same purpose, complaining of the condition of the provincial troops, and that the Six Nations had then declared for the French.

The British colonies were not united against the common enemy; and the Indians openly upbraided the English with their divisions and indolence, which they acknowledged to be the greatest security of the French. This

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This made it necessary that some plan should be formed for a confederacy of all the colonies; and accordingly orders were sent by his Britannic Majesty to all the governors in North America, for a grand congress to be held of commissioners from the several provinces; as well to treat with the Six Nations, as to concert a scheme for a general union of the British colonies.

At this time, the governors and lieutenant-governors of the British colonies in North America were as follow: Massachusetts Bay, major-general William Shirley, governor; Connecticut, Thomas Fitch, Esq; governor; New Hampshire, Benning Wentworth, Esq; governor; New York, James de Lancey, Esq; lieutenant-governor; but Sir Charles Hardy, knight, was appointed governor on the 9th of January, 1755; New Jersey, Jonathan Belcher, Esq; governor; Pennsylvania, Robert Hunter Morris, Esq; lieutenant-governor; Maryland, Horatio Sharpe, Esq; lieutenant-governor; Virginia, Robert Dinwiddie, Esq; lieutenant-governor; but William Anne Keppel, Earl of Albemarle, who was made governor of Virginia in 1737, and died at Paris on the 22d of December, 1754, was succeeded as governor by the Earl of Loudon, in 1756; North Carolina, Arthur Dobbs, Esq; governor; South Carolina, James Glen, Esq; until the arrival of William Lyttleton, Esq; governor, who was taken in his passage to America in the Blandford man of war, by the squadron commanded by M. du Guay, who carried the ship into France, where she was soon restored, and Governor Lyttleton released; Georgia, John Reynolds, Esq; governor; Nova Scotia, Colonel Charles Lawrence, lieutenant-governor, and Lieutenant-colonel Robert Monckton, governor of Fort Annapolis; Francis William Drake, Esq; a captain in the navy, was governor of Newfoundland; William Popple, Esq; was governor of Bermudas; and John Tinker, Esq; was governor of the Bahama Islands.

The Marquis du Quesne, the new governor-general of Canada, was formerly captain of a man of war; he caused a strong fort to be built on the forks of the Ohio, after dispossessing the British Ohio company, who had begun to fortify there; and he declared, "he would have a French fort on each of the waters that empty themselves into St. Lawrence and Mississippi:" but he was now superseded in his government by the Marquis de Vaudreuil, who arrived about this time at Quebec with troops from Old France, under the command of Baron Dieskau. The Marquis du Quesne returned to Europe, and commanded a French squadron in 1758, when he was defeated and taken prisoner by Admiral Osborn, between cape de Gatt and Carthagen. The Marquis was in the Foudroyant, of 80 guns and 800 men; which was the same ship that the Marquis de Galiffoniere commanded

commanded when he engaged Admiral Byng off Minorca, on the 20th of May, 1756. Captain Gardiner then commanded the *Ramillics*, under Admiral Byng; and he now commanded the *Monmouth* of 64 guns, to which ship the *Foudroyant* struck after the death of the brave Captain Gardiner. The Marquis du Quesne was brought to London, and sent to reside at Northampton until the 21st of October following, when he returned to France on his parole.

A grand congress of commissioners from the several colonies was opened in the council-hall at Albany, in the province of New York, on the 18th of June, 1754, when a plan was agreed upon for a general union of the colonies, and creating a common fund to defray all military expences. Thomas Pownal, Esq; brother to John Pownall, Esq; one of the secretaries to the Board of Trade, and afterwards governor of the Massachusetts, was upon the spot. This gentleman, by great industry, and free access to the papers in the plantation board-office, had acquired great knowledge of American affairs. He therefore laid before the commissioners at Albany a paper intitled "Considerations towards a general plan of measures for the English provinces; wherein he shewed the plan of the French measures in building a line of forts round the English settlements; which was "to cut the English off from all communication of alliance or trade with the Indians; to make a line of circumvallation to confine the English settlements within such bounds as the French were pleased to set to the English provinces; to join Louisiana and Canada; to become masters of the lakes, and make the whole continent one French kingdom." This was supported by extracts from French writers, particularly Henepin, La Hontan, and Charlevoix. He then observed, that the whole back country, which the French divided into Canada and Louisiana, they called New France; the English measures therefore should be, "to open themselves a passage to, and a communication with, the Indians; to disjoin and keep separate Louisiana and Canada; and to throw off this yoke of forts which the French were laying on their necks." The only way for the English to do this was to become masters of the Indian countries, so as to secure themselves and protect the Indians. There appeared two ways of effecting this: either to dispute with force and arms every pass and hold in the country with the French, and to secure such with forts and garrisons; or to become masters of the lakes, and acquire the dominion of that navigation. He considered both these arguments; but as the English had no military establishments like the French, he declared his opinion as follows: "The measure therefore most reasonable and most likely to succeed is, to set the first step where we have already a footing. We have in the Indian country a fort, a garrison, and a port: under the defence

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fence of these the English may build a fleet, that shall first open a passage and communication to the Indians; secondly, that may establish a trade of the most easy management and the greatest profit; and, thirdly, that would divide and cut off Louisiana from Canada." He then remarks, "All that can be done at present is, under the defence of fort Oswego, to secure the dominion of the Lake Ontario; and, in the mean while, to secure by forts the passes upon the frontiers of our own settlements (distinguishing here the frontiers of the settlements from the frontiers of the provinces) and those of our allies, to protect ourselves and them. This being done, we should attempt and acquire, for it is in our power, the dominion of all the lakes, perhaps the lake Superior excepted. New Hampshire, Massachusetts, and Rhode Island might be allotted to Lake Champlain; Connecticut, New York, and New Jersey, to Lake Ontario; Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, and perhaps the Carolinas too, to the Lakes Erie and Illinois."

This proposal of raising a naval force upon Lake Ontario, being agreeable to their own previous sentiments, was approved by the commissioners, and afterwards adopted by the ministry, and carried into execution; when the several Colonies (their plan of union, formed at this congress, having miscarried) raised separately such numbers of men as they thought themselves able to maintain, viz.

Virginia	1750
Maryland	1000
Pennsylvania	1500
New Jerseys	750
New York	1000
Massachusetts Bay	1750
Connecticut	1500
New Hampshire	500
Rhode Island	500

In all 10250

Although the union of the Colonies was a measure recommended to them by the crown, yet when a plan for that purpose was so readily concerted by the commissioners, it seems that a jealousy arose, lest such an union might in time render them formidable even to the mother-country. Their plan, therefore, which was to form a general council composed of deputies from the assemblies of all the Colonies, wherein should preside a governor-general to be appointed by the crown, with a power in the council

council to lay and levy general taxes, and raise troops for the common defence, and to annoy the enemy, was not approved by the ministry. But a new one was projected in England, wherein it was proposed, that the provincial governors appointed by the crown should be empowered to meet, and order such troops to be raised, forts built, expeditions undertaken, and other expences incurred, as they should judge necessary; for which they should draw on the treasury in England, which should be reimbursed by future taxes on the Colonies, to be raised by act of parliament. This the Colonies did not approve of; so neither of them were carried into execution. Had the first been agreed to, probably no farther expence on the part of Britain would have been necessary than what related to the fleet, as by land the Colonies united would have been much too strong for the French, when their succours from Europe were intercepted or prevented.

The Colonies of Virginia and Carolina had sent no commissioners to the congress at Albany; but the governors of those Colonies strongly recommended to their assemblies to act with vigour and resolution, by granting proper supplies and entering into a plan of union with all the other Colonies, for their mutual defence. Governor Dinwiddie, by a letter from Sir Thomas Robinson, one of the secretaries of state, was directed to provide a sufficient quantity of fresh provisions for the use of the troops under General Braddock; and the governor recommended to the favour of the assembly the poor men who suffered at the Meadows with Colonel Washington, as they were disabled in the service of their country. Governor Dobbs sent a message to the assembly of North Carolina, wherein he laid before them what he called "The grand plan of France, to ruin and distress all the British Colonies on the continent." He gave an enormous idea of the Bourbon family; and remarked, that the Gallic was worse than Punic faith. He summarily mentioned the encroachments of the French in Nova Scotia, at Crown Point, at Niagara, on the Ohio, and the Ouabache. "These, he said, were all facts too notorious and recent to be denied, and must naturally discover the whole plan and scheme laid by the French, to confine, conquer, and enslave all the British Colonies; a scheme grand in its extent, romantic in appearance, and even beyond the power of France to execute, provided the Colonies exerted their native force immediately, and repelled the French to their inhospitable cold Colony of Canada, and confined them to the hot sands of Louisiana." To which he added, "That his Majesty in regard to his faithful Colonies, was only desirous that they should unite, and form a society among themselves, to raise a proper and adequate quota or fund for their mutual support and defence, that the united force

of the Colonies might act together and have its due weight; and left it to the Colonies to consider of the most equitable and proper method of raising the taxes which were necessary for the support of his government, their own peace and safety, and a reasonable sum from each of the Colonies, to be laid up as a fund to support and increase their Indian allies, and to prevent all foreign invasions and encroachments."

The assembly of Virginia granted 30,000*l.* Maryland 6,000*l.* and North Carolina 8,000*l.* toward the common cause: the assembly of Pennsylvania also passed a bill for granting 25,000*l.*; but their governor, who is appointed by the Penna. proprietors of that province, and instructed by them, refused his assent to it, unless they would exempt the proprietary estate from taxation towards that sum. This they thought unjust and unreasonable, as the proprietary estate was to be defended as well as the estates of the people. The grant, therefore, was rendered ineffectual; but the assembly nevertheless gave, out of money they could dispose of, 5,000*l.* to trustees, to be by them laid out for purchasing fresh victuals, and such other necessaries as they should think expedient, for the use of the king's troops: and 10,000*l.* more for the general service of the crown, and then adjourned. But the danger became so alarming before the end of the next year, that the proprietors consented to contribute, and the assembly granted 60,000*l.* more, and established a militia in the Colony.

When General Braddock arrived in Virginia, he sent expresses to the governors of the different provinces to meet him and hold a consultation on the business of the approaching campaign. This congress was opened on the 18th of April, 1755, at Alexandria in Virginia, where the general had assembled his troops and fixed his head quarters. It was then determined to carry on three expeditions to the northward; one against the French forts at Niagara; another against their encroachments in Nova Scotia; and the third against Crown Point; while a fourth was carried on against the French forts upon the Ohio.

When the conference broke up, General Braddock wrote to Sir Thomas Robinson, that "he would be sufficiently informed, by the minutes of the council, of the impossibility of obtaining from many Colonies the establishing a general fund, agreeable to the instructions of his Majesty, and the circular letters addressed to the several governors."

All the four operations were immediately began, for which thirteen thousand regular troops and provincials were in readiness, beside the Indians

Indians of different tribes. General Braddock had positive orders to proceed immediately to Fort Du Quesne, at the forks of the Ohio and Monongahela; and he accordingly proceeded towards that fort with his army, which consisted of the two regiments from Ireland, and the provincials, amounting together to 2,200 men, with some Indians. Innumerable were the difficulties he had to surmount, in a country, rugged, pathless, and unknown, across the Allegheny mountains, through unfrequented woods, and dangerous defiles. He advanced to the Meadows where Colonel Washington was defeated the year before; and, on the 8th of July, he encamped within ten miles of fort Du Quesne, with the main body of his troops, which consisted of about 1,400 men, including a detachment of sailors, the troops of Virginia, and the independent companies of New York; for the general had left his heavy baggage in the Meadows, with a detachment of 800 men, under the command of Colonel Dunbar, who was to follow as fast as the nature of the service would admit.

On the 9th, the troops passed the Monongahela about noon, when they were about seven miles from the fort, and in passing a defile, were saluted by a quick and heavy fire from an imperceptible enemy. The van guard fell back upon the main body, every thing was in confusion, the soldiers were struck with a panic, and could not be rallied by the general, who was mortally wounded in the attempt. The whole army fled, and left behind them all their artillery, baggage, and stores. Sir Peter Halkett, colonel of the 44th regiment, was killed upon the spot; as was the general's secretary, who was eldest son to Governor Shirley. Most of the other officers were killed or wounded, and the whole loss was computed to be about 200 killed, and 400 wounded.

It is true, General Braddock was a brave regular soldier, and recommended to this command by the Duke of Cumberland, who was then captain-general of the army, and had this service very much at heart, as it was of the highest importance to his Majesty's American dominions, and to the honour of his troops employed in those parts. His royal highness took such a particular interest in it, that he gave the general several audiences, when he entered into an explanation of every part of the service in which the general was to be employed: and, as a better rule for the execution of his Majesty's instructions, the general was honoured with the sentiments of his royal highness in writing, which were delivered to him by Colonel Napier, the adjutant-general, wherein his royal highness advised the general, "how careful he must be to prevent a surprize; and that the most strict discipline was always necessary, but

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more particularly so in the service in which he was engaged: wherefore his royal highness recommended to him, that it should be constantly observed among the troops under his command, and to be particularly careful they were not thrown into a panic by the savages, whom the French would certainly employ to frighten them." The best soldiers have felt strange panics, and this was the case with those under the command of General Braddock, who is said to have been austere in temper and severe in discipline. The Indians deserted him because he held them in contempt: and he despised the Provincials who shewed their courage in preserving the regulars in the retreat. If a number of Indians had preceded the army, they would have seasonably discovered the enemy's ambuscade; and the Virginian rangers, instead of being made to serve as regulars in the ranks with the English troops, should have been employed as out-scouts: but this step, so necessary to guard against surprize, was too unhappily omitted. However, this unfortunate general behaved very gallantly, and deserved a much better fate.

The strength of the enemy was not then certainly known; for, according to Indian accounts, they exceeded not 400, chiefly Indians. But by other accounts, it appears that the French, who were posted at Fort Du Quesne and on the Ohio, consisted of fifteen hundred regular and six hundred irregular troops, who had with them a considerable number of Indians in their interest. The French general had very particular intelligence of General Braddock's design, of the number and condition of his forces, and the routs they were to take. He knew the English had been supplied with provisions, and were advancing toward the fort, which he had left with a small garrison, and formed a camp about six miles before it, where he threw up entrenchments in a masterly manner, having a thick wood on each side, which extended along the route that the English were to take. When General Braddock came within about three miles of their entrenchments, the French drew out of their lines, placing their 600 irregulars in front and their 1500 regulars behind to support them. They also stationed a great number of Indians in the wood on each side, who effectually concealed themselves behind trees and bushes. Had the ambuscade been discovered, the French, if necessary, might have retired within their lines; and from thence, if forced, under the cannon of Fort Du Quesne.

It was thought that the fort might have been easily taken, which would have given the English possession of a fine and large country, and opened a communication with the lakes, which was the intent of the expedition, as appears from the Duke of Cumberland's instructions to

General Braddock. When that general fell, he was carried off the field by his officers, shot through the arms and the lungs, of which he died the fourth day : but when the second party joined the routed division forty miles short of the place of action, the terror diffused itself so much through the whole army, that Colonel Dunbar retreated to Fort Cumberland, where Governor Dinwiddie wrote to him, and proposed a second attempt on Fort Du Quesne. In consequence of this proposal, a council was held on the 1st of August; the members of which were Colonel Dunbar, Lieutenant-colonel Gage, Governor Sharpe, Major Chapman, Major Sparkes, and Sir John St. Clair; when it was unanimously conceived that Mr. Dinwiddie's scheme was impracticable. The panic still continuing, Colonel Dunbar began his march the next day towards Philadelphia with 1600 men; leaving behind him the Virginia and Maryland companies, and about 400 wounded men.

Here it may be observed, that the French kept possession of Fort Du Quesne, and secured the neighbouring Indians in their interest, until the year 1758, when General Forbes, at the head of Colonel Montgomery's regiment of Highlanders and some provincial troops, amounting in the whole to 2500 men, marched in June from Philadelphia, and in November came up to Fort Du Quesne, which he found burnt and abandoned by M. Delanarie, the governor, who escaped with his garrison down the river to their forts and settlements upon the Mississippi. General Forbes immediately took possession of the fort, which he now called Pittsburgh, in honour of Mr. Pitt, who promoted the expedition, and to whom the general immediately wrote to congratulate him upon this important event. The next day, a large detachment was sent to Braddock's field, to bury the bones of their slaughtered countrymen, many of whom were butchered in cold blood by the French and their Indians, who, to the eternal infamy of their country, had left them lying above ground ever since. The general established garrisons on the Ohio, at Fort Ligonier, Bedford, and all along the communication, whereby the English were established in the finest country of America, and the French had their chain of communication between Canada and Louisiana destroyed.

As to the three expeditions agreed in the congress at Alexandria to be carried on in 1755, to the northward, against the French at Niagara, Crown Point, and Nova Scotia, they were all put into execution by Governor Shirley, upon whom the command of the British forces in North America devolved after the death of General Braddock. He sent orders to Colonel Dunbar to march his troops from Philadelphia to Albany, which was the grand theatre of all the preparations for the northern expeditions.

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The expedition against Nova Scotia was first put into execution, and the troops for that service were put under the command of Lieutenant-colonel Monckton, who, on the 6th of June, took Fort Beauséjour in the bottom of the Bay of Fundi. This was the strongest fortification in Acadia, and was now named Fort Cumberland. The reduction of this place was followed by that of the small fort at Bay Verte, and by another large fort at St. John's river. The Indians submitted to the English, who recovered the whole country with little loss, and transported many Acadian families, commonly called the French Neutrals, to the other northern colonies, where they could no longer assist the French as British rebels. But the French were not quite extirpated from Nova Scotia until the reduction of Cape Breton in 1758, when the remainder of them were compelled to retire and take refuge in Canada, whereby their vacated lands, which had been well cultivated, and every other part of this valuable province, were left totally for the possession of the British colonists.

When Colonel Monckton had expelled the French from their forts in Nova Scotia, Captain Rous, who commanded the naval part of that expedition, destroyed all their fishing huts and vessels upon the coast of Newfoundland.

The expedition against Crown Point was committed to the care of Colonel Johnson, to whom Governor Shirley gave a provincial commission, whereby he was appointed major-general and commander in chief of the four thousand provincial forces to be employed in that service.

Fort Frederick at Crown Point was built by the French in 1731, on the south side of the gut or river which connects Lake George, or Lake Sacrament, with Lake Champlain. It was in the province of New York, and little more than one hundred miles from Albany. The French built this fort with that at Niagara and Fort Du Quesne in consequence of their scheme to possess all the passes of the back countries and secure them by strong garrisons. By means of Lake Champlain, Crown Point communicates with Montreal, which is about ninety miles from it, and all the way is navigable except at the carrying place. This French advanced garrison could easily annoy all the upper parts of New York and New England, and prevent the settlement of any lands north of Hudson's and Connecticut rivers: therefore the reduction of it, with all the other little forts on the south side of Lake Champlain, was very necessary to carry on the grand operations for the expulsion of the French from Canada.

The French were prepared against such an attempt; and their troops, which landed at Quebec, were brought down to Crown Point, under the command

command of the Baron de Dieskau, who intended to take Oswego, but was prevented by the enterprize against Crown Point.

General Johnson encamped at the south end of Lake St. Sacrament, to which he gave the name of Lake George. The French general came down against the English camp at the head of 300 regulars, 800 Canadians, and 700 Indians. He defeated a detachment of 1,000 men under Colonel Williams, and then attacked General Johnson in his camp, on the 8th of September, when he was repulsed, wounded, and taken prisoner, with the loss of most of his officers, and about 700 men killed. The English had about 130 men killed and 60 wounded; but among the former was Colonel Tidcomb, and General Johnson among the latter, who was expected to have proceeded to Crown Point or to have dispossessed the French from Ticonderago: but he contented himself with building a stockaded fort near the lake, where he left a small garrison of militia, to assert the rights of his Britannic Majesty to the circumjacent country, and returned with his troops to Albany. The French general was afterwards sent to England, where he was treated with the greatest honour and respect. General Johnson became idolized in America, and honoured in England, where he was created a baronet by the king, and rewarded with a vote of 5,000*l*. by the parliament.

The Duke of Cumberland, who thought the reduction of Niagara of the utmost importance, had recommended it to General Braddock to leave nothing to chance in such an enterprize. It was agreed at Alexandria, that while General Braddock was to attack Fort Du Quesne with the English regiments, and General Johnson was to invest Crown Point with the provincial troops, General Shirley should proceed to Lake Ontario, for the preservation of Fort Oswego and the reduction of Fort Niagara, both on the same lake, with his own and Pepperell's regiments, and the regiment of New Jersey, commanded by Colonel Schuyler; but the obstructions attending his preparations promised no great advantages to the common cause at his first setting out. The passage from Albany to Oswego was then imperfectly known to any but a few officers who had been stationed at the garrison, and some Indian traders of Albany and Schenectada, who informed General Shirley of the difficulties he had to undergo.

General Shirley, on the 8th of August, arrived at Oswego, upon the south edge of Lake Ontario. The fort was formerly garrisoned by twenty-five men; but the number was augmented to fifty, on the commencement of the present disputes: fifty more were ordered up in March, and Captain Bradstreet arrived there in May with two hundred, besides workmen.

workmen to be employed in the naval operations, which were necessary to be made upon the Lake.

The transportation of provisions through this long tract of country from New York to the Lake Ontario, was so much retarded, that it was impossible to remove from Oswego against Niagara until the end of September; and General Shirley, on the 18th of that month, held a council of war at his camp, where were present, besides his excellency, Colonel Schuyler, Lieutenant-colonel Ellison, Lieutenant-colonel Mercer, Major Littlehales, Major Bradstreet, adjutant-general; with the captains Patten, Barford, and Broadly, who commanded the vessels on the Lake. The General represented the state of affairs to the council, and observed from the whole, that as all intercourse between the French at Frontenac and Niagara had been suspended for some time; and as they had lain still at the former of those places ever since his arrival at Oswego, it was probable their design was, if the English made an attempt against Niagara, to make a descent, in the mean time, against Oswego from Fort Frontenac, which was only 55 miles north of Oswego; but Niagara was 150 miles to the westward of it. The council agreed to proceed against Niagara with six hundred regulars and one hundred irregulars, who were to embark with a proper train, and leave seven hundred men to protect Oswego till their return. But they soon altered their resolution; for at another council, held on the 26th, they were unanimously of opinion, that "it was most adviseable to defer making any attempt against Niagara or Frontenac until the next year, when the general might seize the advantage of an early campaign, and not only take, but hold Niagara; as also leave Oswego less exposed to the enemy from Fort Frontenac: and that, in the mean time, the general should employ his whole strength in finishing the forts, barracks, hospital, and other works at Oswego, as much as the season of the year would allow."

General Shirley immediately began to carry this advice into execution, and retired from Oswego on the 27th of October, leaving seven hundred men in garrison, under the command of Lieutenant-colonel Mercer, with orders to defend the works projected for its defence. On the 4th of November, the general arrived at Albany, where he found Colonel Dunbar with the 44th and 48th regiments. He then wrote circular letters to the several governors upon the continent, as far westward as Virginia, summoning them to meet him at Albany, to form a council of war, pursuant to the royal instructions; after which, he embarked for New York, and arrived there on the 2d of December. The council met on the 12th, to deliberate upon the plan for the operations of the succeeding campaign, and

and it was agreed to secure the navigation of the Lake Ontario, to raise six thousand troops for the reduction of the French forts upon that Lake, and to send ten thousand against Crown Point: but the council declared, that it would be impossible to recover and secure the just rights of his Britannic Majesty without an additional number of regular forces, beside those already upon that continent.

Thus ended the military operations of the year 1755; a year always to be remembered in North America, where it opened with the fairest prospects to these remote dispersions of the British empire. Four armies were on foot to remove the encroachments of a perfidious enemy, and the coasts of the British Colonies honoured with a fleet for their security. The French began to be despised; and the English only desired a proclamation of war, for the final destruction of the whole country of New France. The Indians, from the isthmus of Nova Scotia to the back of New York, were conciliated to the British interest; and happy had it been for the western colonies if the same advantages had been obtained on their side: but a dismal scene was disclosed in those parts, by bands of rapacious and bloody foes, committing murders instead of waging war. The Delawares began their incursions, and war was declared against them in April, 1756, by the governor of Pennsylvania, who offered a reward for scalps and prisoners. War was also declared against them soon after in New Jersey: but Sir William Johnson prevailed on these Indians to lay down their arms.

The plan of operations settled at New York by Governor Shirley was transmitted to Sir Thomas Robinson, to be laid before his Majesty for the royal approbation: but a change was then made in the British ministry; a general war was beginning in Europe; and the Earl of Loudon was to be sent over to command all the British forces in North America.

SECTION III.

Proceedings of the British parliament to support the rights of the crown in America.—A revolution in the British ministry, and in the general system of Europe, on account of the disputes in America.—The rise of the war in Germany.—The French take Minorca.—His Britannic Majesty declares war against France.—War declared by France against Great Britain: Remarks thereon.—The city of London, in their address to the king, express their fears for the danger of his possessions in America. Instructions of the principal cities to their representatives in parliament to the same effect.—Allies on both sides in the German war occasioned by that in America.—General remark on the war in North America, as conducted by all the generals commanding there until 1758, when Louisburg, Fort Frontenac, Gaspésie, and Fort Du Quesne were taken. The importance of these acquisitions.—In 1759, some islands in the West Indies taken from the French. Ticonderago, Crown Point, Niagara, and Quebec taken. The great consequence and value of these possessions.—In 1760, Montreal submits and Ristigouchi destroyed.—In 1761, other conquests are made by the British forces in the West Indies.—In 1762, war declared between Great Britain and Spain, and on what account. The Havanna and Manilla reduced by the British arms.

GREAT BRITAIN was now apparently once more at the eve of a war with France; upon the happy issue of which depended the very existence of the British Colonies in North America, and the trade and navigation of the British empire. The importance of the British Colonies was justly considered, and the strength of the British nation properly exerted. His Britannic Majesty, on the 13th of November, 1755, informed his parliament, that “since their last session, he had taken such measures as might be most conducive to the protection of his possessions in America, and to the regaining of such parts thereof as had been encroached upon or invaded, in violation of the peace, and contrary to the faith of most solemn treaties: That, for this purpose, the maritime force of the kingdom had been got ready with the utmost application and expedition, and been principally employed; some land forces had been sent to North America; and all encouragement had been given to the several Colonies there, to exert themselves in their own defence, and in the maintenance of the rights and possessions of Great Britain.” The House of Lords, in their address, thanked his majesty “for his royal firmness, in not yielding to any terms of accommodation with France, that were not reasonable

reasonable and honourable; and for exerting his royal care so powerfully in the protection of his Colonies: They acknowledged his wisdom and goodness, in increasing his naval armaments, and in augmenting his land forces; as also in generously giving encouragement to that great body of his brave and faithful subjects, with which his American provinces happily abounded, to exert their strength on that important occasion." The commons followed the example of the Lords, and the king farther assured them, that "he was determined to protect and maintain the valuable and undoubted rights and possessions of his crown."

A revolution in the ministry was formed, when Henry Fox, Esq; was appointed one of the principal secretaries of state, and William Pitt, Esq; was removed from his office of receiver and paymaster-general of all his Majesty's forces. The parliament granted 7,229,117*l.* for the service of the year 1756; out of which sum there were 81,178*l.* for a regiment of foot to be raised in North America; 79,915*l.* for six regiments of foot from Ireland, to serve in North America and the East Indies; and 115,000*l.* to the provinces of New England, New York, and the Jerseys, as a reward for their past services; as also 55,032*l.* for supporting the colony of Nova Scotia, and 3557*l.* for Georgia. The nation was for open war, and the parliament for vigorous measures: but if war was declared against France, it was foreseen that her arms would be turned against Hanover; therefore a party was formed against all continental connexions, and for confining the war to the natural strength and interest of the nation, so as to be prosecuted only by sea and in America.

A revolution happened throughout the whole system of Europe, as well as in the British ministry. From 1748 until 1755 all Europe was in a state of tranquillity; but then the distrusts which crept into the discussions of the French and English, concerning their possessions in America, foretold an approaching storm. The King of Prussia, on the 26th of January, 1756, concluded a convention of neutrality, or treaty of alliance, with his uncle, the King of Great Britain, whereby it was declared, that "their Majesties having naturally considered, that the differences which had lately arisen in America might easily extend much farther, and even reach Europe; therefore the stipulations of this treaty tended to preserve the peace of Europe in general, and that of Germany in particular." This occasioned a counter-convention of neutrality, or treaty of alliance, between the courts of Vienna and Versailles, which was concluded on the 1st of May, 1756, and the extensive preamble indicated, that it was done "with a view to hinder the flames of war that might be kindled by the differences between England and France about the limits of their respective

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possessions in America from spreading, and disturbing the harmony and good understanding which then happily subsisted between their Majesties."

The seeds of a general war were sown, in which all parties and interests seemed afterward blended; because this war arose from causes which originally had not the least connection; those causes being the uncertain limits of the British and French territories in America, and the continual claims of the houses of Austria and Brandenburg on the dutchy of Silesia.

The French ministry pretended, they were desirous to have the discussions relating to America determined by an equitable and solid accommodation. But the British ministry proved, that France wanted to draw a veil over the hostilities which she had committed in America, both in Nova Scotia and on the Ohio, as also on the territories of Virginia.

The French ministers, at the several courts of Europe, spoke publicly of invading Great Britain or Ireland; and his Britannic Majesty, on the 23d of March, 1756, sent a message to both houses of parliament, to inform them, that he had received repeated advices to that purpose, as also that "he had taken proper measures for putting his kingdom in a posture of defence against so unjust and desperate an enterprize, projected in revenge for those just and necessary measures which had been taken for maintaining his rights and possessions in North America." Both houses presented very loyal addresses to the throne; and the lords declared, that "they looked with the utmost indignation upon so unjust and daring an attempt as that of invading his Majesty's kingdoms, in revenge for the generous and steady conduct he had held in maintaining the just rights and possessions of his crown and subjects in North America, against the unprovoked aggressions and hostilities originally commenced on the part of France; and they intreated his Majesty not to be diverted from it by any appearances whatsoever."

The address of the House of Commons was much in the same terms; and other addresses flowed in from all parts of Great Britain and Ireland. The magistracy of London expressed "their abhorrence of so unjust and desperate an enterprize, projected in revenge for his Majesty's royal and gracious protection of the trade and commerce of his people, and the necessary defence of the undoubted rights and possessions of his crown." And the merchants of London declared, "they could not omit their most unfeigned acknowledgments for his Majesty's constant attention to preserve the British rights and possessions in America, and the properties of their fellow-subjects there, with which the commerce and prosperity of these

these kingdoms were so essentially connected." The merchants of Bristol "presented their just tribute of thanks for the vigorous measures taken by his Majesty in defence of his American Colonies, so essential to the prosperity of the trade of Great Britain." The magistracy of Edinburgh "testified their abhorrence of the intentions of the court of France to make an invasion upon Great Britain or Ireland; an enterprize formed in despair and rage, on account of his Majesty's having resented the encroachments, depredations, and murders committed by the French in North America." The magistracy of Dublin declared, "they could not, without the utmost indignation, hear of the designs of an ambitious and perfidious power to disturb their tranquillity, and that in revenge for his Majesty's steady and uniform attention to the rights of his crown and the possessions of his subjects in North America."

The French were afraid to invade Great Britain; but they equipped a fleet at Toulon for the invasion of Minorca: Admiral Byng was sent with a squadron to the relief of that island, and he engaged the French admiral, Calissoniere, without relieving the place; so that Marshal Richlieu took Fort St. Philip, and got possession of all the island.

As all pacific measures were at an end, his Britannic Majesty declared war against France on the 17th of May, 1756, and thereby alleged, that "the unwarrantable proceedings of the French in the West Indies and North America, since the conclusion of the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, and the usurpations and encroachments made by them upon his territories, and the settlements of his subjects in those parts, particularly in his province of Nova Scotia, had been so notorious and so frequent, that they could not but be looked upon as a sufficient evidence of a formed design and resolution in that court, to pursue invariably such measures as should most effectually promote their ambitious views, without any regard to the most solemn treaties and engagements. That his Majesty had not been wanting, on his part, to make from time to time the most serious representations to the French King, upon these repeated acts of violence, and to endeavour to obtain redress and satisfaction for the injuries done to his subjects, and to prevent the like causes of complaint for the future: but though frequent assurances had been given, that every thing should be settled agreeable to the treaties subsisting between the two crowns, and particularly that the evacuation of the four neutral islands in the West Indies should be effected, the execution of these assurances, and of the treaties on which they were founded, had been evaded under the most frivolous pretences; and the unjustifiable practices of the French governors, and of the officers acting under their authority, were still carried on, till, in April,

April, 1754, they broke out in open acts of hostility, when in time of profound peace, without any declaration of war, and without any previous notice given or application made, a body of French forces, under the command of an officer bearing the French King's commission, attacked in a hostile manner, and possessed themselves of the English fort on the Ohio in North America. But notwithstanding this act of hostility, which could not but be looked upon as a commencement of war, yet, from his earnest desire of peace, and in hopes the court of France would disavow this violence and injustice, his Majesty contented himself with sending such a force to America as was indispensably necessary for the immediate defence and protection of his subjects against fresh attacks and insults. That, in the mean time, great naval armaments were preparing in the ports of France, and a considerable body of French troops embarked for North America; and though the French ambassador was sent back to England with specious professions of a desire to accommodate these differences, yet it appeared, that their real design was only to gain time for the passage of those troops to America; which they hoped would secure the superiority of the French forces in those parts, and enable them to carry their ambitious and oppressive projects into execution. That his Majesty, in these circumstances, could not but think it incumbent upon him to endeavour to prevent the success of so dangerous a design, and to oppose the landing of the French troops in America; and in consequence of the just and necessary measures he had taken for that purpose, the French ambassador was immediately recalled from his court, the fortifications at Dunkirk were enlarged, and his kingdoms were threatened with an invasion: therefore his Majesty could no longer forbear giving orders for the seizing at sea the ships of the French King and his subjects, without proceeding to the confiscation of them. But it being evident, by the hostile invasion actually made by the French King, of Minorca, that it was the determined resolution of that court to hearken to no terms of peace, but to carry on the war, which had been long begun on their part, with the utmost violence, his Majesty could no longer remain within those bounds which he had hitherto observed; therefore he declared war against the French King, who had so unjustly begun it, relying on the help of Almighty God in his just undertaking, and being assured of the hearty concurrence and assistance of his subjects in support of so good a cause."

The French King also made a formal declaration of war against the King of Great Britain on the 9th of June following; in which he concealed and evaded all the hostilities committed by his subjects in North America.

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Had there been no claims left undetermined at Aix-la-Chapelle; had the peacemakers there on the part of Great Britain insisted upon the evacuation of Crown Point, of the encroachments and fortresses on the Ohio, and in Nova Scotia or Acadia, there would have been no pretence left for this French aftergame. If this was an oversight, the time was now come to rectify the mistakes of former ministers, and to restore the honour and welfare of Great Britain and her Colonies.

The city of London, on the 30th of August, presented an address to the King, wherein they signified their fears that the loss of Minorca would be an indelible reproach on the honour of the British nation: "Nor could they help expressing their apprehensions for the great danger of his Majesty's possessions in America, by the mismanagements and delays which had attended the defence of those invaluable Colonies, the object of the present war, and the principal source of the wealth and strength of these kingdoms." His Majesty answered, that "the events of war were uncertain; but nothing should be wanting on his part toward carrying it on with vigour, in order to a safe and honourable peace, and for recovering and securing the possessions and rights of his crown."

The citizens of London also presented instructions to their representatives in parliament, wherein they particularly mentioned, that "as the cruelties suffered by their fellow-subjects in North America had long called for redress, whilst the mismanagement in the attempts for their support, and the untimely and unequal succours sent to their relief, had only served to render the British name contemptible; they therefore required them to use their utmost endeavours for detecting all those who, by treachery or misconduct, had contributed to those great distresses."

This example was followed by the most respectable parts of the kingdom.

About this time the war also broke out in Germany, wherein the Austrians, Russians, French, Swedes, Saxons, and Imperialists were confederate against the King of Prussia, who was assisted by Great Britain in so formidable a manner, under the administration of Mr. Pitt, that it was at last asserted, "America was conquered in Germany."

The British parliament granted large supplies for the protection of the American Colonies, which were preserved, secured, and augmented. The French were at first successful in those parts; but the English were finally crowned with unexampled success; which made it remarked, that "the
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rashness of Braddock, the inexperience of Shirley, the inactivity of London, and the ill success of Abercromby, seem only to have been so many necessary means of producing that unanimity in our Colonies, that spirit in our troops, and that steady perseverance in our ministers, as recovered from the enemy all his usurpations."

On the 26th of July, 1758, Louisburg was taken by Admiral Boscawen, in conjunction with the Generals Amherst and Wolfe; on which occasion, four of the enemies' capital ships were burnt, one capital ship with two frigates taken, and four frigates sunk. This important fortress, the key of North America, was delivered up with 3637 French troops, besides the inhabitants on both the Islands of Cape Breton and St. John's.

On the 27th of August following, Fort Frontenac was taken, and nine armed French sloops destroyed by 3000 provincial troops, under the command of Colonel Bradstreet; whereby the navigation of the Lake Ontario was recovered, and the French commerce with the River St. Lawrence cut off.

In September, Gaspenie was taken by a few ships under the command of Sir Charles Hardy, whereby all Nova Scotia was reduced.

On the 25th of November, Fort Du Quebec, on the Ohio, was taken by General Forbes, after a very dangerous and laborious march. This acquisition compensated for the defeat of General Braddock, and obtained the command of a great tract of rich country, which the English claimed as their right.

The year 1759 was still more glorious for the British arms in America; for in May, the Islands of Guadaloupe, Desada, and Marie-galante, in the West Indies, were taken by Commodore Moore and General Barrington.

On the 24th of July following, Ticonderago was abandoned by the French, at the approach of General Amherst, who took possession of it as he also did of Crown Point on the 4th of August, the reduction of which had been long wished for with much anxiety, as it was an object of great jealousy to the British Colonies, from its situation at the back of Albany.

About the same time, Niagara surrendered to the forces under the command of Sir William Johnson, which was a considerable acquisition, as this fort commanded the communication between the great Lakes Erie and Ontario.

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The expedition against Quebec succeeded under the command of Admiral Saunders and General Wolfe, who got up the River St. Lawrence at the end of June, and on the 13th of September was fought the famous battle of Quebec, wherein General Wolfe lost his life, after acquiring the victory over the Marquis de Montcalm, who also perished in the field. In four days after, the city of Quebec, the metropolis of the French American dominions, surrendered to General Townshend; whereby a passage was opened for the reduction of all Canada.

However, in April 1760, an army of ten thousand French regulars and Canadians, under the command of General De Levis, marched up to Quebec, to retake it. General Murray commanded the garrison, and ventured with 3,000 men to march out of the town, and give the French battle at Sallerie, where he was defeated; but effected his retreat to the town, which was besieged and gallantly defended, until the arrival of Lord Colville with a squadron of British ships on the 16th of May, when the French were obliged to raise the siege, and leave the British nation thus established in this important conquest.

On the 8th of September following, the town of Montreal submitted to Sir Jeffery Amherst and General Murray, to whom the Marquis de Vaudreuil delivered up himself and his garrison, to be transported to Old France; whereby the English got possession of New France.

Captain Byron also, with five men of war, sailed from Louisburg to Ristigouchy, in the bottom of the Bay of Chaleurs, where he found a French frigate, two large storeships, and nineteen sail of smaller vessels; all which, together with two batteries and two hundred houses, he destroyed, and totally ruined the settlement.

In 1761, Dominica was taken from the French by Lord Rollo; as was Martinico, in 1762, by General Monckton, who also reduced the neutral islands and the Grenades.

His Majesty King George III. was now upon the British throne, to which he succeeded on the demise of his grandfather, King George II. who died the 25th of October, 1760, in the 77th year of his age and the 34th of his reign. Charles III. was at this time on the throne of Spain, to which he succeeded on the death of his brother-in-law, Ferdinand VI. on the 10th of August, 1759. The family-compact of the House of Bourbon was concluded the 15th of August, 1761, as a family convention between the crowns of France and Spain, to unite all the

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branches of the House of Bourbon in the most ambitious and dangerous designs against the commerce and independency of the rest of Europe, and particularly of the dominions belonging to his Britannic Majesty, who therefore declared war against Spain on the 4th of January, 1762, which was answered by the King of Spain on the 18th. But the pride of Spain was soon humbled by the reduction of the Havanna by Sir George Pocock and the Earl of Albemarle, on the 13th of August, 1762; which glorious acquisition was succeeded by the reduction of Manilla by Admiral Cornish and General Draper, on the 6th of October following.

SECTION

SECTION IV.

The preliminary articles of peace between Great Britain, France, and Spain, signed at Fontainebleau.—Declaration of his Britannic Majesty from the throne upon that occasion. The definitive treaty signed at Paris the 10th of February, 1763; the principal articles thereof relative to America, and the acquisitions thereby ceded and confirmed to the British government.—The royal proclamation concerning the new governments of Quebec, East Florida, West Florida, and Grenada; with the territories annexed to the governments of Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, and Georgia. His Majesty's directions for the new governments, and his restrictions to the governors relative to the Indians. The governors appointed to the new established colonies. Notice from the Lords for Trade and Plantations for the grants of lands in East and West Florida.—St. Augustine and Pensacola delivered up by the Spaniards, &c.

THE preliminary articles of peace between the Kings of Great Britain, France, and Spain, were signed at Fontainebleau the 3d of November, 1762; and, on the 25th, his Britannic Majesty declared from the throne, "That he had pursued this extensive war in the most vigorous manner, in hopes of obtaining an honourable peace; and that by the preliminary articles it would appear, there was not only an immense territory added to the empire of Great Britain, but a solid foundation was laid for the increase of trade and commerce; and that the utmost care had been taken to remove all occasions of future disputes between his subjects and those of France and Spain."

The King laid the preliminaries before both houses of parliament, where they were opposed by the antiministerial party formed against the Earl of Bute; but they were approved of by a majority. The peace was founded on those preliminaries, and the definitive treaty was concluded at Paris, on the 10th of February, 1763, without any material alteration. It consisted of twenty-seven articles, the principal of which, relating to America, were as follows:

IV. His most Christian Majesty renounces all pretensions which he has heretofore formed, or might form to Nova Scotia, or Acadia, in all its parts; and guaranties the whole of it, with all its dependencies, to the King of Great Britain. Moreover, his Most Christian Majesty cedes, and guaranties to his said Britannic Majesty, in full right, Canada, with

all its dependencies; as well as the island of Cape Breton, and all the other islands and coasts in the gulph and river of St. Lawrence; and in general every thing that depends on the said countries, lands, islands, and coasts, with the sovereignty, property, possession, and all rights acquired by treaty or otherwise, which the most Christian King, and the crown of France, have had, till now, over the said countries, islands, lands, places, coasts, and their inhabitants; so that the most Christian King cedes and makes over the whole to the said King, and to the crown of Great Britain, and that in the most ample manner and form, without restriction, and without any liberty to depart from the said cession and guaranty, under any pretence, or to disturb Great Britain in the possession above mentioned. His Britannic Majesty, on his side, agrees to grant the liberty of the Catholic religion to the inhabitants of Canada: He will consequently give the most effectual orders, that his new Roman Catholic subjects may profess the worship of their religion, according to the rites of the Romish church, as far as the laws of Great Britain permit.

V. The subjects of France shall have the liberty of fishing and drying on a part of the coasts of the island of Newfoundland, such as is specified in the 13th article of the treaty of Utrecht; which article is renewed and confirmed by the present treaty, (except what relates to the island of Cape Breton as well as to the other islands and coasts in the mouth and in the gulph of St. Lawrence) and his Britannic Majesty consents to leave to the subjects of the most Christian King, the liberty of fishing in the gulph of St. Lawrence, on condition that the subjects of France do not exercise the said fishery, but at the distance of three leagues from all the coasts belonging to Great Britain, as well those of the continent, as those of the islands situated in the said gulph of St. Lawrence. And as to what relates to the fishery on the coast of the island of Cape Breton out of the said gulph, the subjects of the most Christian King shall not be permitted to exercise the said fishery, but at the distance of fifteen leagues from the coasts of the island of Cape Breton; and the fishery on the coasts of Nova Scotia or Acadia, and every where else out of the said gulph, shall remain on the foot of former treaties.

VI. The King of Great Britain cedes the islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon, in full right, to his most Christian Majesty, to serve as a shelter to the French fishermen; and his said most Christian Majesty engages not to fortify the said islands, to erect no buildings upon them, but merely for the convenience of the fishery, and to keep upon them a guard of 50 men only for the police.

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VII. In order to re-establish peace on solid and durable foundations, and to remove for ever all subject of dispute with regard to the limits of the British and French territories on the continent of America, it is agreed, that for the future, the confines between the dominions of his Britannic Majesty, and those of his most Christian Majesty in that part of the world, shall be fixed irrevocably by a line drawn along the middle of the river Mississippi, from its source to the river Iberville, and from thence, by a line drawn along the middle of this river, and the Lake Maurepas and Pontchartrain, to the sea; and for this purpose, the most Christian King cedes, in full right, and guaranties to his Britannic Majesty, the river and port of the Mobile, and every thing which he possesses, or ought to possess, on the left side of the river Mississippi, except the town of New Orleans, and the island on which it is situated, which shall remain to France; provided that the navigation of the Mississippi river shall be equally free, as well to the subjects of Great Britain, as to those of France, in its whole breadth and length, from its source to the sea, and expressly that part which is between the said island of New Orleans, and the right bank of that river, as well as the passages both in and out of its mouth. It is further stipulated, that the vessels belonging to the subjects of either nation, shall not be stopped, visited, or subjected to the payment of any duty whatsoever.

VIII. The King of Great Britain shall restore to France the islands of Guadaloupe, of Marie-Galante, of Desiderade, of Martinico, and of Belleisle.

IX. The most Christian King cedes and guaranties to his Britannic Majesty, in full right, the islands of Grenada, and of the Grenadines: And the partition of the islands, called Neutral, is agreed and fixed, so that those of St. Vincent, Dominica, and Tobago, shall remain in full right to Great Britain; and that that of St. Lucia shall be delivered to France, to enjoy the same likewise in full right.

X. His Britannic Majesty shall restore to France the island of Goree in the condition it was in when conquered: And his most Christian Majesty cedes in full right, and guaranties to the King of Great Britain the river Senegal, with the forts and factories of St. Lewis, Podor, and Galam; and with all the rights and dependencies of the said river Senegal.

By the twelfth article, Minorca was to be restored to his Britannic Majesty; and by the thirteenth, Dunkirk was to be put into the state fixed by former treaties.

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The subsequent articles relate chiefly to the disputes between Great Britain and Spain; particularly to the cutting of Logwood in the Bay of Honduras, which, by the seventeenth article, was allowed to the subjects of his Britannic Majesty; and, by the eighteenth, his Catholic Majesty desisted from all pretensions to the right of fishing in the neighbourhood of Newfoundland. By the nineteenth, the Havanna was restored to Spain; in consequence of which, by the twentieth, "his Catholic Majesty ceded and guaranteed, in full right, to his Britannic Majesty, Florida, with Fort St. Augustin, and the bay of Pensacola, as well as all that Spain possessed on the continent of North America to the east, or to the south-east of the river Mississippi, and in general every thing that depended on the said countries and lands, with the sovereignty, property, possession, and all rights acquired by treaties or otherwise, which the Catholic King and the crown of Spain had till then over the said countries, lands, places, and their inhabitants." So that the Catholic King ceded and made over the whole to the said King, and to the crown of Great Britain, and that in the most ample manner and form.

Thus Great Britain acquired a totality of empire in North America, extending from Hudson's Bay to the mouths of the Mississippi.

His Majesty, in his speech to both houses of parliament, on the 15th of November, 1763, informed them, that "the re-establishment of the public tranquillity, upon terms of honour and advantage to his kingdoms, was the first object of his reign: that this salutary measure had received the approbation of his parliament, and had since been happily completed and carried into execution by the definitive treaty." His Majesty then declared as follows: "Our principal care ought now to be employed to improve the valuable acquisitions which we have made, and to cultivate the arts of peace in such a manner, as may most effectually contribute to extend the commerce and to augment the happiness of these kingdoms." The house of lords, in their address, declared, that "they were deeply sensible of his Majesty's paternal care and attention for the improvement of his conquests and the extension of the commerce of his subjects, in which the public welfare was so materially concerned." The commons, in their address, "begged leave to congratulate his Majesty on the completion of that great and salutary measure, the re-establishment of the public tranquillity upon terms so honourable to his crown and so advantageous to his people."

The King also published a proclamation, which was dated the 7th of October, to the following effect: "That whereas he had taken into his
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royal consideration the extensive and valuable tracts in America, secured to his crown by the late definitive treaty of peace; and being desirous that all his subjects might avail themselves of the great benefits and advantages which must accrue therefrom to their commerce, manufactures, and navigation; he had thought fit, with the advice of his privy-council, to issue this proclamation, thereby to declare to all his subjects, that he had granted letters patent, to erect within the countries and islands ceded and confirmed to him by the said treaty, four distinct and separate governments, styled and called by the names of Quebec, East Florida, West Florida, and Grenada; limited and bounded as follows:

"First, the government of Quebec, bounded on the Labrador coast by the river St. John, and from thence, by a line drawn from the head of that river, through the Lake St. John to the south end of the Lake Nipissim; from whence the said line, crossing the river St. Lawrence and Lake Champlain in forty-five degrees of north latitude, passes along the high lands which divide the rivers that empty themselves into the said river St. Lawrence, from those which fall into the sea; and also along the north coast of the Baye des Chaleurs, and the coast of the gulph of St. Lawrence to Cape Rosiers; and from thence, crossing the mouth of the river St. Lawrence, by the west end of the island of Anticosti, terminates at the aforesaid river of St. John.

"Secondly, the government of East Florida, bounded to the westward by the gulph of Mexico and the Apalachicola river; to the northward by a line drawn from that part of the said river where the Catahouchee and Flint rivers meet, to the source of St. Mary's river, and by the course of the said river to the Atlantic ocean; and to the eastward and southward, by the Atlantic ocean and the gulph of Florida, including all islands within six leagues of the sea coast.

"Thirdly, the government of West Florida, bounded to the southward by the gulph of Mexico, including all islands within six leagues of the coast from the river Apalachicola to Lake Pontchartrain; to the westward by the said Lake, the Lake Maurepas, and the river Mississippi; to the northward by a line drawn due east from that part of the river Mississippi which lies in thirty-one degrees north latitude, to the river Apalachicola or Catahouchee; and to the eastward by the said river.

"Fourthly, the government of Grenada, comprehending the island of that name, together with the Grenadines, and the islands of Dominica, St. Vincent, and Tobago.

And

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" And to the end that the open and free fishery of his subjects might be extended to, and carried on upon the coast of Labrador, and the adjacent islands, his Majesty thought fit to put all that coast from the river St. John's to Hudson's Straights, together with the islands of Anticosti and Madelaine, and all other smaller islands upon the said coast, under the care and inspection of his governor of Newfoundland.

" His Majesty also thought fit to annex the islands of St. John's and Cape Breton, or Isle Royal, with the lesser islands adjacent thereto, to his government of Nova Scotia.

" He also annexed to his province of Georgia all the lands lying between the rivers Altamaha and St. Mary's."

His Majesty expressed his paternal care for the security of the liberties and properties of his subjects who should become inhabitants of those colonies; for which purpose governments were to be constituted, as in the other colonies, of governors, councils, and representatives of the people, with power to make and ordain laws, under such restrictions as were used in other colonies; as also for the governors and councils to constitute courts of judicature, and agree with the inhabitants for the purchase of lands, and the improvement and settlement of the Colonies. His Majesty also testified his royal sense and approbation of the conduct and bravery of the officers and soldiers of his armies, and of his desire to reward the same, by granting them lands in North America; as likewise to such reduced officers of his navy as had served at the reduction of Louisburg at Quebec. After which, his Majesty declared as follows:

" And whereas it is just and reasonable, and essential to our interest and the security of our Colonies, that the several nations or tribes of Indians, with whom we are connected, and who live under our protection, should not be molested or disturbed in the possession of such parts of our dominions and territories as, not having been ceded to or purchased by us, are reserved to them or any of them, as their hunting-grounds; we do therefore, by the advice of our privy-council, declare it to be our royal will and pleasure, that no governor, or commander in chief, in any of our colonies of Quebec, East Florida, or West Florida, do presume, upon any pretence whatsoever, to grant warrants of survey, or pass any patents for lands beyond the bounds of their respective governments, as described in their commissions; as also that no governor or commander in chief, in any of our other colonies or plantations in America, do presume, for the present, and until our further pleasure be known, to grant warrants of survey,

survey, or pass patents for any lands beyond the heads or sources of any of the rivers which fall into the Atlantic ocean; or upon any lands whatever, which not having been ceded to or purchased by us as aforesaid, are reserved to the said Indians, or any of them. And we do further declare it to be our royal will and pleasure, for the present as aforesaid, to reserve under our sovereignty, protection, and dominion, for the use of the said Indians, all the lands and territories not included within the limits of our said three new governments, or within the limits of the territory granted to the Hudson's Bay company; as also the lands and territories lying to the westward of the sources of the rivers which fall into the sea from the west and north-west as aforesaid: And we do hereby strictly forbid, on pain of our displeasure, all our loving subjects from making any purchases or settlements whatever, or taking possession of any of the lands above reserved, without our especial leave and licence for that purpose first obtained. And we do further strictly enjoin and require all persons whatever, who have either wilfully or inadvertently seated themselves upon any lands within the countries above described, or upon any other lands, which not having been ceded to or purchased by us, are still reserved to the said Indians as aforesaid, forthwith to remove themselves from such settlements. And whereas great frauds and abuses have been committed in the purchasing lands of the Indians, to the great prejudice of our interests, and to the great dissatisfaction of the said Indians; in order, therefore, to prevent such irregularities for the future, and to the end that the Indians may be convinced of our justice and determined resolution to remove all reasonable cause of discontent, we do, with the advice of our privy-council, strictly enjoin and require, that no private person do presume to make any purchase from the said Indians, of any lands reserved to the said Indians within those parts of our Colonies where we have thought proper to allow settlement; but that if, at any time, any of the said Indians should be inclined to dispose of the said lands, the same shall be purchased only for us, in our name, at some public meeting or assembly of the said Indians, to be held for that purpose by the governor or commander in chief of our colony respectively within which they shall lie: And in case they shall lie within the limits of any proprietary government, they shall be purchased only for the use and in the name of such proprietaries, conformable to such directions or instructions as we or they shall think proper to give for that purpose."—His Majesty also declared and enjoined, that the trade with the said Indians should be free and open to all his subjects whatever; provided they took out proper licences for the same. And his Majesty further enjoined all officers whatever, as well military as those employed in the management and direction of Indian affairs within the territories reserved as aforesaid for the use

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of the said Indians, to seize and apprehend all persons whatsoever, who should fly from justice and take refuge in the said territory, and to send them under a proper guard to the colony where the crime was committed, in order to take their trial for the same.

At the same time, his Majesty appointed Montagu Wilmot, Esq; to be his captain-general and governor in chief in and over his Majesty's province of Nova Scotia, in the room of Henry Ellis, Esq; who had requested leave to resign that government. The honourable James Murray, Esq; was appointed governor of the province of Quebec. James Grant, Esq; was appointed governor of East Florida. George Johnstone, Esq; was appointed governor of West Florida; and Robert Melville, Esq; was appointed governor of Grenada, the Grenadines, Dominico, St. Vincent, and Tobago; and of all other islands and territories adjacent thereto, and which then were, or had been dependent thereupon.

The Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations having received information that many persons were desirous of grants of land in his Majesty's provinces of East Florida and West Florida, in order to the cultivation of the same for the raising of silk, cotton, wine, oil, indigo, cochineal, and other commodities to which those lands were adapted; their lordships, therefore, to avoid any delay in the making such settlements, did, by his Majesty's command, give public notice on the 21st of November, 1763, "That his Majesty had been pleased to direct, that the lands in his said provinces of East Florida and West Florida should be surveyed and laid out into townships, not exceeding twenty thousand acres each, for the convenience and accommodation of settlers; and these townships, or any proportions thereof, would be granted, upon the same moderate conditions of quit-rent and cultivation as were required in other colonies, to such persons as should be willing to enter into reasonable engagements to settle the lands within a limited time, and at their own expence, with a proper number of useful and industrious Protestant inhabitants, either from his Majesty's other colonies, or from foreign parts; and all persons who might be willing to obtain such grants, were desired to send their proposals in writing to John Pownall, Esq; secretary to the said Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations."

THE HISTORY OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE IN NORTH AMERICA.

BOOK II.

The History of NEW ENGLAND.

CHAP. I.

Of division, extent, climate, and soil. The first discovery of it. Patent granted to the London company and Plymouth company by King James I. in 1606. His patent, in 1620, to a new company, called the Council of Plymouth; their limits and privileges. Account of the country and of the Indians; their religion and language; particularly the Abenaguies of New England; as also of the Nagsuags, Cherokees, Creeks, and others; their war-cry, and customs. Account of the first English settlers, and the present colonists; the toleration of religion, and privileges granted them. Remarks on the natural history of New England. Lord Bacon's system of establishing colonies in North America, with his character; as likewise the sentiments of Mr. Locke, Mr. Wood, and others, relative to the Colonies.

NEW ENGLAND is that part of the continent of America which lies between the 41° and 45° of north latitude, and between 67° and 79° of west longitude: but under this denomination are comprehended the provinces of the Massachusetts Bay, and New Hampshire; with the colonies of Connecticut and Rhode Island. It is bounded by

Canada on the north-west, by New York on the west, by Nova Scotia on the north-east, and by the Atlantic ocean on the east and south. Its length, from the river Kennebec to the south-east boundaries of New York, is about three hundred and thirty miles; and its breadth, from Cape Cod to the north-east boundaries of New York, is about one hundred and ninety miles; though in other places it is not so broad. The coast bears west-south-west and east-north-east; running about one hundred and sixty leagues in length, without reckoning the angles.

The sea coast is generally low; but the inland country rises into hills, and is rocky and mountainous to the north-east. The climate is not so mild and regular as those parts of Italy and France that lie in the same parallel; nor is it so temperate as in Great Britain. The north and north-west winds blow over an extensive tract of land, and are therefore very cold; for which reason the winters are keener and of longer continuance in New England than they usually are in Old England; but then the weather is not so variable as in the mother-country, and the short summer they enjoy is much hotter. The climate, however, is healthful in New England, where it is common to have a clear and dry sky for six weeks or two months together.

When the English first landed on the coast, the country appeared like one continued wood; but, upon a closer survey, they found every three or four miles a fruitful valley, with a clear fresh rivulet or brook gliding through it, and these again were surrounded with hills covered with trees, which afforded an agreeable prospect.

The soil is generally fertile, but more so in some places than in others, and particularly about the Massachusetts Bay it is as flat and black as in any part of Great Britain, consequently as rich.

New England was not properly discovered until the year 1602, when Captain Gosnoll sailed there from Dartmouth in Old England, in a small vessel, with thirty-two sailors and some passengers. He was one of the adventurers in a former voyage to Virginia, was an excellent mariner, and conceived that there must be a shorter course to that part of America than had been attempted before; therefore he steered a more direct course, and fell in with this coast. He was embayed in $42^{\circ} 10'$, where he caught abundance of cod-fish, and called it Cape Cod; thence sailing southward, he gave Queen Elizabeth's name to one island, and to the next island, where he found great quantities of wild grapes, he gave the name of Martha's vineyard; which names are still retained.

Captain

Captain Gofnoll made a very successful voyage, and at his return to England gave a good character of this new country, which induced several gentlemen to obtain a royal grant from King James I. who incorporated two companies in one patent, bearing date the 10th of April, 1606. The first were allowed to settle themselves at any place on the coast of Virginia between the 34° and 41° of north latitude; the other between 38° and 45° ; with liberty to extend themselves one hundred miles along the coasts, and one hundred miles within land, but not to plant within one hundred miles of each other.

In this patent were included New England, New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, as they are now divided into several provinces; but the whole country was then called Virginia, and was no otherwise distinguished for some time after, than by the names of north and south Virginia: the southern district was called the London company, who immediately began their settlement; and the northern district belonged to the company of Plymouth, or west country adventurers.

Sir John Popham, lord chief justice of England, Sir Ferdinando Gorge, and several other gentlemen and merchants of Bristol, Exeter, and Plymouth, proprietors of the patent for North Virginia, fitted out a ship the same year, with thirty men, under the command of Henry Challons, to make a discovery of that country; but this ship was taken by a Spanish fleet in the West Indies, and the crew were carried prisoners into Spain. This misfortune damped the spirit of the first adventurers; but Lord chief-justice Popham soon after sent out another ship, at his own charge, commanded by Captain Hanham, one of the patentees, who brought back such an encouraging account of the country, that the proprietors who fell off before resolved now to adventure again. Accordingly, in 1608, they fitted out two ships with one hundred men, ordnance, stores, and all necessaries for a plantation, under the command of Captain George Popham and Captain Raleigh Gilbert, who sailed from Plymouth the 31st of May, and arrived at the island of Monahigan, in 44° of north latitude, on the 11th of August. They began a settlement at Sagadahock, about ten leagues southward, between Casco Bay and the mouth of the river Kennebec. They built a fort, which they called St. George; but on the death of Captain Popham and the return of Captain Gilbert to England, they all abandoned the place, and re-embarked for Plymouth, "whereby," says Captain Smith, "this plantation was begun and ended in one year, and the country esteemed as a cold, barren, rocky, mountainous desert."

This unsuccessful attempt to form a settlement upon that part of the continent of North America which was formerly called Norumbega, Penaquida,

quida, and other names given to it by those who sailed along the coast, greatly dispirited the patentees; but Henry, Earl of Southampton, and some gentlemen of the Isle of Wight, employed Captain Edward Harlow to discover an island supposed about Cape Cod, which he found to be on the continent, and returned from thence to England with five savages he had taken and detained as prisoners. Sir Francis Popham also sent Captain Williams several times to Monahigan on account of the fishery; but all farther thoughts of a settlement subsided until the year 1614, when Captain John Smith sailed from London with two ships on a farther discovery of the whale-fishery, mines, and furs.

This gentleman had been president of the colony in South Virginia, in 1608, and was a judicious seaman; on which account he was sent out at the charge of Captain Marmaduke Roydon, Captain George Langam, Mr. John Buley, and Mr. William Skelton. Captain Smith arrived at Monahigan, from whence he sailed to the continent, where he carefully surveyed the coast, and gave denominations to many of the headlands, bays, and rivers, which are still upon record, though now obsolete, and other names imposed. Ranging the coast in a small boat with eight men, while the others were employed in the fishery, he got for trifles near eleven thousand beaver skins, one hundred martins, and as many otters, within the distance of twenty leagues. With these furs, the train-oil, and cod-fish, he returned for England, having made his voyage out and home in about six months, and acquired about 1500*l.* for his principals in the commodities he brought to them.

Captain Smith called the country New England; which name it still retains: He presented his map of it to Prince Charles, who confirmed that denomination, and gave new names to the most remarkable places in the following manner, according to the schedule exhibited by Captain Smith:

“ The old names.

1. Cape Cod.
2. The harbour at Cape Cod.
3. Chawum.
4. Accomack.
5. Sagequas.
6. Massachusetts Mount.
7. Massachusetts River.
8. Totan.
9. Cape Tragabigfanda.
10. A great bay by Cape Anne.
11. Naumbuck.

“ The new names.

1. Cape James.
2. Milford Haven.
3. Berwick.
4. Plymouth.
5. Oxford.
6. Cheviot Hills.
7. Charles River.
8. Falmouth.
9. Cape Anne.
10. Bristol.
11. Barstable.

12. Aggawom.

The old names.	The new names.
12. Aggawom.	12. Southampton.
13. Passataquack.	13. Hull.
14. Accominticus.	14. Boston.
15. Saffanows Mount.	15. Snowdon Hill.
16. Sowocatuck.	16. Ipswich.
17. Bahanna.	17. Dartmouth.
18. A good harbour within that Bay.	18. Sandwich.
19. Ancocisco.	19. The Bafs.
20. Ancocisco's Mount.	20. Shooter's Hill.
21. Anmoughcawgen.	21. Cambridge.
22. Kenebec.	22. Edinburgh.
23. Sagadahock.	23. Leith.
24. Pemmayquid.	24. St. John's town.
25. Segocket.	25. Norwich.
26. Mecadacut.	26. Dunbarton.
27. Pennobscot.	27. Aberdeen.
28. Nuskat.	28. Low Mounds."

Smith's Isles retained their name; and the Captain gave new names to some other islands: those of Monahigan he called Bertie's Isles; those of Matinac he called Willoughby's Isles; and those of Metinacus he called Haughton's Isles.

When Captain Smith returned in his own ship from New England, he left the other vessel there under the command of Thomas Hunt, who enticed twenty-four of the natives on board, and sold them to the Spaniards. The owners turned him out of their employ for his villany; but the punishment was inadequate to the crime, which the Indians highly resented, and resolved to be revenged on those who came next upon the coast. They accordingly prevented Captain Hobson in his attempt to form a settlement, and obliged Captain Dornier to return without accomplishing his design.

The first inducements of the English adventurers to take out patents for lands in America, and to suffer so much in settling, were the hopes of finding rich mines, and a north-west passage to the East Indies; but when these projectors were disappointed, the old patents were neglected or annihilated. The northern company of 1606 insensibly dissolved; and the southern company soon had the same fate; while several voluntary companies of adventurers, without grants or patents, continued to carry on an advantageous trade in North America.

Captain Smith published his map of New England in the year 1616, with an account of his observations and discoveries, which encouraged the merchants to make an attempt for another settlement. A new company of adventurers was formed, and called the Council of Plymouth; because the adventurers were chiefly merchants and members of that corporation. Their number was forty; but among them were some noblemen and gentlemen, particularly the duke of Lenox, the marquises of Buckingham and Hamilton, the earls of Warwick and Arundel, Sir Francis Gorge, and some others; to whom King James I. granted letters patent dated the 3d of November, in the 18th year of his reign, incorporating them by the style of "The Council established at Plymouth in the county of Devon for the planting, ruling, ordering, and governing of New England in America." His Majesty thereby "gave and granted unto them, their successors and assigns, all that part of America lying and being in breadth from 40° north latitude from the equinoctial line, to 48° inclusively, and in length of and within all the breadth aforesaid, throughout all the main land from sea to sea, &c. to be holden of his majesty, his heirs and successors, as of his manor of East Greenwich in the county of Kent, in free and common soccage, and not *in capite*, nor by knight's service; yielding and paying therefor to his majesty, his heirs and successors, the fifth part of the ore of gold and silver which should, from time to time, and at all times then after, happen to be found, within any of the said limits, in respect of all manner of duties, demands, and services whatsoever to his majesty, his heirs and successors."

As a body corporate they were to have a common seal, make laws for the regulation of the province, and dispose of any parts thereof; but they could not delegate the jurisdiction without an additional royal charter. Their patent was designedly extended much to north and south, that it might include and perpetuate the English claim to the New Netherlands, then in possession of the Dutch southward, and afterwards called New York; as also to Acadia, since called Nova Scotia, then possessed by the French to the north.

The adventurers, at this time, had acquired a considerable knowledge of the nature of the country, and its inhabitants. Captain Smith resided nineteen years in Virginia and New England, and wrote a history of those parts in 1624; where he enumerated the names of many tribes of Indians which are now irrecoverably lost; and that were of different stature, but none of them had any beards. In that part of his work, intitled "The General History of New England," he says, "it is betwixt the degrees of forty-one and forty-five, the very mean between the north pole

pole and the line; but what he speaks of stretches only from Penobscot to Cape Cod; some seventy-five leagues by a right-line distant from each other; within which bounds he had founded about five and twenty excellent good harbours, in many whereof there was anchorage for five hundred sail of ships of any burden; in some of them for one thousand; and more than two hundred isles over-grown with good timber of divers sorts of wood.

In his description of the country, he says, "the Massachusetts was the paradise of all those parts; for here were many islands planted with corn, groves, mulberries, savage-gardens, and good harbours: the coast was generally high clayey sandy cliffs, and shewed all along as he passed large fields of corn, and great numbers of well proportioned people: that oak was the chief wood, of which there was great difference, in regard of the soil where it grew; as also fir, pine, walnut, chesnut, birch, ash, elm, cypress, cedar, mulberry, plumtree, hazel, faxefras, and many other sorts."

The same remarkable traveller observes upon the whole, that "the main staple to be extracted from New England, for the present, was fish, which might seem a mean commodity; yet those who would truly take the pains, and consider the sequel, would allow it well worth the labour."

To these, and many other particulars, he adds the following words: "And of all the four parts of the world I have yet seen not inhabited, could I have but means to transport a colony, I would rather live here than ~~any~~ where; and if it did not maintain itself, were we but once indifferently well fitted, let us starve."

This was the most authentic account that could be obtained of New England at that time; in consequence of which several ships were sent there by the merchants of London, Bristol, and Plymouth; but chiefly upon the fishing trade. They promised captain Smith, in the year 1617, to send twenty ships to New England under his command; and the western commissioners contracted with him to be admiral of that country during his life; however, that worthy adventurer was disappointed in all his schemes for the improvement of the colony, which he had most affectionately at heart.

Edward Winslow, Esq; soon after gave a farther account of this country, of the religion of the Indians, and the nature of their government.

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ment. It appears, from a comparison of the different accounts, that New England was inhabited by more than twenty different Indian nations before the country was colonized; though several of their names are not mentioned by modern writers. Each Sachem, or Sagamore, who was lord of a small territory, claimed a right of sovereignty there. The principal tribes were the Massachusetts, Neumkeaks, Narragansets, Pocassetts, Pequots, Massasoits or Wompanoags, Moratiggon, Patuxets, Maquas, Manimoy, Niantics, Novasii and Marchicans; but the Massachusetts were more populous and better civilized than any other of these nations; which was principally owing to their dwelling upon the coasts, and trading with the Europeans. They inhabited those parts which now make the counties of Suffolk and Middlesex. The plague and small-pox greatly diminished their numbers a little before the English took possession of their country; but they have the honour to give the present name to the chief colony of New England.

The life of hunters and fishermen is said to be averse to human society, except among the members of single families. The accounts which have been transmitted of the natives, at the first arrival of the Europeans, represent them to have been as near to a state of nature as any people upon the globe, and destitute of most of those improvements which are the ornaments of civil society.

The men commended themselves for keeping their wives employed, and condemned the English husbands according to their phrase, for spoiling good working creatures. Every nation or tribe had one acknowledged head or chief, to whom they gave the title of Sachem or Sagamore; but it is difficult to determine what was their power and authority. They seem to have supported no military authority, as every man fought and retreated at his pleasure; for which reason, they never could oppose a body of English troops, and their wars were precarious between themselves. Their arms were bows and arrows: their bow-strings were made of moose sinews; and their arrows were pointed with a small flat stone, of a triangular form, the basis of which they fastened with a leather string into a cleft made in the end of a young stick of elder-wood. Their captains only carried a spear. But after the arrival of the English, they made the heads of their arrows of brass, and fastened them to a small stick of six or eight inches long, for need to fix into the end of the pithy elder, which they bound round to strengthen it.

They were remarkable for firm well compacted bodies, strong and active, capable of enduring the greatest hardships and fatigues, regardless
of

of cold, whilst travelling in the severity of winter. They were at a loss to know what could induce the first Colonists to leave England and come to America; but the most probable conjecture they could make was, that the English wanted fuel at home, and came over for the sake of the wood. Their clothing was of the skins of wild beasts; but after the English came, they began to use woollen clothes, and in a few years entirely laid aside skins; though one of their old garments of skins would purchase a new one of woollen, and a good quantity of strong liquors beside. The men threw a light mantle or covering over them; they also wore a small flap, called Indian breeches; yet they were not over solicitous in covering their bodies. The women were more modest, and wore a coat of cloth or skins, wrapt like a blanket about their loins, and reaching down to their hams, which they never put off in company. Some of the men had breeches, stockings, and shoes, all made of the same materials, in one piece. In winter, when the snow would bear, they put on snow-shoes, which were made like a large tennis-racket, and laced them to their feet with the guts of deers. They greased their bodies and hair very often, and painted themselves all over; their faces and shoulders with a deep red, and their bodies with a variety of misshapen figures; but he was esteemed the bravest man, who had the most frightful forms drawn upon him, and looked most terrible. They had no hats, but commonly wore about their heads a snake-skin, a belt of their money, or a kind of ruff made with deer's hair, and dyed of a scarlet colour, which they esteemed very rich. The ornaments of their women, beside painting their bodies, were a sort of ear-rings of copper or beads, bracelets about their arms, and chains about their legs.

Their chief diversions consisted in dancing-matches, a sort of festivals, at which all people were freely entertained.

Their food in winter, was birds and beasts of all sorts, shell-fish, and fish from the ponds. In summer, they had sea-fish, berries of all sorts, green-corn, beans and squashes. They boiled their victuals in earthen-pots: their spits were sticks fastened in the ground, cleft at top, where they fixed their meat, and placed themselves round a fire until they had sufficiently toasted it. The earth was their table; and they had no salt, bread, trenchers, or knives. They had no regular meals, eat when they were hungry as long as the victuals lasted; and being improvident, nor caring for to-morrow, they and their families would sometimes keep a fast of two or three days together. Tobacco was in general use, which refreshed their spirits; and water was their only drink. Their household furniture was very small: a skin or mat was

their bed; a few earthen and wooden vessels answered all the purposes of a family; but they never used a chair or stool, and always sat on the ground. As they had no metals of any kind, what few tools they had were of stone; and their arts and manufactures lay in a very narrow compass. Their hatchet and chizel are kept as curiosities; the former somewhat in shape like an iron hatchet, only instead of an eye for the handle, it had a neck, where they fastened a withe. They dressed their skins by scraping and rubbing, and sometimes stained or coloured them with odd sorts of embroideries. They had a sort of cordage or lines, from the wild Indian hemp, with which they made nets thirty or forty feet in length, for taking sturgeon. They had two sorts of canoes; one of pine or chestnut-trees, which they burned hollow, and then scraped the inside with clam-shells and oyster-shells, and hewed the outside with stone hatchets; these were generally two feet wide and twenty feet long: but the other sort were made of the bark or rind of the birch-tree, with knees or ribs; and though easily broken upon the rocks or shore, yet were tight and secure against the waves: some of these were very neat, and the most ingenious of any part of their manufactures.

Those who speak most favourably, give an indifferent idea of the quality of their minds; but perhaps the Indians about the Massachusetts Bay were some of the meanest among the American nations. They shewed courtesy to the English at their first arrival, were hospitable, and made such as would eat their food welcome to it: they readily instructed the new colonists in the method of planting and cultivating Indian corn, which when boiled served for bread. Their manner was to come into the English houses, without knocking, and to sit down without ceremony: but there was no trading with them upon credit; for those who trusted them lost both debt and customer.

We hear nothing of that formality and order in their councils, nor of those allegories and figures in their speeches and harangues, which the French observed among the Iroquois and other nations at the beginning of their acquaintance with them. In their public discourses, however, upon any general matter of importance, they seldom used any short colloquiums, but each spoke his mind at large without interruption, while great attention was given, and when he had finished, another answered.

The principle or persuasion that all things ought to be in common might occasion hospitality, where the like was expected in return, without any regard of virtue or beneficence. Some appearances were shewn of compassion, gratitude, and friendship; as also of grief at the death or distress

distress of their children or near relations; for some degree of these social affections is inseparable from human nature: however, they had many vices; were false, malicious and revengeful. The least injury excited in them a deadly hatred, which never could be allayed. They were infinitely cruel to their enemies, cutting and mangling their bodies, broiling them alive upon hot embers, and inflicting the most exquisite torments they could invent; but they were not known to feed upon the flesh of their enemies after the English came among them.

The men were so slothful as never to employ themselves about any other business than what was absolutely necessary for their support, and such as the women were not able to execute. Their hunting and fishing being all they did for their maintenance, served also as diversions. Deer, moose, and bears were their principal objects; but wolves, wild cats, racoons, otters, musquashes, and even beavers, were not much regarded, until the English encouraged the pursuit of them from the value they set upon their skins or furs. Beside their bows, they had other devices to take their game; sometimes by double hedges a mile or two in length, and a mile wide at one end, made gradually narrow until they came to a gap of six feet, against which they lay concealed to shoot the deer as they came through in the day-time; and at night they set deer-traps, being springs made of young trees. They had their traps also for beavers and otters. Their ordinary fishing was with hooks and lines; the former were made of bones, the latter of wild hemp. Douglas, indeed, says, they had no threads of flax, hemp, or any other herbs; but the earliest accounts of the Massachusetts Indians assert the contrary; and Champlain says, it was part of the employment of the Indian women of Canada to twist the wild hemp and make it into nets for fishing. In the spring, they caught lobsters, clams, bass, cod, rock, blue-fish, and salmon. They took lobsters in large bags at low water, with a staff about seven feet in length, made small and sharpened at one end, with notches to take hold. Bass, blue-fish, and sturgeon, they struck with a wooden dart, sharpened with a fish-bone, tied at the end with a string, by which they dragged the fish to shore.

They had also a way of taking sturgeon, by lighting a torch made of birch-bark, which, waving to and fro by the side of their canoe, would delight the sturgeon, and cause them to come tumbling and playing, throwing up their white bellies, into which the Indians struck their spears or darts, because the sturgeons backs were impenetrable.

Their grand fishings were at the several falls of the rivers, at most of which a company of Indians had their chief residence; and at fixed seasons

sons the several adjacent cantons assembled by turns, both for recreation and to make provision for the year. During these meetings all things were in common; and those who had entertained their neighbours expected the like kindness in return.

As to religion, they had some notions of a future state; a kind of Mahometan paradise, where they were to solace themselves in fruitful corn-fields and fine flowery meads, with pleasant rivers to bathe in; curious wigwams provided for them without any labour of their own; hunting, fowling, and fishing, without any weariness or pains to molest them: but at the door was a snarling animal, or kind of Cerberus, who denied a peaceful entrance to all unworthy of it. This caused them to bury the bows and arrows of the deceased with their bodies, to affright or repel Cerberus, and a good store of wompumpeag to purchase some peculiar favours or privileges. Their enemies, and others unworthy the joys of Elysium, they consigned to an eternal habitation and place of torment.

When some of the English have talked with them of the resurrection of the body, all the answer they could get from them was, that it was impossible, and they never should believe it. In short, the genius of the people led them to worship any thing that was above them in power, and able to do them any injury.

The most zealous of all the Indians in their religious superstitions were the Narragansets, who had large houses in the nature of temples, which were frequented only by their powaws or priests, except at their public solemnities, when multitudes of people resorted there, and offered the best of their treasures in sacrifice; as skins, hatchets, kettles, and the like; which were all thrown by the powaws or priests into the midst of a great fire, and burnt to ashes. Those who offered most liberally toward these sacrifices, were esteemed the wisest and most devout persons; and it was so reputable to be bountiful on such occasions, that the Indians about Plymouth town told the English, they wished their governors would appoint the like sacrifices among them.

These powaws had a great ascendancy over the people, and many idle stories have been related of the intercourse they had with the devil. Their craft was in danger from the preachers of the gospel, who condemned their cheats and juggles as diabolical: thus the powaws were great opposers of the gospel, and threatened the new converts with death and destruction. Some of them were jugglers, who might easily raise the admiration of their ignorant countrymen, without arriving to any great degree of perfection.

There

There was one perquisite of the clergy which the powaws of New England had no concern in, and that was their marriages. The Indians kept several concubines, whom they chose according to fancy, and turned away at pleasure; but they had one wife who governed the family. When a woman left her single life, she cut off her hair, and wore a kind of veil upon her head, until her hair was grown again. The time of war was a season of general release to all women that were uncomfortably married; for if the wife disliked her husband, she took that opportunity to run away to the enemy, where she was sure to be made welcome; because the Indians never thought they had women enough, and fought to gain such prizes oftener than for territorial acquisitions.

It is not different climates that gives the various complexions to the natives: America lies from 65° of north latitude to 55° of south; which comprehends all the climates of Europe, Asia, and Africa; but the complexion of the Americans is permanently every where the same, only with the metalline lustre more or less. The complexion of the Indians adjacent to New England, and in all North America, is of a splendid reddish brown, or a pale copper colour; not of an olive or tawney, as are the Aborigines of Barbary, and some of their progeny in the south parts of France, Spain, and Portugal: but, as most insects avoid oils, the Indians grease themselves as a defence against musketoes and other troublesome flies. They have thin lips, flattish faces, languid countenances, small black eyes, and their stature differing as in Europe: in the highest north and south latitudes, they are taller and more robust than between the tropics; their hair is black, in some places lank, and in others stiff.

Their posture in sitting was not cross-legged, as among the Asiatics; accumbent, as formerly with the Greeks and Romans, lying upon their left side, and leaning upon their elbow; nor cowering, as the African Negroes; nor sitting, as in Europe; but with their thighs and legs extended horizontally in a strait line.

The higher the latitudes, the Indians were fewer in number and more straggling, nature not affording necessary subsistence for many, and only in small bodies or herds. Their trade or commerce was trifling, as they had little produce and no manufacture. The difficulty of subsisting required almost their whole time to provide for themselves: their hunting was their necessary subsistence, not their diversion; but when they had good luck in hunting, they eat and slept until all was consumed, and then renewed their game. Generally they were very simple and ignorant; though some of their old men, by experience in affairs, obtained a considerable degree of sagacity.

They

They did not cultivate the earth by planting or grazing, except an inconsiderable quantity of Indian corn and beans, which were planted by their women, whom they called Squaas, who also reaped, housed, and threshed all their corn.

The Indians had their hunting, fowling, and fishing-grounds, of which they were very jealous, as their properties. They had no honesty or faith; but generally had such great fortitude of mind, that they suffered any torture, and even the most painful death, without the least appearance of fear or concern. In revenge they were so barbarous and implacable, that, as has been already hinted, they never forgave or forgot injuries. If one man killed another, the nearest in kindred to the murdered watched an opportunity to kill the murderer, and the death of one man sometimes occasioned the destruction of many; therefore when a man was guilty of murder, he generally left the tribe, and went into a voluntary kind of banishment. They were a sullen, close people, whose wars ought to be called massacres, or barbarous inhuman outrages, rather than necessary acts of hostility.

The northern tribes were small and distinct; because a large parcel of land lying waste in winter countries many months in the year, not fertile or cleared of woods, could not subsist a numerous body of people: but these small tribes, though much dispersed, were allied by contiguity, language, and intermarriages. Thus it was with the Abnauques, who bordered upon New England; the Iroquois, or Mohawks, who bordered upon New York, Pennsylvania, and Virginia; and the Cherokees, who bordered upon Carolina. These may be called three distinct great nations; and notwithstanding the rudeness of their manners, the Europeans could not have effected their settlements, if some disaffected Indians had not joined the Europeans, to be revenged of some neighbouring tribes. Thus when the settlers of New Plymouth first landed, Massasoit was glad of the countenance of their small-arms against the Narragansets.

In other parts of the earth, all societies or cohabitants have some kind of government, with an absolute compelling power invested somewhere; but these American Indians had no settled government, established laws, or compulsive power over each other. They were only cemented by friendship and intercourse, which was a kind of tacit federate union between the several tribes who composed the general body of a nation; so that every individual man seemed to be independent as to government, and was only in friendship and neighbourly relation with others of the same tribe. Notwithstanding this, we sometimes find heads of tribes mentioned as if in succession, nay, even female successions: thus, in the New England

England Pocanoket, or King Philip's war, in 1675, there is mentioned the Squaa-sachem of Pocasset, and a Squaa-sachem among the Narragansets.

What some writers have told us of the monarchical government of these Indians, their ministers of state, nobility, and others, is not to be regarded, any more than what has been said of their administration of justice. It is however surprizing, that in so many ages that must have run out since their first inhabiting the country, no active spirit should rise up among them to encourage arts and industry. They lived in a country full of iron and copper mines, yet were never owners of so much as a knife until the English came there, and their name for an Englishman was a Knife-man; nor were they acquainted with the use of salt until the English brought it among them. Their country was stocked with the best timber for shipping in the world, yet they never made any improvement of it beyond their canoes, wrought out of the trunks of trees made hollow by fire, or formed of the bark of the birch-tree, strengthened with little ribs of wood somewhat like hoops, and pitched with a mixture of turpentine and rosin. They were capable of carrying a man, his wife, children, and baggage; but instead of sails and oars, they used only paddles and setting-poles; for they never saw a ship or sail before the Europeans arrived there. Even such was the supinuity of these uncultivated savages, that when they had burned up all the wood adjacent to the place which they inhabited, rather than be at the pains to fetch it in from a little farther distance, they plucked up their wigwams and followed the wood.

Their houses, or wigwams, were mean and little buildings, made of young and tender trees bent down like an arbour, covered on the top with the bark of trees, and on the sides with thick mats made of rushes. The floors were low; their chimnies wide; and their beds so many mats spread about the fire-place. Their ordinary food was plain and simple; but they delighted in the flesh of the moose, deer, bears, and racoons, which they either boiled or roasted, and eat it little more than half dressed. Their fish was always over-boiled; and they devoured great quantities of the broth of fish as well as of flesh. They valued themselves that they left nothing at their feasts, though otherwise they could be contented with an abstemious diet; for when fishing and hunting failed, they could live entirely upon nokohic, that is a spoonful of parched meal with as much water, on the strength of which they would travel all the day.

Their health was firm, notwithstanding they used no caution to preserve it; but, on the contrary, took too violent exercise in their hunting and warlike expeditions. They were unacquainted with many diseases that

afflict the Europeans; such as the palsy, dropfy, gout, phthifick, asthma, gravel, and stone; but the pleurisy often proved fatal to them.

Their skill in phyfic, indeed, was very indifferent; and their medical practice resembled that of officious old women in some remote country villages of Europe, being mere empiricism, or rather a traditionary blind practice. They regarded only the symptoms that strike the senses, without respect to any less obvious principal symptom, which might be called the disease; or to constitution, sex, and age. The powowers were their principal physicians, who practised cupping, but never used the European way of venesection; and instead of vesicatories and caustics, they burned with touchwood. Their chief remedy was sweating in huts warmed by heated stones, and thereupon immediate immersion in cold water; which seems to be a rational practice, first by relaxing, to give a free passage to the obstructed circulatory juices, and after a free passage was supposed to be obtained, by cold immersion to brace up again: but in eruptive and inflammatory epidemical fevers, particularly the small-pox, which was introduced there by the Europeans, this practice depopulated them. Their medicines were only simple herbs, whose virtues were accidentally discovered; and their simples were traditionally transmitted from one generation to another; for they used no exotic plants or minerals, medicinal compositions, or chemical preparations.

As to their language, their manner of expression was vehement and emphatic; but as their ideas were not great, their language was not copious, consisting of a few words, and many of them ill contrived. By a rumbling noise or sound of many syllables, they expressed an idea or thing, which, in the European languages, is done by a syllable or two; so that as their ideas were enlarged, they were obliged to adopt the European words of adjoining colonies. In numbering, they used the same natural way of reckoning by tens as in Europe; but scarce any Indians could tell their own age; nor had they any chronicles or traditional accounts of things extending back farther than two or three generations. Their dealings and mutual correspondence were much confined, which made their several languages of small extent; but a man who is master of any one Indian language may soon be able to converse with them all, because there is a great affinity between many of their words; as for example, nuppaw, duppaw, ruppaw, signifies the sun; attick, ahtooque, a deer; wennit, werrit, good; pum, pumme, pim, oil or fat, in several dialects. Mr. Neale also thinks it impossible to commit many of the Indian words to memory; for instance, he says, "nummatchekodtantamoon-ganunnonash" signifies in English "our lusts;" thus noowoman-tammoon-kanunonash" is "our loves;" and "kummogkodonattootum-mooctiteaon

moostiteaon-ganunnonash" implies "our question." From hence the barbarity of this language is very evident.

The Indians had no characters to serve as hieroglyphics or letters; but they had a few symbols or signatures, such as the bear, wolf, and tortoise, to distinguish their tribes in a heraldry way. They had also a figurative or symbolical manner of expressing themselves; thus, the renewing of alliances they called brightening of the chain; but as they had no letters, there was no fixed method of writing their words. Mr. Elliot, indeed, who was the first English minister that attempted the conversion of the savages to the Christian religion, made himself acquainted with the language of the Indians bordering on New England in 1646, and reduced it to a method, which he published under the title of "The Indian Grammar." No particular orthography, however, could be acquired; all the English could do with the Indian sounds, was to express them as near as might be in their own letters; and Father Rallé of Noridgewog, with some other scholastic French missionaries, imagined that the Greek alphabet suited their pronunciation best.

There was not the same reason for preserving the Indian names of their countries, nations, tribes, mountains, and rivers, as there was for observing the Greek, Roman, and other more modern names of such things in Europe; because the Indians had no civil or classical history to require it, and they changed their own personal names, as well as the names of other things, upon trivial occasions.

The aboriginal nations, or general divisions, which at present lie upon or near the eastern shore of North America, are the Indians of West Greenland, commonly called Davis's Streight, Eskimaux, Algonquins, Tahsagrondie, Owtawaes, Miamis, and Chikewas: the Mikamakia, Abnaquies, Iroquois, Chawans, Old Tascararoes, Cuttumbaes, Cherokées, and Creeks. The Abnaquies are properly the New England Indian nation, and reached east and west from the Bay of Fundi to Hudson's or New York River and Lake Champlain or Corlaer; north and south from the River St. Lawrence to the Atlantic Ocean. They are in many tribes, but have diminished much and become less formidable since their intercourse with the English and French, which has introduced such additional distempers among them, that some of the tribes are extinct or extinguishing, and others much reduced.

Upon the lower parts of the several rivers, which run into the Atlantic ocean in the British settlements, are several small distinct tribes or

related families, which are not reckoned as belonging to the interior principal nations ; but they have suffered a great diminution from the infection of European distempers and vices pernicious to health. It can be of no use to follow a detail of these perishing small families, or transitory tribes ; but here it may be observed, that there is in the south-west corner of the province of Massachusetts Bay, about twenty-five miles east from Hudson's or York River, a small tribe of Indians, named Houfatonics, upon a river of that name, called Westanhoeck by the Dutch : they are lately intermixed with the English in the townships of Sheffield and Stockbridge, from whence they are now called the Stockbridge Indians ; and three of their chiefs called captain Daniel, captain John, and captain Solomon, with two of their squaas, came to England in 1766. Such was the difference between them, that captain Solomon appeared like an absolute savage, captain John looked like a plain English farmer, and captain Daniel like a real man of fashion.

In the northern parts, the Indians generally appear in small skulking parties, with yelling, shoutings, and antic postures, instead of trumpets and drums. Their Indian wood-cry is jo-hau ; and their war-cry may be expressed "Woach, woach, ha, ha, hach, woach." The Indians are not wanderers like the Tartars, but are ramblers ; and in time of war, according to the seasons, they may be annoyed at their head-quarters, and ambuscaded or way-laid at their carrying or land travelling places. Their retreats, or strong places, are the swamps, or copses in a morass, from which, without regard to the faith of treaties, they suddenly break out into furious outrages and rapid devastations ; but soon make a precipitate retreat, because the country is not cleared or cultivated, and they have no stores for subsistence.

Their head warriors have always been men remarkable for strength and bravery ; and sometimes they chose a temporary chief of all the tribes. The scouts or Indian hunters, in time of war, used to carry packs, which at first setting out might be about seventy pounds weight, containing thirty days provision of biscuit, or parched Indian corn, and salt-pork, with sugar and ginger to qualify and animate their drink, which was water. Their method of lodging, pitching, or encamping at night, was in divisions of ten or twelve men to a fire ; and they lay upon brush, wrapped up in a blanket, with their feet to the fire.

Upon good enquiry it will be found that the wars of the Indians against the English were not so frequent, tedious, or desolating, as is commonly represented ; except the incursions of the Delawares, Shawanese, and Cherokees,

Cherokees, during the war which commenced in 1756. In New England the only Indian wars, properly so called, were the Pequod war in 1637, which continued three months; and King Philip's war in 1675 and 1676, of about fourteen months continuance; and the war of 1722 to 1725, when the Indians begged and obtained a peace at Casco, where it was granted by Lieutenant-governor Dummer, and signed by the Norridgewog, Penobscot, St. John's, and Cape Sable Indians, who thereby had reserved to them all their lands not then conveyed, with the privilege of hunting, fowling, and fishing, as formerly.

Upon the whole, these barbarous Indians were a lively image of human nature, without the improvements of art and industry; for though they had inhabited the country many ages, they were still uncultivated when the Europeans arrived there. Nature had given them a tolerable complexion, but they spoiled it by daubing themselves with oils and juices, which made them tawny. A bow and an arrow headed with the bone of fish, were all their weapons; the skin of a beast was their clothing, and the flesh of it their food. Their principal diversion consisted in extravagant dancings, hoopings, and howlings. Their women were strong and masculine, and supported the pains of child-bearing with wonderful patience. They were swift of foot, and capable of enduring great hardship and fatigue. All their ambition was to be valiant, which chiefly gave a man reputation among them, and this is still their character.

The first settlers of the British Colonies were formed from various sorts of people; as the laudably ambitious adventurers; the malcontents, and the unfortunate, or the necessitous from home: but the present proportion of these ingredients in the several plantations is very different, and greatly depends upon the condition of the original colonists, some of which were Whigs, others were Tories; here they were Church of England men, there Congregationalists or Independents; many were Quakers, and some were Papists, the most unfit people to incorporate with the British constitution.

In all the royal patents and charters of these Colonies, one principal condition required of the patentees, seems to be the conversion of the Indians; and the crown, on the other part, conditioned for the encouragement of settlers, a free profession, or liberty of conscience; whereby an universal toleration was allowed in all the Colonies, where Aliens may

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may be made Denizens: but the established religion is that of the Church of England, and the Bishop of London is always Diocesan.

Colonies have an incidental good effect; they drain from the mother-country the disaffected and the turbulent; and in the same manner old colonies are purged by new colonies; thus Rhode Island and Providence Plantations drained the Antinomians, Quakers, and other sectaries from Massachusetts Bay.

There are now four particular sorts of people in the British Colonies. 1. The masters; that is, planters and merchants. 2. White servants. 3. Indian servants. 4. Slaves for life, mostly negroes. The white servants are of two sorts: the one, poor people from Great Britain and Ireland, who are bound, or sold as some express it, for a certain number of years, to reimburse the transportation charges, with some additional profit: the others are criminals judicially transported, and their time of exile and servitude sold by certain undertakers and their agents. These are however but few in number, the gaol distemper destroying many of them on shipboard, and of those who arrive, the worst soon returning to their old practice, fall into the hands of justice, and are executed with little ceremony.

Great Britain does not swarm with a numerous people like France; therefore cannot settle colonies so fast, without allowing a general naturalization. The British Colonies have received many emigrant Palatines and Saltzburghers from Germany: but foreigners imported, should not be allowed to settle in large separate districts; because they may continue for some generations a kind of different people in language, modes of religion, national customs, and particular manners.

The British Colonies have many valuable privileges: 1. Enacting their own laws, with condition of their not being repugnant to the laws of Great Britain, yet may vary from them. 2. Raising their own taxes. 3. No act of the British parliament made since the first settling of the Colonies can extend to them, unless expressly intended in the British act of parliament, and even that is disputed, some contending that no British act is in force there, unless expressly adopted by some act of their own. 4. No private purchase from the Indians is esteemed of any validity, without the confirmation of the Governor and Council in some colonies, and without the approbation of the legislature in others. There are lands in some of the Plantations, where it is not possible to shew any Indian conveyance, because they were derelicts. The possessors

fors who were prior to patents, have no other title to their lands but long possession, which is a kind of prescription: thus the old settlers of New Hampshire hold their lands, it being supposed that Mr. Mason had neglected or relinquished his grants. Formerly, if governors were court favourites, they had plurality of governments: thus Sir Edmund Andros, in the reign of James II. was governor of all New England, New York, and the Jerseys; Lord Bellamont was governor of New York, Massachusetts Bay, and New Hampshire: but it is not so at present, except in the two distinct governments of Pennsylvania, which are therefore under one governor. And in the several Colonies their general revenue is by a tax of some pence in the pound, upon the principal of real estate, personal estate, or faculty; with a poll-tax, imports, and excise.

With regard to the natural history of New England, it has been observed by mariners, that in their passages between Europe and America, winds are almost three quarters of the year westerly; which is the reason that the passages from North America to Europe are much shorter than from Europe to North America, especially as there is an attending westerly swell or heaving of the sea.

The situation of lands occasions considerable differences in the temper of the air: thus, in North America, the dry freezing winds are from north to west; in Europe, they are from north to east; proceeding from that great continent which receives and retains the northern effects of cold, that is the snow and ice, lying to the westward of America, and to the eastward of Europe; for the current of air, gliding along, becomes more impregnated with the cold. The weather in Canada is generally colder in winter, proportionate to its latitude, than in New England, and more settled; because it is surrounded with land of some extent; therefore has the land influence from all corners of the winds of the same nature: whereas, in New England, to the eastward is water or sea, of a very different influence from the specific gravity of the earth in receiving or retaining cold or heat. By the softness of the vapour from the water, the sea-shore is warmer than the inland, the sea warmer than the shore, and the ocean or deeper water warmer than the sea.

Of timber-trees, especially white-oaks for ship-building, the best grow in New England, and the neighbouring more southern Colonies: further north, they are dwarfish, and of a rough grain. The quality of lands in New England is known by the natural produce.

Hunting,

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Hunting, and other sports of the field, are little used in America, where the clearing and cultivating of wilderness lands is a very laborious and tedious affair: but gooseberries, raspberries, and strawberries are spontaneous in all the British settlements.

The seasons in New England, as to temperature of weather, may be reckoned winter from the winter solstice to the vernal equinox, spring from that equinox to the summer solstice, summer from that solstice to the autumnal equinox, and autumn from thence to the winter solstice: but the seasons from year to year are better determined by some birds and fish of passage, than by the blossoming of trees, and flowering of some inferior vegetables. Thus swallows arrive from the southward in the second week of April: mackarel and herrings set in the middle of May: wild geese fly to the southward in the middle of September, and return the beginning of March. The New England winters generally set in about the end of October or beginning of November, and are over about the middle of March. The extreme frosts are from Christmas to the middle of February; and the very hot weather is in the first weeks of July. The great rains are in August, about two months after the summer solstice; and the great snows in February, two months after the winter solstice. Early winters are generally severe and long; and early springs accelerate the buds and blossoms of trees, which lose their leaves about the middle of October.

A mild winter produces a wet summer; and a frosty winter occasions a dry summer. Frosts cover and retain the snow a long time in the spring, which is therefore late. Rains and fogs are more common on the shore, and in soundings, than in deep water at sea. The north-east storms are of the greatest continuance; and the south-east are the most violent. It is reckoned a good passage from New England to London in four weeks, and from London to New England in six weeks.

The discovery and subsequent possession of American lands, gave the English an exclusive right against all other people, except the native Indians, who seem in the north-east parts of America to be the least improved of human kind: but grants of lands from the crown to particular persons, or to companies and corporations, notwithstanding other purchasers from the Indians, fixed the tenures of the lands, by some small quit-rent, in the crown; though it does not appear how the crown could give a right which it had not first obtained by fair purchase from the native owners.

Lord

Lord Chancellor Bacon, in 1606, presented to King James I. "certain considerations touching the plantation in Ireland;" wherein his lordship observed, that "although it be a great fortune for a king to deliver or recover his kingdom from long continued calamities; yet, in the judgment of those that have distinguished the degrees of sovereign honour, to be a founder of states excelled all the rest." This illustrious writer, in his "Essays or Counsels civil and moral," which he dedicated to the Duke of Buckingham, has one particular intitled, "Of Plantations," wherein he says, "They are among ancient, primitive, and heroical works." When the world was young, his lordship observed, it begat more children; but now it is old, it begets fewer: for we may justly account new plantations to be the children of former kingdoms. "He liked a plantation in a pure soil; that is, where people are not displanted, to plant in others; for else it is rather an extirpation than a plantation. Planting of countries, is like planting of woods; you must make account to lose almost twenty years profit, and expect the recompence at last: for the principal thing that occasioned the destruction of most plantations had been the base and hasty drawing of profit in the first years. It is true, speedy profit is not to be neglected, as far as may stand with the good of the plantation, but no farther. It is a shameful and unblest thing, to take the sum of people, and wicked condemned men, to be the people with whom you plant: and not only so, but it spoils the plantation; for they will ever live like rogues, and not fall to work, but be lazy, do mischief, spend victuals, be quickly weary, and then certify over to their country to the discredit of the plantation, &c."

Lord Bacon's rules in general were the most rational, upon which the British Colonies ought to have been formed and established: but many deviations were made, occasioned by the variety of adventurers and their different views, the particular interests of some proprietaries, and the procrastinated inattention of the crown. If any particular man was capable of being the legislator of such a country, it was certainly Lord Verulam, who, notwithstanding some imbecillities of human nature, is universally allowed to have been the greatest lawyer, as well as the greatest philosopher, of his age, if not of the world.

Another eminent man also exerted his great abilities in constructing some parts of the American legislature; but his attempts were unsuccessful. It was Mr. Locke, who says, that "When God gave the world in common, when he gave the earth to the use of the industrious and rational, it cannot be supposed it should remain common and uncultivated." Upon which Mr. Wood farther observes, "So neither can it be

supposed, that the crown, when it gave leave for grants of land to be made to any of its subjects, in any of its Colonies or Plantations, either expected or intended that such grants, in whole or in part, should remain uncultivated."

It has been farther remarked, That "as it is the business of the planters and inhabitants of our Colonies and Plantations, to provide against invasions and insurrections, and to regard the security and preservation of their fortunes in them; it must likewise be the concern and care of all entrusted with the administration of affairs of Great Britain, that the persons sent to represent the crown, be men of abilities, experience, courage, temper, and virtue: they ought to be endowed with such a general knowledge, as may comprehend the nature of the soil where they are; what improvements it is capable of, and what trades will be most advantageous to it: they should be able to look into the genius of the people they are to govern: they should be men of discipline, sobriety, and justice; for they who are not so in their own persons, can expect no order, nor compel others to obey the laws: a people to whom riches and plenty furnish matter for vice and luxury, should be governed by a strict and skilful hand; which may reform their manners, and at the same time both promote and direct their industry*."

Mr. Otis Little, a gentleman well acquainted with the Northern Colonies, says, that "their trade and produce have not hitherto been properly encouraged, although their utility may be easily comprehended." Great Britain, indeed, has enjoyed the benefit of a most extensive commerce since the discovery of America, which, if properly attended to, will contribute more to its future interest than any other branches of trade, by enlarging a demand for all its manufactures, and increasing the means of its naval force: and notwithstanding a jealousy has been frequently excited against the Colonies on account of their growth, it will appear that the commerce and naval power of Great Britain must greatly depend on their future protection and encouragement.

* "The State of Trade in the Northern Colonies considered, with an account of the produce, and a particular description of Nova Scotia."

C H A P. II.

The Province, or Colony, of Massachusetts Bay.

SECTION I.

The English Brownists from Holland form the first colony in New England, and settle at New Plymouth in 1620. Their first grant in 1624; and their patent in 1630: with other grants from the company to several persons; and some unsuccessful attempts from New Plymouth to settle in the Massachusetts Bay. The rise of the Massachusetts Bay colony: the old charter in 1627; and royal patent in 1628; with the powers and privileges thereby granted to the governor and company of Massachusetts Bay: the colony seal: the first governor, deputy-governor, and assistants. A large embarkation from England to the colony: their first settlement at Salem in 1629; and the first establishment of their church government. The grand embarkation, with the removal of the charter and government from Old England to New in 1630. The new magistrates appointed to go over; and their characters: their arrival in New England; and the hardships they suffered. Boston and other towns built: the establishment and proceedings of the civil government. The colonists alarmed by the Indians, and also by the French in 1632. An order of the privy-council in England to encourage the colonists. Mr. Cotton ordained minister of Boston. An alteration in the civil government in 1634. Sir Henry Vane appointed governor in 1635. The beginning of the settlements of Connecticut, East Hampshire, and Maine; as also of Rhode Island.

THE Council of Plymouth parcelled out their grant into several settlements, and particularly to the people at first called Brownists, from Robert Brown, a young enthusiastical clergyman, in 1580. and afterward Independents. This sect removed from England to Holland, and went from thence in about ten years to America, that they might worship God without molestation in their own particular way. They obtained an instrument from King James I. for the free exercise of their religion in any part of America; after which, they entered into articles of agreement with the Plymouth company, to settle on the banks of Hudson's River, now in the government of New York. They sailed from Plymouth on the 6th of September, 1620, in one ship, on board of which were one

1620.

hundred and one persons, who fell in with Cape Cod upon the 9th of November, which was too late in the season for proceeding to Hudson's River. Although without the limits of their agreement, they were obliged to sit down in that barren soil, and formed themselves into a voluntary association, or colony; whereby they entered into a solemn contract, to submit to such laws as should be approved of by the majority.

This obligation was signed by forty-one persons, who, with their families, were all that sailed from Plymouth, to encounter the hazards of a new settlement in so remote a part of the world, where they had the winter before them, and no accommodation for their entertainment. From the length of the voyage, other fatigues, and extreme cold weather, about fifty of their number died the first year of putrid fevers and other scorbutic disorders; but the Indians were also greatly reduced about that time by some epidemic distempers and intestine wars.

Thus the first settlements in New England were chiefly upon a religious account, as reclusive families who were devout Puritans, and not servants to the adventurers. They called the place of their settlement by the name of New Plymouth, and they chose Mr. Carver governor for one year; but he died in April following, and was succeeded by Mr. Bradford. All was in common at first, and they divided themselves into nineteen families or messes. Some recruits arrived yearly from England; but they had no grant of their lands from the Council of Plymouth until the year 1624, when the whole settlement was composed of one hundred and eighty persons, in thirty-two messes. The town consisted of thirty-two dwelling-houses, and was paled in about half a mile in compass: in the midst of the inclosure, upon a rising ground, was the fort, upon the top of which was a watch-tower, from whence the sentinel might see several leagues out at sea. They had made a salt-work, and freighted a ship of one hundred and eighty tons with fish cured of their own salt: but the adventurers in England, who were about seventy in number, were still dispirited, as they had expended about seven thousand pounds upon the settlement.

1630. The colonists were generally Brownists, or of the more rigid separatists of the Church of England, and continued to increase until the year 1630; when they obtained a patent, which settled the boundaries of the colony in the following words: 'The council for New England, in consideration that William Bradford and his associates have, for these nine years, lived in New England, and have there planted a town called New Plymouth, at their own charges; and now seeing, by the special providence of God
' and

and their extraordinary care and industry, they have increased their plantations to near three hundred people, and are on all occasions able to relieve any new planters, or others of his Majesty's subjects, who may fall on that coast; therefore seal a patent to the said William Bradford, his heirs, associates, and assigns, of "all that part of New England between Cohasset Rivulet towards the north, and Narraganset River towards the south; the Western Ocean towards the east; and between a straight line directly extending up into the main land towards the west, from the mouth of Narraganset River, to the utmost bounds of a country into New England, called Pacanokit, alias Sawamset, westward, and another like straight line extending directly from the mouth of Cohasset River toward the west, so far into the main land westward, as the utmost limits of the said Pacanokit or Sawamset extend; as also all that part of New England between the utmost limits of Capersecont, or Comascecont, which adjoins to the River Kennebec and the falls of Negumke, with the said river itself, and the space of fifteen miles on each side between the bounds aforesaid; with all prerogatives, rights, royalties, jurisdictions, privileges, franchises, liberties, and immunities; and also marine liberties, with the escheats and casualties thereof, (the Admiralty jurisdiction excepted) with all the interest, right, and authority, which the said council have thereto; with the liberty to trade with the natives, and fish on the seas adjoining, And it shall be lawful for them to incorporate themselves, or the people there inhabiting, by some fit name or title, with liberty to them and their successors, to make orders, ordinances, and constitutions, not contrary to the laws of England, for their better government, and put the same in execution, by such officers as he or they shall authorize and depute; and for their safety and defence, to encounter by force of arms, by all means, by land and sea, seize and make prize of all who attempt to inhabit or trade with the savages within the limits of their plantations, or attempt invasion, detriment, or annoyance to them."

The Council of Plymouth were empowered to convey property; but could not delegate jurisdiction; therefore their grant was to Mr. Bradford, who afterward assigned it to the freemen in general, and that assignment was confirmed by the company.

This was the mother-colony of New England, which, like other grants, was ingulphed in the province of Massachusetts Bay. It would be tedious to enumerate them all; but it is necessary to remark the principal, which were, 1. Mr. Weston, one of the Plymouth adventurers; he obtained



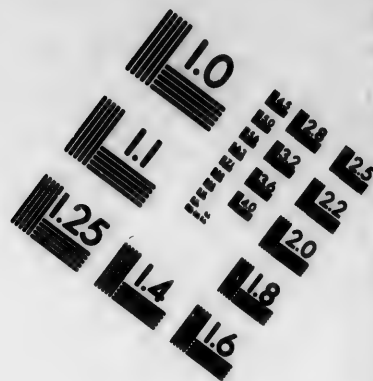
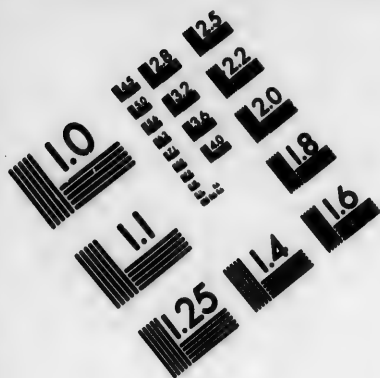
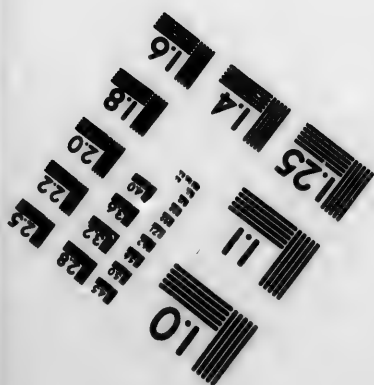
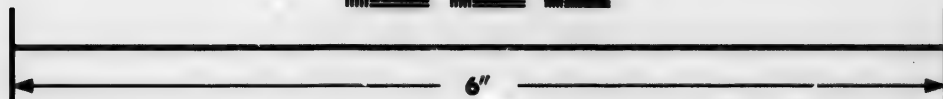
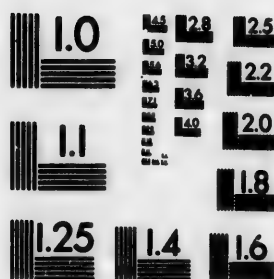


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A vertical ruler with markings from 0 to 6 inches. The markings are in inches, with the 0 at the top and 6 at the bottom. The ruler is black with white markings and numbers. The numbers 0, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, and 6 are clearly visible. The ruler is positioned vertically on the left side of the page.

obtained a separate grant of some land; and, in 1622, sent over about sixty men to make a settlement in the Massachusetts Bay, at a place called Wefagafquafet, now Weymouth; but they managed ill, became idle and dissolute, soon broke up, and their money was lost. 2. Captain Gorge, son to Sir Ferdinando Gorge, brought over some settlers in 1623; but he was soon discouraged and returned home. 3. Mr. David Thompson, about the same time, attempted a settlement at Piscataqua, the memory of which is lost.

In 1624, the lands from Piscataqua River to within three miles of Merrimac River were granted to Mr. Mason, whose heirs afterward sold it to Mr. Allen of London: it extended sixty miles inland, and was properly the province of New Hampshire; but the grant and conveyance seem to be obsolete.

The same year, some adventurers began a small settlement at Cape Anne, the northern promontory of Massachusetts Bay, and are now become the most considerable settlement in North America.

Captain Woolaston and some others, in 1626, began a settlement at Braintree, which they entirely broke up in less than two years, when some of the settlers went to New Plymouth and others to Virginia.

There were several other grants and purchases for small considerations, which are either become obsolete, or incorporated with the four constituted colonies of New England; beside, in 1630, the Earl of Warwick had a grant of a tract of land along shore from Narraganset River, forty leagues west southerly, and back inland to the South Seas. That nobleman assigned his grant to Lord Viscount Say and Seale, Lord Brooke, and nine other associates, who found many difficulties in settling, and assigned their right to the settlers of New Haven and Connecticut, who were emigrants from Massachusetts Bay, and had no title originally, but sat down at pleasure, and at present enjoy a royal charter by the name of The colony of Connecticut. Part of this grant from Narraganset Bay to Connecticut River, was given by the King in 1636 to the Duke of Hamilton, who never was in possession, and the claim became obsolete.

In 1621, the planters of New Plymouth sent Captain Standish and ten men in their boat to the Massachusetts Bay, about twenty leagues north from Plymouth. The bay appeared very large, and to have many islands in it; as also two rivers within the bay, and good harbouring for ships; but though most of the islands had been inhabited, they were then depopulated.

lated. In 1622, Mr. Weston arrived with sixty passengers at Plymouth, and removed to the Massachusetts Bay, for which he had procured a patent; but this was a disorderly company of men, and soon obliged to abandon their settlement. The governor of Plymouth gave them all the assistance he could; but they lived too dissolute for their circumstances; and when they had bartered away all their goods for Indian corn, they sold their bedding and clothes. Some of them became servants to the Indians; the major part turned robbers; but all was insufficient to supply their wants. Some died with hunger; others lived in the woods, and were barbarously treated by the Indians, who added insult to cruelty. This occasioned Captain Standish to come to their assistance; upon which the Indians fled to their woods, where most of them were soon after destroyed by the plague; and this opened the way for the Massachusetts settlement in 1629. Captain Standish offered to conduct Mr. Weston's men to Plymouth; but they chose to sail away with their vessel to the eastward to meet Mr. Weston, whose settlement was set up in opposition to Plymouth, under the pretence of propagating the discipline of the Church of England in America; but his colony came to this deplorable fate. Neale, l. 107.

Soon after, another unsuccessful attempt was made to begin a settlement in the Massachusetts Bay by Captain Gorge, and several families who came over with him. This gentleman had a commission from the council of New England to be General-governor of the country, and a council was appointed to assist him; with "full power to himself and any three of them, to execute what should seem proper, in all capital, criminal, and civil causes;" but this colony was soon dispersed.

A farther attempt was made, in 1626, to begin a settlement in the Massachusetts, by Captain Woolaston and some other gentlemen, who brought over many servants, provisions, and other necessaries for a plantation; but they soon abandoned their settlement. Some of the people went to Virginia, and others were left behind under Morton, who taught the Indians the use of fire-arms, in the exercise of which they became so troublesome to the colonists, that the Plymouth colony sent Captain Standish to expostulate with him about it; putting him in mind of the royal proclamation, which prohibited their trading with the Indians in any sort of warlike stores; as also of the inconveniencies that might attend instructing them in the European art of war. He was obliged to submit, whereby the remains of Woolaston's colony subsided, after they had maintained themselves in the Massachusetts about two years.

The Dutch had now established a colony on Hudson's River, and invited the colony of Plymouth to carry on a correspondence and trade; but in

1625. 1625, Mr. Roger Conant made a settlement at Cape Anne, the northerly promontory of Massachusetts Bay, with some settlers from Dorchester and other parts of the west of England, who soon removed to Naumkeak, since called Salem.

1627. This gave rise to a project first concerted in Lincolnshire, of procuring from the Council of Plymouth a grant for settling a colony in Massachusetts Bay, with a resolution that the principal town should be called Boston. These adventurers were joined by some others of London and Dorsetshire, and obtained a grant from the Council of Plymouth, on the 19th of March, 1627, whereby the company did confirm to Sir Henry Roswell, and Sir John Young, Knights; Thomas Southcot, John Humphreys, John Endicot, and Simon Whetcombe, their heirs and assigns and their associates for ever, "all that part of New England which lies and extends between a great river there, commonly called Monomack or Merrimack, and a certain other river called Charles River, being in a bottom of a certain bay there commonly called Massachusetts, Mattachusetts, or Massachusetts Bay; and also all those lands and hereditaments whatsoever lying within the space of three English miles, on the south part of the said Charles river; and also all the lands and hereditaments, being within the space of three English miles to the southward of the southermost part of the said bay; and also all those lands and hereditaments which lie within the space of three English miles to the northward of the said river called Monomack or Merrimack; and all lands and hereditaments north and south in latitude, in breadth, and in longitude, within all the breadth aforesaid, throughout the main lands there, from the Atlantic and Western Sea on the east part, to the South Sea on the west part; and also all mines and minerals whatsoever, which they the said council at Plymouth, in the county of Devon, then had or might enjoy, in or within the said land and premises; to be holden of his Majesty King Charles I. his heirs and successors, as of his manor of East Greenwich, in the county of Kent, in free and common socage, and not *in capite*, nor by knights service; yielding and paying therefor unto his said Majesty, his heirs and successors, the fifth part of the ore of gold and silver which should, from time to time, happen to be found in any of the said limits, for and in satisfaction of all manner of demands and services whatsoever."

The gentlemen mentioned in this charter were unwilling to embark alone in so great an undertaking, and engaged others about the city of London to join with them. A petition was then presented to the King, that their names might be inserted in the patent, as original proprietors; which was accordingly done in a new draught of the former patent, the

MASSACHUSETTS BAY.

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4th of March 1628, and confirmed by his Majesty, whereby the said parties, and all such others as should be admitted and made free of the company and society therein mentioned, were made one body politic and corporate, by the name of The Governor and Company of Massachusetts Bay, in New England. 1628.

This is commonly called the old charter, whereby the company were impowered yearly to elect their own governor, deputy-governor, and eighteen assistants, out of the freemen of the company; who were to be chosen the last Wednesday in every Easter-term, by a general court, to be held annually on that day. They were to have four general courts a year; the last Wednesday in Hilary, Easter, Trinity, and Michaelmas terms, for ever: they might admit freemen, choose officers, order lands, and make such laws as they should think for the good of the plantation, not repugnant to the laws of England; and free liberty of conscience was likewise granted to all that should settle in those parts, to worship God in their own way. Neale, I. 119.

The colony seal was an Indian erect, naked; an arrow in his right hand, and a bow in his left; with these words, in a label from his mouth, "Come over and help us;" and in a round, "Sigillum Gub. et Societatis de Massachusetts Bay in NOVA ANGLIA."

Matthew Cradock was appointed the first governor, and Thomas Goffe deputy-governor: the assistants were, Sir Richard Saltonstall, Isaac Johnson, Samuel Aldersey, John Venn, John Humphrey, Simon Whetcomb, Increase Nowel, Richard Perry, Nathaniel Wright, Samuel Vassal, Theophilus Eaton, Thomas Adams, Thomas Hutchins, George Foxcroft, William Vassal, William Pyncheon, John Pocock, and Christopher Coulson; William Burgis was chosen secretary. At this court it was determined, that every one of the company, who had subscribed fifty pounds, should have two hundred acres of land assigned, and in proportion for a greater or lesser sum, as the first dividend. The names of all the adventurers, and the sums subscribed, were sent over to Mr. Endicot, who was appointed their governor in the plantation; while a second embarkation of planters and servants was ordered to be made, who were to be accompanied with four reverend divines. These were, Mr. Francis Higginson, a fileeced non-conformist minister of Leicestershire; and Mr. Samuel Skelton, who were appointed chaplains to the colony; Mr. Francis Bright, who is said to have been a conformist; and Mr. Ralph Smith, who seems to have been of the separation in England, on which account he was required to give under his hand, that he would not exercise his ministry. 1629.

ministry within the limits of the patent, without express permission from the governor. Six ships were provided for this embarkation; and about three hundred and fifty passengers embarked for the plantation, with one hundred and fifteen head of neat cattle; some horses, sheep, goats, rabbits, and all other necessaries for a settlement; beside six pieces of cannon for a fort; with a large quantity of military stores. Mr. Higginson says in his Journal, that the whole fleet sailed from the Isle of Wight on the 11th of May 1629, arrived at Cape Anne the 27th of June, and at Naumkeag the 29th. Most of their live stock died in the passage, as also some of the passengers; and from this small beginning is the Massachusetts province grown to that eminent figure it now makes in the American world.

Prince's
Chron. p.
189.

Mather,
book I. p. 18.

Neale, I. 142.

The new planters called their first settlement Salem, which, in the Hebrew language, signifies Peace; but some of them soon removed to Mishawum, to which they afterward gave the name of Charles Town. As religion was the principal motive of their coming over into these parts, they resolved to settle that in the first place. Mr. Endicot had corresponded with the settlers at Plymouth, who informed him of the church order and discipline set up by them, which was like that of the reformed churches in France and Germany, and was embraced by the new colonists, who appointed the sixth of August for erecting such a church among themselves. Mr. Higginson and Mr. Skelton had been previously elected and ordained, the one teacher, the other pastor; each of them, together with four venerable members, laying their hands on the other with solemn prayer; but on the day appointed for the choice and ordination of elders and deacons, thirty persons, who were desired to be of the communion, publicly professed their consent unto a confession of faith drawn up by Mr Higginson, and afterward signed a solemn covenant, whereby "they bound themselves, in the presence of God, to walk together in all his ways, according as he was pleased to reveal himself in his blessed word of truth: They avouched the Lord to be their God, and themselves to be his people, in the truth and simplicity of their spirits: They gave themselves to the Lord Jesus Christ, and the word of his grace, for the teaching, ruling, and sanctifying of them in matters of worship and conversation; resolving to cleave unto him alone for life and glory; and to reject all contrary ways, canons, and constitutions of men in worship: They promised to study the advancement of the gospel in all truth and peace, both in regard of those that were within or without, no way slighting their sister churches, but using their counsel as need should be, not laying a stumbling-block before any, no not the Indians, whose good they desired to promote." They also promised "to carry themselves in all lawful obedience

obedience to those that were over them in church or commonwealth; they resolved to approve themselves to the Lord in their particular callings, shunning idleness as the bane of any state; nor would they deal hardly or oppressingly with any, wherein they were the Lord's stewards: promising also to teach their children and servants the knowledge of God and of his will, that they might likewise serve him; and all this not by any strength of their own, but by the Lord Christ, whose blood they desired might sprinkle this their covenant made in his name." This was the establishment of their church, and the ministers were ordained or instituted anew; after which, several others were admitted into it; but none without sufficient testimonies of their sober lives and conversation; for the only term of their communion was, "giving satisfaction to the church concerning their faith and manners."

The first winter after the arrival of the colony proved very fatal to them, and carried off almost one hundred of their company, among whom was Mr. Higginson the teacher, and Mr. Haughton the ruling elder of the church.

While these things were transacted in the infant colony, the company in England projected a much larger embarkation, and the transfer of the company itself from old England to New. Several gentlemen of great property, dissatisfied with the arbitrary proceedings in church and state, pleased themselves with the prospect of liberty in both, to be enjoyed in America, and proposed to the company at London, to remove with their families; but upon this express condition, that the patent and charter should remove with them; and this proposal was first communicated on the 28th of July 1629. A committee was appointed to consider of it; as also to advise with counsel learned in the law, and to make report: but this report is not upon record. The adventurers had been at great expence, without any satisfactory returns made to them, and had no immediate prospect of any profit from the plantation, in the present circumstances of the colonists. The principal objection arose from a doubt, whether such a transfer was legal: but it was determined, on the 29th of August, "by the general consent of the company, that the government and patent should be settled in New England." In consequence of this new resolution, the Members of the corporation, who remained in England, were to retain a share in the trading stock, and profits of it, for seven years. The management of it was committed to five persons who were to reside in America, and these were Sir Richard Saltonstall, Mr. Winthrop, Mr. Johnson, Mr. Dudley, and Mr. Revel; together with five who were to remain, being Mr. Cradock, Mr. Wright,

1629.

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Mr.

Mr. Eaton, Mr. Goffe, and Mr. Young. The stock and profits were to be divided, proportional to the adventure, at the expiration of the term: all other powers and privileges were to remain with the Colonists in general: but there is no account of any dividend ever made, or of any trade ever carried on for the company. There was another article, that one half the charge of fortifications and support of the ministers should be defrayed out of the common stock; although no notice was taken of it in the colony.

At a general court, held on the 20th of October, a new election was made for the government of the colony, consisting of such persons as had determined to go over with the patent. They did not all go over to America: but from time to time, until the general embarkation, as any one declined, some other person was chosen in his room. Nor is it surprizing that they discovered a want of resolution: it is rather strange that so many persevered. It shews some fortitude in a man of health and vigour, who goes through the fatigues of a long voyage, and spends only a few months among savages, and in a climate more severe than ever he had experienced. What then must we think of persons of rank, and good circumstances in life, bidding a final adieu to all the delights and conveniencies of their native country, especially such a country as England, and exposing themselves to inevitable difficulties in a long voyage across the Atlantic, to land upon an inhospitable shore; destitute of building to secure them from the inclemency of the weather, and of most sorts of food to which they had been always used.

As to the character and circumstances of the principal adventurers, it may be necessary to observe that Mr. Winthrop was of Groton in Suffolk, where he was a justice of peace at the age of eighteen, and very early in life was exemplary for his polite as well as sedate and pious deportment: he had an estate of about seven hundred pounds a year, which he converted into money, and embarked the whole to promote the new settlement: he was forty-three years of age when he removed, and was eleven times chosen governor: he spent his whole fortune in the public service, the salary being small, and his hospitality great; his son and grandson were successively governors of Connecticut colony; and his posterity have ever since been respected and honoured. Mr. Dudley, had a captain's commission under Queen Elizabeth, in 1597, when he raised a company of volunteers, with whom he went over to France, and was at the siege of Amiens under Henry the Fourth: he afterward settled in Northamptonshire, and was entrusted by the Earl of Northampton with the management of his affairs: he was fifty-four years of
age

age when he embarked for America, where he was chosen into the magistracy every year of his subsequent days, was four years governor, and often deputy-governor. Sir Richard Saltonstall was the first named associate to the original patentees; he was son or grandson of Sir Richard Saltonstall, who was Lord Mayor of London in 1597: he remained but a short time in New England, yet his heart was set upon promoting the colony: by a will, made in 1658, he gave a legacy to the college in New England; and his great-grandson, Gurdon Saltonstall, was many years governor of Connecticut. Mr. Humphrey was one of the six original patentees from the council of Plymouth, and married the lady Susan, a daughter of the Earl of Lincoln. Mr. Johnson was the son of Abraham Johnson, Esq; of Clipsham in Rutlandshire; he married the lady Arabella, another daughter of the Earl of Lincoln, and had the largest estate of all the adventurers. Mr. Endicot was one of the most zealous undertakers, and the most rigid in principles. Mr. Nowel was a relation to Alexander Nowel, Dean of St. Paul's in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. Mr. William Vassal, as well as his brother Samuel Vassal, were gentlemen of good circumstances in England; but were not fully of the same sentiment in matters of religion with the planters in general: Mr. William Vassal went over with the first company, and settled at a place called Scituate, in Plymouth colony: when Jamaica was conquered, by Penn and Venables, in 1656, he laid the foundation of several fine estates in that island, which his posterity now enjoy. Mr. Samuel Vassal was an eminent merchant of London, and was the first who refused to pay the subsidy of tonnage and poundage, which he conceived to be an imposition against the law of the land; whereupon the King's attorney-general, in the fourth year of Charles I. exhibited an information in the Exchequer against him, for refusing to pay an impost upon 4638 hundred weight of currants which he had imported into the port of London, and which had been seized by the farmers and officers of the custom-house. He put in a plea to the information, to which the attorney-general demurred in law, and Mr. Vassal joined in demur; but the cause was arbitrarily decided by the judges of the Exchequer, who imprisoned Mr. Vassal for not paying the duty required upon his goods, of which he could not obtain restitution. But the house of commons, on the 8th of July 1641, resolved, "That Mr. Samuel Vassal should have the sum of ten thousand four hundred forty five pounds twelve shillings and two pence paid him for his losses and damages, for denying to pay tonnage and poundage not granted by act of parliament, in pursuance and obedience to a declaration and vote of this house. And the house also declared, that they would in due time take Mr. Vassal into further

Rushworth's
historical col-
lections, v. i. f.
p. 641.
Rapin's His-
tory of Eng-
land, vol. II.
p. 277.

Rushworth's
appendix, p.
5.

further consideration for his imprisonment and personal sufferings*." Mr. Pyncheon was a gentleman of learning as well as religion: he laid the foundation of Rocksbury, but soon removed to Connecticut river, and was the father of the town of Springfield, where his family have flourished ever since. Mr. Rositer was a gentleman of a plentiful estate in the west of England, and died the first year. Mr. Sharp and Mr. Revel continued but a short time in New England. Mr. Cradock was an eminent merchant in London, and carried on a trade in the colony many years, but never went over: he was more forward in advancing out of his substance than any other, and was generally the highest in all subscriptions. Mr. Venn, commonly called colonel Venn, was in the design from the beginning, and intended to have removed to America; but was prevented by the change of affairs in England, where he made a considerable figure in the long parliament, and was one of the judges who passed sentence on the King. Mr. Eaton was a west-country merchant, and his father was a minister in Coventry: he came to New England in 1637, and then settled New Haven colony, of which he was governor until his death. His correspondence with the governor of the Massachusetts and the Dutch governor of Manhadoes, or New York, discover a good understanding and virtuous mind. Mr. Coddington was a Lincolnshire gentleman, and zealous to a great degree: he was afterward the father of Rhode Island, where his zeal abated, and he promoted a general toleration: he was governor of that colony many years, and would gladly have joined in confederacy with the other Colonists, but was prevented by a difference in religious sentiments. Mr. Bradstreet was of Emanuel college in Cambridge, from whence he removed to the family of the Earl of Lincoln as his steward, and afterward he lived with the Countess of Warwick, in the same capacity: he married one of Mr. Dudley's daughters; and, after her death, a sister of Sir George Downing.

Rapin, vol. II.
p. 570.

1630.

In April 1630, governor Winthrop, and Mr. Dudley, with Sir Richard Saltonstall, and several other of their assistants, embarked at Yarmouth on board the *Arabella*; which ship was so called in honour of the Lady *Arabella* Johnson, who, with her husband, was on board of her; and they were accompanied, or followed, by sixteen other ships from different ports, most of which arrived in New England in the month of July, and the others before the end of the year, carrying in all about fifteen hundred passengers, of all occupations proper for planting a new

Prince's
Chron. p.
210. v

* An elegant monument has lately been erected in the new chapel at Boston in New England, to commemorate the character of this eminent patriot of the last century.

colony.

colony. A few days after their embarkation, a paper was published, intitled, "The humble request of his Majesty's loyal subjects, the governor and company lately gone for New England, to the rest of their brethren in and of the church of England, for the obtaining of their prayers, and the removal of suspicions and misconstructions of their intentions:" wherein they intreated their reverend fathers and brethren of the church of England, to recommend them to the mercies of God in their constant prayers, as a church then springing out of their own bowels. This paper occasioned a dispute, whether the first settlers of the Massachusetts were of the church or not? However problematical it may be, what they were while they remained in England, they left no room for doubt after their arrival in America.

The Arabella arrived at Salem on the 12th of June, and the next morning the governor was visited by Masconomoco, the Sagamore of Cape Anne, to welcome him on his safe arrival; and the other ships also came safe to the same place. The common people immediately went ashore, and regaled themselves with strawberries, which are very fine in America, and were then in perfection. This might give them a favourable idea of the produce of the country; but the gentlemen had sufficient occasion to be alarmed and filled with concern. The first intelligence they had, was of a general conspiracy, a few months before, of all the Indians as far as Naraganset, to extirpate the English. Out of about three hundred persons, upwards of eighty died in the colony the winter before, and many of those that remained were in a weak sickly condition. There was not corn enough to have lasted above a fortnight, and all other provisions were so very scarce, that the one hundred and eighty indented servants which the gentlemen had sent over, they could not avoid giving them all their liberty, though they cost them from 16l. to 20l. sterling a person. They had not above three or four months to look out proper places for settlements, and to provide shelter against the severity of the winter. With this prospect of difficulties, sickness began among them; and as they were destitute of necessary accommodations, many of them died. Among others, the Lady Arabella Johnson, who ended her days at Salem about a month after her arrival; and her husband soon after died of grief for her loss. Mr. Rossiter, another of the assistants, was also among the dead, whose number before December amounted to about two hundred, including a few who died in their passage. Mr. Dudley observed to his friends in England, that "if any come to this settlement to plant for worldly ends that can live well at home, he commits an error, of which he will soon repent: people of England, who are endued with grace, and furnished with means to find their families

Letter dated
March 28th,
1631.

milies for eighteen months, and to build and plant, let them come: In the beginning of our settlements, we had great sickness and mortality, as well as the settlers of New Plymouth, which seemed to proceed from want of warm lodging and good diet; they who landed in summer died of fevers from the heats; they who landed in winter, as in New Plymouth, died of the scurvy."

Douglas, I.
427.
Hutchinson,
p. 22.

C. Mather,
B. I. p. 22.
Neale, vol. I.
p. 150.

The governor and some of the principal persons disliked their situation at Salem, and chose to settle upon better land. They proceeded to the mouth of Charles River, farther up the bay, where some settled, and called it Charles Town; others settled at Sagus River, now Lynn; and some at Mystic River, now Medford. One instance of the civility and justice of the planters to the Indians, was this, that, notwithstanding the patent they had from the crown, they fairly purchased of the natives the several tracts of land which they afterward possessed. Indeed, the crown grants of land in America, seem rather to give a right of purchasing, than a real right to the land, which certainly belongs to the natives.

Oldmixon, I.
p. 60.
Neale, I. p.
150.
Douglas, I.
p. 42.
Hutchinson,
p. 21.

Toward the latter end of the year, a part of the colony of Charles Town removed to a peninsula in the bottom of Massachusetts Bay, called Shawmut by the Indians; and by the English, on account of three contiguous hills appearing in a range to these at Charles Town, at first Trimountain, and afterwards Boston, in compliment to Mr. Cotton, the puritan minister of Boston in Lincolnshire, of whose coming into those parts they were in great expectation. This peninsula was the most commodiously situated for trade and commerce of any place in the country: It is about two miles in length, and one in breadth; appearing then, at high-water, in the form of two islands. Here they built the town of Boston, now the metropolis of New England, and the largest city of all the British empire in America. From the observations of Mr. Thomas Robie, fellow of Harvard-college, made from an eclipse of the moon on the 15th of March 1717, it appears to be in $42^{\circ} 25'$ of north-latitude, and west from London $4^{\text{h.}} 46'$ which is west longitude $71^{\circ} 30'$. The town was first settled under the conduct of Mr. Johnson, who satisfied Mr. Blafton for his claim, which was that of prior possession. He was an episcopal minister, of a particular humour, and claimed a property in the whole peninsula, because he happened to sleep first in a hovel on this point of land. He had not been a thorough conformist in England; but he was more dissatisfied with the non-conformity of the new-comers, and told them, that as he came from England because he disliked the lord bishops, so he could not join with them, because he would not be under the lord-brethren. He had the grant of a considerable

able lot at the west-end of the town; but he chose to quit all, and removed to the southward, at or near what is since called Providence, where he lived many years.

Some settled from Charles Town westward at New Town and Water Town: others from Boston settled two miles west southward, and called it Rocksbury, because rocky ground. A few settled four miles south from Boston, and called it Dorchester, all of which were chiefly west-countrymen: but Newbury was not settled until 1635. About one hundred persons returned with the ships to England; and some libertines went to a small settlement, which had been made at Piscataqua, without this jurisdiction.

Mr. Nowel and those of Charles Town, who had removed from Salem, at first considered themselves as one settlement and one church with those at Boston, and had Mr. Wilson for their minister, who went to England in the spring, when those of Charles Town became a distinct church, and took Mr. James for their minister.

At these several places the whole company were settled for the first winter, and their out-door work was over on the 6th of December, when the governor and assistants met at Charles Town and agreed to fortify the neck between Boston and Roxbury: but at another meeting, on the 21st, they laid that design aside, and agreed on a place first called New Town, and afterward Cambridge, about three miles above Charles Town, and most of them engaged to build houses there the next year, when the governor set up the frame of a house, which he soon took down, and carried it to Boston; because Chicketaubut, the chief of the Indians there, made high professions of friendship, and rendered the design of a fortified town unnecessary.

The colonists sustained great hardships during the winter, and a general fast was appointed to be held on the 22d of February 1631; but this intended fast was turned into a thanksgiving; for, on the 5th, the ship *Lion* returned laden with provisions from England, which were distributed to the people according to their necessities. The high price of provisions this year in England, impoverished the colony; for every bushel of wheat meal cost, including the freight, fourteen shillings sterling; each bushel of pease ten shillings; and Indian corn, imported from Virginia, sold at ten shillings. Some were discouraged, and returned to England, particularly Sir Richard Saltonstall and Mr. Thomas Sharpe, who never came back; but others, in hopes of better times, went over

1631.

to fetch their families and returned with them, in particular Mr. Wilfon and Mr. Coddington.

The scarcity of the former year excited the colonists to make the greater improvements by tillage, and they were blessed with a plentiful harvest of Indian corn : but it was the year 1633, before they knew they should be able to raise English grain, if we may credit Mr. Johnson, who says, " This year a small glean of rye was brought to the court as the first fruits of English grain ; at which this poor people greatly rejoiced to see the land would bear it." Cattle were extremely dear, a great part of what had been shipped from England being dead, and a milch cow was valued at 25*l.* to 30*l.* sterling.

So much of their attention was necessary to provide for their support, that little business was done by the assistants, or by the general court ; the removal of the charter occasioned several new regulations to be made, which were settled by degrees. The first court of assistants was held at Charles Town, on the 23d of August, about two months after their arrival ; when a beadle was appointed, as an officer of the corporation ; and it was ordered, that the governor and deputy for the time being, should be justices of the peace ; and four of the then assistants were also appointed justices. All justices whatsoever were to have the same authority, for reformation of abuses and punishing offenders, which justices had in England ; but no corporal punishment to be inflicted except by an assistant. In capital offences, the governor and assistants sat as a court, as well as in civil matters : and there was a trial by a jury for murder this year, when the prisoner was acquitted. The first general court was held the 19th of October ; not by a representative, but by every one in person, who was free of the corporation. As none had been admitted freemen since they left England, the governor and assistants had a great influence over the court : therefore it was ordered, that the freemen should chuse the assistants ; and the assistants, from among themselves, should elect the governor and deputy-governor. The court of assistants were to have the power of making laws and appointing officers ; which was a departure from their charter.

One hundred and nine freemen were admitted at this court ; and the next general court was for the election of 1631. The scale was now turned, and the freemen resolved to elect both governor, deputy, and assistants, notwithstanding the former vote ; and made an order, that none should be admitted to the freedom of the body politic, but such as were members of the church. This was a most extraordinary order or law ;

yet

yet it continued in force until the dissolution of the government; for it was repealed in appearance only after the restoration of King Charles the Second. Had they been deprived of their civil privileges in England by an act of parliament, unless they would join in communion with the churches there, it might have been the first in the list of grievances: but such were the requisites to qualify for church membership here, that the grievance was abundantly more. The minister was to certify, that the candidates for freemen were of orthodox principles, and of good lives and conversations: so that none could be a freeman of that company, unless he was a church member among them. None had a vote in elections of governor, deputy, and assistants, nor could be magistrates, officers, or jurymen, grand or petit, but freemen; and the ministers were intitled to give their votes in all elections of magistrates. Many of the colonists were not admitted members of their church; so were not freemen; therefore must be tried and judged by those of the church, which was considered by some as a hardship.

p. 26.
Lechford.

The same governor, deputy-governor, and such of the assistants of 1631. 1630, as were alive and in the colony, were re-elected for 1631: but this year, and this only, the assistants chosen are not in the colony records; yet here the old charter law-book begins.

Douglas, I.

The first law enacted, was for regulating the price of wages for workmen, under a penalty to him that gave, as well as to him who received, more than the limited price; such as carpenters, joiners, bricklayers, sawyers, and thatchers, not more than two shillings a day. They proceeded to other laws for punishing idleness, and encouraging industry: besides, as they were surrounded with savages, much more numerous than themselves, they obliged every man to attend military exercises; and limited the bounds of their plantations, that none might be unnecessarily exposed to the dangers of any enemy. In civil actions, equity seems to have been their rule of determining, according to the circumstances of the case: the judges had recourse to no other authorities than their own reason and understanding; and in punishing offences, they professed to be governed by the judicial law of Moses, as far as those laws were of a moral tendency.

While they were thus without a code or body of laws, and the colony in its infancy, their sentences seem to be adapted to the state of a large family of children and servants, as may appear from several instances extracted from the public records, particularly the following: Captain Stone, for abusing Mr. Ludlow, and calling him justaf, was fined an hundred

hundred pounds, and prohibited coming within the patent, without permission from the governor, on pain of death. Captain Lovel was admonished to take heed of light carriage. Daniel Clarke, found to be an immoderate drinker, was fined forty shillings: John Wedgewood, for being in the company of drunkards, to be set in the stocks: and Sergeant Perkins was ordered to carry 40 turfs to the fort, for being drunk. Robert Shorthose, for swearing by the blood of God, was sentenced to have his tongue put into a cleft stick, and to stand for half an hour. A married woman was seriously admonished on suspicion of incontinency. Thomas Petit, for suspicion of slander, idleness, and stubbornness, was censured to be severely whipped, and to be imprisoned. Edward Palmer, for extortion, in taking 2*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* for the wood-work of Boston stocks, was fined 5*l.* and ordered to be set one hour in the stocks: and Josias Plaistowe, for stealing four baskets of corn from the Indians, was ordered to return them eight baskets, to be fined 5*l.* as also from that time to be called only Josias, and not Mr. as formerly he used to be. They were very careful that no title or appellation should be given where it was not due; therefore, not above six of the gentlemen assumed the title of Esquire, and in a list of one hundred freemen are not to be found so many distinguished by Mr. though they were generally men of property; but good-man and good-wife were the common appellations.

If we consider the character of these new colonists, with the state and condition they were in before they left England, and after their arrival in America, we may perceive the source of the peculiarities in their laws and customs. They were not only dissatisfied with the ceremonies, but also with the rigid discipline, at that time, of the church of England; in which they were not singular; for the principal commoners, great part of the clergy, and many of the nobility, were of the same sentiments. They must have very tender and scrupulous minds, or they would not have banished themselves from their native country, intimate friends, and old acquaintances, to venture upon a distant and unknown country, rather than submit to any thing against their opinions and consciences. They professed a sacred regard to the word of God in the Old and New Testament, as a sufficient rule of conduct; and that they were obliged to follow it. They looked upon the observation of the first, as well as second table, necessary to be enjoined; and, as the constitution of their churches would not admit of ecclesiastical courts, provision must be made for the punishment of some offences by the civil magistrate, which were not so by the common law. The generality of the colony being near upon a level, more than common provision was necessary to enforce a due obedience to the laws, and to establish and preserve

serve an authority in the government; for although some among them had liberal or competent fortunes, yet in general their estates were small and barely sufficient to provide them houses or necessary accommodations: therefore a contempt of authority was next to a capital offence; and as the country was new and uncultivated, the utmost industry, economy, and frugality were necessary to their subsistence; as also were laws, with heavy penalties, to compel the observance of them. In that branch of law especially, which is distinguished by the name of crown-law in England, they professed to have no regard, as they intended to follow the plan of the Hebrew legislator, so far as they thought it obligatory upon all mankind. In many instances, they might not err in judgment as to the morality of actions: but their grand mistake appears to lie in supposing certain natural punishments, in every state, alike proportioned to some particular kind of offences, and which Moses had observed: whereas such punishments are and ought to be governed by the particular constitutions and circumstances of the several kingdoms and states where they are applied. If it is added, that they were at their full liberty, as the troubles in England took off from the colonies the attention of the government there; from all these circumstances, it is not difficult to account for the peculiarities in the laws of the colony.

From the same prejudice in favour of Israelitish customs, a fondness arose, or at least was increased, as to significant names for children. The three first baptized in Boston church were called Joy, Recompence, and Pity. The custom spread; and the town of Dorchester was remarkable for such names as Faith, Hope, Charity, Deliverance, Dependence, Preserved, Content, Prudent, Patience, Thankful, Hate-evil, Hold-fast, and such others, which are still retained by some families in remembrance of their ancestors.

In Old England it is said, a man may give his wife moderate correction, without exposing himself to any penalty in the law: but the legislators of New England had more tender sentiments of this happy state, and a man who struck his wife was liable to a fine of 10*l*. or corporal punishment; also a woman who struck her husband, was liable to the same penalties. They continued to make the same choice of magistrates for 1632, with the addition of Mr. John Humphreys, who had been deputy-governor in England; as also of Mr. John Winthrop the governor's eldest son, who lately arrived, with some others of the family, and many passengers, among whom was Mr. John Elliot, who spent his first year at Boston, and then settled with his friends at Roxbury. He has been esteemed the apostle of the Indians, to whom he

1632.

first preached the gospel, and lived to see the success of his labours in the conversion of many thousands of them to Christianity.

Neale, l. 351. Governor Winthrop and his pastor Mr. Wilson set out this spring from Boston, and travelled on foot forty miles through the woods, as far as Plymouth, to settle a correspondence between the two colonies. Governor Bradford received them with great honour and respect, and a lasting friendship was established between them.

They were frequently alarmed this year by the Indians called Tarretines, or eastern Indians, who slew and carried away captive some of the Indians near Boston; and also cut off a shallop from Dorchester, with five men, whom they secretly murdered: while the Narraganset Indians also disturbed the colonists at Bristol in New Plymouth. But Miantinomo, one of the Sachems of the Narragansets, came to Boston, to enter into a league of friendship with the colony.

The New England colonists had likewise some uneasy apprehensions from the French, who had been driven from their settlements in L'Acadie, or Nova Scotia, by Captain Argol from Virginia, in 1613. Sir William Alexander obtained a grant of it from King James I. in 1623, which was confirmed by King Charles I. in 1628: but Sir William sold the property in 1631 to M. Claude de la Tour d'Aunay, a French protestant; and King Charles gave it up to France by treaty in 1632. This alarmed the governor and council at Boston, who determined to finish a fort which was begun there, to build another at Nantasket, and to hasten the settlement of Ipswich, which was completed under the direction of Mr. Winthrop, the governor's son. This was seasonably done, otherwise the French might have settled there; which might have induced the Dutch to have seated themselves on Connecticut River. Whether the people of either nation would have persevered is uncertain; but if they had done it, the late remarkable contest for the dominion of North America would probably have been between France and Holland; and the commerce of Great Britain would have borne a very indifferent proportion to that of the rest of Europe from what it does at present.

The new colonists were also in perils from their own countrymen, particularly Sir Ferdinando Gorge and Captain Mason, two of the council of Plymouth, who had expended large sums to little purpose in attempts to settle colonies in New England; therefore they beheld the Massachusetts with an envious eye, and intended for themselves all that part of the colony which lies to the eastward of Naumkeag. They joined with some other

other disappointed persons in a petition to the King against the company, which was heard before the privy-council, at Whitehall, on the 19th of January, 1632, when the council reprimanded the petitioners, and published an order for the encouragement of the adventurers. This order mentioned, among other particulars, that "their lordships finding they were upon the dispatch of men, victuals, and merchandize for that place, all which would be at a stand if the adventurers should have discouragement, or take suspicion that the state here had no good opinion of that plantation; their lordships not laying the faults of particular men upon the general government or principal adventurers, which in due time was further to be enquired into, had thought fit, in the mean time, to declare, That the appearances were so fair, and hopes so great, that the country would prove both beneficial to this kingdom and profitable to the particulars, as that the adventurers had cause to go on cheerfully with their undertakings, and rest assured, if things were carried on as pretended, and as by the patents appointed, his Majesty would not only maintain the liberties and privileges theretofore granted, but supply any thing farther that might tend to the good government, prosperity, and comfort of his people there."

In the fleet mentioned in this order there came over Mr. Thomas Hooker, Mr. John Cotton, and Mr. Samuel Stone, all remarkable non-conformist ministers, who were followed by such numbers from England, that it produced an order of the King in council, dated the 21st of February 1633, to stop the farther embarkation of passengers to the Colonies. This order seems to have been the effect of a new complaint by the former persons: but when the whole matter was reported to the King by Sir Thomas Jermayne, his Majesty said, he would have such severely punished as should abuse his governor and the plantation, whose defendants were assured, that his Majesty did not intend to impose the ceremonies of the church of England upon them; for that it was considered, it was for the sake of freedom from those things that people went over there; and it is certain no farther stop was put to the emigration.

Mr. Cotton was ordained minister of Boston, and the circumstances and order of proceeding in his ordination were intended as a precedent, which the congregational churches in New England have generally conformed to ever since; and this gentleman appears to have been principally instrumental in the establishment of their civil as well as ecclesiastical polity. He was fellow of Emanuel College in Cambridge, and had been minister of Boston in Lincolnshire, from whence he fled to avoid the dreaded effects of an information against him in the high commission court. Great intercession

intercession was made for him to Archbishop Laud by the Earl of Dorset and other noblemen, but so much in vain, that the earl sent the minister word, "If he had been guilty of drunkenness or uncleanness he might have found favour, but the sin of puritanism was unpardonable."

1634.

The colonists, in 1634, thought proper to give their governor some respite; therefore Mr. Dudley was chosen in his room, and Mr. Ludlow deputy-governor. About three hundred and ninety freemen were admitted, which occasioned an alteration of the constitution; for at a general court twenty-four of the principal inhabitants appeared as representatives of the body of freemen; which was a thing of necessity, though no provision had been made for it in their charter. The people asserted their right to a greater share in the government than had been formerly allowed them, and resolved, that none but the general court had power to make and establish laws, or to elect and appoint officers, to raise taxes, or to give and confirm lands or proprieties. They further determined, that there should be four general courts held yearly, to be summoned by the governor, and not dissolved without the consent of the major part of the court: as also that it should be lawful for the freemen of each plantation to chuse two or three before every general court for their representatives, in all affairs belonging to the commonwealth wherein the freemen had to act; the matter of election of magistrates and other officers only excepted, wherein every freeman was to give his own voice. In this manner they settled the legislative body, which continued much the same as long as the charter existed, except an alteration in the number of general courts, which were soon reduced to two only in a year.

Massachusetts
Records.

Mr. Roger Williams, minister of Salem, was banished the colony for maintaining some singular opinions and exceptionable tenets; after which he removed southward to look out for a new settlement among the Indians, and founded the new colony of Providence, of which he became patron and governor.

The freemen imposed a fine upon the court of assistants for acting contrary to an order of the general court. They also called Governor Winthrop to an account, concerning his receipts and disbursements for the public during his administration; but his conduct had been so irreproachable, that unless the ostracism of the ancient Greeks had been revived in this new commonwealth, it was reasonable to expect he should be out of all danger of so much as the least thought to his prejudice. He might have cancelled his book of accounts, and acted like Scipio Africanus, by giving the ungrateful populace this answer: "Your flourishing colony
has

has been settled under my care; my own substance is exhausted; spend no more time in harangues, but give thanks to God for your happy establishment." However, he discharged himself with great honour, and concluded his declaration with this request, that "as it stood upon record, that upon the discharge of his office he was called to account, so this his declaration might also be recorded; lest thereafter, when he should be forgotten, some blemish might lie upon his posterity, when there should be nothing to clear it." He was afterward frequently elected governor, and was remarkable for his charity to the poor. His son was very instrumental in procuring the Connecticut charter, and was annually chosen their governor during his life, and his grandson was major-general and also chief-justice of the colony.

A great addition was made to the number of inhabitants in 1635, when Sir Henry Vane the younger arrived, attended with a fleet of twenty ships, well stored with goods and passengers. He was a warm nonconformist, and intended to begin a settlement upon the banks of the River Connecticut: but as the planters of the Massachusetts complimented him with their government, he resolved to continue among them. He proved not so orthodox a governor as they expected, and was positive in adhering to his own opinions; therefore, at the next election, he was rejected, and Mr. Winthrop restored to the government; after which Sir Henry returned to England; and, as a professed independent, joined with Oliver Cromwel to undermine the power of the Presbyterians in 1645. He was executed on the restoration of Charles II.

Rapin, vol. ii.
p. 317.
Clarendon,
vol. ii. p. 465.
Whitlock, p.
693.

The project for a plantation upon Connecticut River was not dropt, though Sir Henry Vane did not proceed in it. This settlement was become the more necessary, because the Pequot Indians began to grow very insolent, and the building a fort there would make a good frontier on that side. Agents were sent to view the country, who made such an advantageous report of the fertility of the soil and largeness of the river as induced many of the planters, who began to be straitened for room in the Massachusetts colony, to think of transplanting themselves to Connecticut. Mr. Hooker, minister of New-town, put himself at the head of these new adventurers, who were about one hundred in number, and travelled there on foot, with their children and baggage. After a tedious journey of ten days, they pitched on the farther side of the river, and built the town of Hartford. They were followed by another draught from Dorchester, who built a little town, which they called Windsor. A third party went from Watertown, and built Weathersfield; while a fourth went from Roxbury, and built Springfield. They had a fort of

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O

commission

commission from the government of the Massachusetts Bay for the administration of justice, till they could make a more regular settlement. Some of them had settled within the Massachusetts jurisdiction; but those who were out of it entered into a voluntary association, chose magistrates, and made laws for themselves, after the example of the colony from whence they issued; in which state they continued until the restoration of King Charles II. when Mr. John Winthrop the younger obtained a royal charter incorporating Hartford and New Haven colonies into the united colony of Connecticut, of which he was governor fourteen years.

While the south-west parts of New England were thus colonized, the north-east parts of the country were also improved. There was an extensive country beyond the line of the Massachusetts patent, where new settlements were attempted by some that were made uneasy under the Massachusetts government, in the time of their antinomian quarrels; as also by others who had no other view but enriching themselves by the fishing trade at sea, and the beaver trade ashore. Thus were the provinces of East Hampshire and Maine peopled, which continued a separate government, until being wearied out with quarrels and divisions among themselves, they petitioned the general court of the Massachusetts Bay to be taken under their protection, and were accordingly received.

Such was the origin of the four principal colonies that were made in New England within the space of seventeen years; but there was, however, another small settlement made some time after in Rhode Island, upon the borders of the jurisdiction of New Plymouth, by the Antinomians banished from the Massachusetts Bay, who obtained a charter for themselves upon the restoration of King Charles II. and are still a distinct government from the Massachusetts; but as the limits of their country are small, they have no great influence on the grand colony, which was consolidated in 1691, out of the old Massachusetts, New Plymouth, Maine, and Acadia or Nova Scotia settlements, into the present colony of the Massachusetts Bay.

SECTION

SECTION II.

General state of the colony in 1637. Suppression of the Pequots. Familistical and Antinomian controversies. The first synod at Cambridge in New England: the nature and use of synods according to the principles of the Independents. The colonies of Rhode Island and New Haven founded and established. Commission from King Charles I. to Archbishop Laud and others for regulating the plantations in 1638: The Massachusetts address to these commissioners concerning the patent of the colony: Remarks: New settlements made. State of the country in 1639. The number of planters and passengers who arrived in New England before 1640; with remarks. Puritan ministers there: the flourishing condition of the Massachusetts in 1641. New settlements made: Growth of the colony at different periods: Resolve of the House of Commons in favour of the Massachusetts colony in 1642. The division of the colony into four townships in 1643: The townships in each county: Remarks on them. The union of the four grand colonies of New England; with remarks. Order of the general court, in 1644, relative to the civil war in England. The town of East Ham built. The Narragansets submit in 1645. Colony disputes: the Hingham petition: Mr. Winthrop's speech: The petitioners carry their complaint to England. Proportional aids of the four colonies in 1647. Remarks on the civil war in England, and its effect on the Colonies in 1648. Governor Winthrop's death in 1649.

THE Indians had upon several occasions expressed a dissatisfaction against the colonists of Massachusetts and Connecticut; and the settlement at Plymouth had sometimes been disturbed by them after the death of Massasoit. The English still observed the defensive part, more for the advantage of trade with the Indians, than out of fear of their power; for by this time there were about three thousand English planters and heads of families in the four colonies; so that there must have been at least twenty thousand inhabitants; of which one thousand, properly armed and disciplined, were sufficient to suppress any Indian enemies. The Pequots had begun at war not only with the Narragansets, but also with the Dutch, who had possessed and planted the country now called New York; and these wars prevented them from disturbing the English a considerable time. At last they turned their force against the English, upon whom they committed some murders and several depredations. The governor and council at Boston sent Captain Endicot with one hundred men to demand the murderers. He was followed by one hundred men from

1637.

Connecticut, under Captain Mason; and they invaded the Pequot country, where they destroyed about five hundred Indians, with inconsiderable loss on their own side. They also took about two hundred women and children prisoners, who were divided, some to the Connecticut colony, and the others to the Massachusetts: the boys were sent to Bermudas and sold for slaves; but the women and girls were dispersed in several towns. The name of their sachem was Sassacus, who fled for protection to the Iroquois, by whom he was put to death, and his people either submitted to the English, or abandoned their country, which became so much a kind of province to the conquerors, that they disposed of the lands as they thought proper, and the Pequot tribe was wholly extinguished: but while the troops were thus employed abroad, the commonwealth was almost torn in pieces by intestine divisions at home.

Mr. Winthrop was chosen governor and Mr. Dudley deputy-governor for 1637; but not without a warm contention among the people, who were unhappily engaged in their Familistical and Antinomian controversies; of which those who are desirous to have a particular account of such transactions, may have full satisfaction in the ecclesiastical writers of the New England history. The factions became general; some for the covenant of grace, and others for the covenant of works. At last a synod was held at Cambridge of all the churches in the country, to give their judgments upon the controverted points; and as this was the first synod of New England, it is necessary here to explain the nature and use of synods, according to the principles of the independents.

C. Mather, b.
vii. 17.
Neale, l. 187.

A synod, with them, is not necessary to the existence of a church; but is only to be called on special occasions, for giving advice and counsel in cases of difficulty. It consists of the ministers and lay messengers of the several churches, chosen from among themselves, whose business is to debate and determine the several matters brought before them, and then to present them to the respective churches for their approbation, without which they are of no force. No synod is allowed a power to pass church censures upon persons, or put forth any act of authority, jurisdiction, or discipline; but only to declare their sentiments, and give their advice. In fact, an independent synod is only a council to the several churches, assembled upon proper occasions, not to make laws and decrees to bind men upon pain of excommunication or deprivation, but to advise them how to act under their present difficulties; and if a church or private person refuses to hearken to their advice, the last remedy is to declare they will hold no longer communion with them. The magistrates have power to call a synod when the good of the community requires it; and may send

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send to the churches, to commission their elders and messengers to meet together, and assist them with their advice; but if the magistrate neglects, or is of a different religion, any particular church may send to the others, and desire their advice in the same way.

The synod continued three weeks: the Antinomian tenets, and several other new opinions, were condemned as contrary to the word of God. Mr. Wheelwright and Mrs. Hutchinson were banished for maintaining those errors; the former afterward returned and was minister of Hampton; but the latter, with fifteen of her family, were massacred by the Indians in the Dutch territories, which she had chosen for a retreat. A great number of persons removed out of the jurisdiction, some being banished and others disfranchised. These purchased the island of Aquetnet from the Indian sachems in 1638, and called it Rhode Island, where they established a flourishing colony in 1644, which they extended upon the continent, by purchasing a tract of land near Patuxet River, in Plymouth colony, where they built the towns of Providence and Warwick; for all which they obtained a charter of King Charles II. in 1663; and to this day, Rhode Island, with Providence and its appurtenances, remains a distinct government, by the title of the "Governor and Company of the English Colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations in New England, in America."

This year two large ships from England arrived at Boston with many passengers, among whom were Mr. Eaton and Mr. Hopkins, two London merchants, who could not be persuaded to settle in the jurisdiction, and removed to Quinnipiac, where they founded the colony of New Haven. They agreed among themselves upon a model of government in church and state, very like to that of the Massachusetts; and after the manner of those of Connecticut: they continued a distinct colony and government until 1665, when King Charles II. united the two colonies under one governor, and New Haven became only a county instead of a colony.

The clamour was revived in England against the American Colonies, and the King granted a commission for regulating the plantations to William, Archbishop of Canterbury; Thomas Lord Coventry, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of England; Richard, Archbishop of York; Richard Earl of Portland, High-treasurer of England; Henry Earl of Manchester, Keeper of the Privy-seal; Thomas Earl of Arundel and Surry, Earl-marshal of England; Edward Earl of Dorset, Chamberlain to the Queen; Francis Lord Cottington, Chancellor and Under-Treasurer of the Exchequer; Thomas Edmunds, Knight, Treasurer of the Household;

1638.

John

John Cook, Knight, and Francis Windebank, Principal Secretaries of State.

Archbishop Laud kept a jealous eye over New England, and one Burdett, of Piscataqua, was his correspondent, who informed his Grace, that "it was not new discipline that was aimed at in New England, but sovereignty; and that it was accounted perjury and treason, in their general court, to speak of appeals to the King." A *Quo warranto* had been brought by the attorney-general, in England, against the corporation of the Massachusetts; but the judgment was not formally entered. There was, however, an order of the King in council, dated the 3d of May, 1637, that the attorney-general be required to call for the patent of the Massachusetts; and Mr. Winthrop received a letter in 1638, from Mr. Meautis, clerk of the council, accompanied with an order from the lords of the council, of April the 4th, 1638, "requiring the governor, or any other person who should have the letters-patent in their custody, to transmit the same by the return of the ship which carried the order; and in case of contempt, their lordships would move his Majesty to reassume the whole plantation into his hands." An answer was drawn up and transmitted, as appears by the files of the court. It was an address of the general court "to the Lords Commissioners for Foreign Plantations," and intitled, "The humble Petition of the Inhabitants of the Massachusetts in New England, at a General Court there assembled, the 6th Day of September, in the 14th year of the Reign of our sovereign Lord King Charles," wherein they professed, "that they were ready to yield all due obedience to his Majesty, and to their lordships under him; in which mind they left their native country, and according thereto had been their practice ever since; so as they were much grieved that their lordships should call in their patent, there being no cause known to them, nor any delinquency or fault of theirs expressed in the order sent to them for that purpose, their government being according to his Majesty's grant, and they not answerable for any defects in other plantations. That this was what his Majesty's subjects there believed and professed, and thereupon they were all humble suitors to their lordships, that they would be pleased to take into further consideration their condition, and to afford them the liberty of subjects, that they might know what was laid to their charge, and have leave and time to answer for themselves, before they were condemned as a people unworthy of his Majesty's favour or protection. That as for the *quo warranto* mentioned in the order, they assured their lordships they were never called to answer to it; and if they had, they doubted not but they had a sufficient plea to put in. That they came into these remote parts with his Majesty's licence and encouragement; and,

in the confidence they had of that assurance, they had transported their families and estates, and there had built and planted, to the great enlargement and securing of his Majesty's dominions in those parts; so if their patent should be taken from them, they should be looked on as renegadoes and outlawed, and should be forced either to remove to some other place, or to return into their native country again; either of which would put them to unsupportable extremities; and these evils, among others, would necessarily follow: 1. Many thousand souls would be exposed to ruin, being laid open to the injuries of all men. 2. If they were forced to desert that place, the rest of the plantations being too weak to resist alone, would, for the most part, dissolve and go with them; and then the whole country would fall into the hands of the French or Dutch, who would speedily embrace such an opportunity. That if they should lose all their labour and costs, and be deprived of those liberties which his Majesty had granted them, and nothing laid to their charge, nor any failing to be found in them in point of allegiance, it would discourage all men from the like undertakings upon confidence of the royal grant. Lastly, If their patent was taken from them, the common people there would conceive his Majesty had cast them off, whereby they were freed from their allegiance and subjection, and thereupon would be ready to confederate themselves under a new government, for their necessary safety and subsistence, which would be of dangerous example to other plantations, and perilous to themselves, of incurring his Majesty's displeasure, which they would by all means avoid. That upon these considerations they renewed their supplications to their lordships, that they might be suffered to live in that wilderness, and that this poor plantation, which had found more favour from God than many others, might not find less favour from their lordships; that their liberties should not be restrained, when others were enlarged; that the door should not be kept shut unto them, while it stood open to all other plantations; that men of ability should not be debarred from them while they gave encouragement to other colonies. That they dared not question their lordships proceedings; they only desired to open their griefs where the remedy was to be expected: If in any thing they had offended his Majesty and their lordships, they humbly prostrated themselves at the footstool of supreme authority; but let them be made the object of his Majesty's clemency, and not cut off from all hope of favour, in their first appeal. Thus, with their earnest prayers to the King of kings for long life and prosperity to his sacred Majesty and his royal family, and for all honour and welfare to their lordships, they humbly took leave.*

* This is a true copy compared with the original on file, as attested by Edward Ramson, secretary: but the records of the session take no notice of it.

It was never known how this answer was received; but it is certain, that no further demand was made; and soon after most of the lords of the council lost their authority. Allegiance in an English-born subject is said to be perpetual, and to accompany him wherever he goes: but if their charter had been taken away at this time, the body of the people would have abandoned the country, and either have incorporated with the Dutch, or sought a *vacuum domicilium*, a favourite expression with them, in some part of the globe, where they would, according to their apprehensions, have been free from the controul of any European power.

The settlements were extended this year beyond Merrimack River; and many of the inhabitants of Lynn removed to Long Island, where they obtained a settlement from Lord Stirling; but were soon disturbed by the Dutch. Some other settlements were intended to be formed, independent of the established colonies. This humour, however, was of no long continuance; for in a few years all the colonies found an union or confederacy necessary for their defence, not only against the Indians, but against the French and Dutch; so that there could be no encouragement for small bodies of men to sit down any where, independent or unconnected. All that had begun any settlements between the Massachusetts and the Dutch, joined with Connecticut or New Haven, except the Rhode-Islanders, who were covered by the other colonies; and all to the eastward applied to the Massachusetts that they might incorporate with them.

1639. The year 1638 was memorable for a great earthquake throughout New England; it happened on the second of June, and was a remarkable æra; for, so long after the earthquake, was an expression common with the people of New England many years. In 1639, the former governor, deputy and assistants, were continued. The primary views, in their removal from England, were certainly the enjoyment of civil and religious liberty. What the planters brought with them, consisted principally of materials for their buildings, necessary tools for husbandry, stock for their farms, and clothing for their families. Little is said of trade for the first seven years, except an inconsiderable traffic with the natives by barter of toys and cloth, in exchange for furs and skins: but the people in general were soon disposed to agriculture, and to bring under improvement such quantities of land as would afford them necessary support. In a few years, the land produced more than was consumed by the colonists, who sent the overplus to the West Indies, and the Wind Islands, from whence returns were made in the produce of those countries, or in bullion; the most of which, together with the furs procured from

from the natives, went to England, to pay for the manufactures continually necessary from thence. As hands could be spared from husbandry, and labour in providing their houses, they were taken off; some employed in sawing boards, splitting staves, shingles and hoops; others in the fishery; and those who were capable, in building small vessels for the fishery, coasting, and foreign trade. Thus gradually and insensibly they seem to have fallen into that traffic most natural to the country, and adapted to their peculiar circumstances, without any premeditated scheme or projection for so salutary a purpose or constitutional view. Laws were enacted to encourage the fishery; as also sumptuary laws for the restriction of excess in apparel and other inadequate expences: a spirit of industry and frugality became prevalent; and this has been called among them the golden age, in which religion and virtue were eminently displayed.

In 1640, Mr. Dudley was governor, and Mr. Bellingham deputy-governor: Mr. Winthrop, the former governor, was one of the assistants; and the others the same as the last year. The civil war which broke out in England between the king and parliament, put a stop to the further increase of the colonies of New England; for the star-chamber and the ecclesiastical commission court being put down, and the episcopal power eclipsed, the Puritans were made easy at home, and thought no more of transporting themselves to foreign parts.

1640.

The number of planters that arrived in New England before the year 1640, are computed at about four thousand, who dispersed themselves in different parts of the country, and laid the foundations of the several towns and villages in it. The whole number of passengers that arrived are computed at twenty-one thousand two hundred, men, women, and children; of whom about seven thousand were now able to bear arms. This sudden check upon colonization had a surprizing effect on the price of cattle; for as the inhabitants multiplied, the price of cattle was advanced, but fell at once this year from 25*l.* to 5*l.* It was computed they had twelve thousand neat cattle, and not above three thousand sheep in the colony.

New England was in a flourishing condition at the beginning of the civil war in Old England, and continued so during those internal commotions. The colonists had settled and planted about fifty towns and villages, erected forty churches, more than that number of ministers houses, a castle, forts, prisons, a college, public roads, and all at their own charge, without any public assistance. The planters had erected com-

1641.

modious houses, with gardens, orchards, and inclosed grounds, for agriculture. The merchants had convenient warehouses, ports, wharfs, ships, boats, and mariners; the tradesmen, shops and work-houses; and there was a face of business in every part of the colony.

Some of the gentlemen returned to England, and served the parliament in the time of the civil war; particularly Edward Winslow, Esq. who was one of the commissioners of the navy; Edward Hopkins, Esq. who was one of the commissioners of the admiralty; George Downing, afterwards Sir George Downing; and some others of consequence. Some of the ministers also returned, among whom was Mr. Hugh Peters of Salem, who was chaplain to Oliver Cromwell, and was executed as a regicide in 1660. So that the New England colonies, instead of having any accession from the mother-country, evidently decreased for the next twenty years, until the persecution of the Dissenters, in the reign of King Charles the Second, turned the tide again.

The difficulties particular persons were under, and the difference of sentiment upon private affairs, had an influence upon the public transactions, which was remarkable even in the election of magistrates. Mr. Bellingham was chosen governor, in opposition to Mr. Winthrop, and Mr. Endicot deputy-governor: but it was disputed whether they had the majority, and it was some time before either of them were admitted to their places. The choice appears to have been disagreeable to the general court; and the first order they made, was to repeal a standing law for allowing one hundred pounds annually to the governor.

The plantation at Springfield, upon Connecticut River, returned to the jurisdiction of the Massachusetts; and the settlers at Piscataqua also submitted to the same government. The Massachusetts, by thus extending its wing over the inhabitants of New Hampshire, nourished and cherished them for almost forty years; to which must be attributed the growth and flourishing state of that colony.

Mather,
b. vi. p. 54.

1642. Mr. Winthrop was elected governor, and Mr. Endicot deputy-governor, in 1642; about which time Mr. Thomas Mayhew obtained a grant of Capewock, or Martha's Vineyard, Nantucket, and Elizabeth's Isles, where he formed settlements, and made no less than three thousand Christian converts of adult Indians. These Islands were for some time after annexed to the government of New York, by the name of Duke's-county; but by the charter granted to the colony of the Massachusetts Bay, in 1691, they are expressly annexed to that colony.

There

There was a general design this year, among the Indians, against the English; of which Miantinomo, the Sachem of the Naragansets, was supposed to be the principal promoter, and to have drawn some other Sachems to join with him: but proper precautions were taken, and the insurrection immediately suppressed.

The growth of the several parts of the colony, at different periods, are worth observation, from the tax apportioned this year as following: Hingham 40 l. Weymouth 14 l. Braintree 14 l. Dorchester 58 l. 10 s. Roxbury 50 l. Boston 120 l. Dedham and Concord 25 l. Water Town 55 l. Cambridge 67 l. 10 s. Charles Town 60 l. Salem 75 l. Lynn 45 l. Ipswich 82 l. Newbury 30 l. Salisbury 12 l. 10 s. Hampton 5 l. Rowley 15 l. Sudbury 15 l. Medford 10 l. and Gloucester 6 l. 10 s.

The house of commons in England this year passed a memorable resolve in favour of the Massachusetts colony, exonerating them from all customs or duties on goods exported to, or imported from England; which was transmitted to the governor by the clerk of the house, and ordered by the court to be entered upon the public records, that it might remain to posterity: this resolve also contained an acknowledgment that the New England settlements had been made without any public expence to the state.

About this time, letters came to Mr. Cotton of Boston, Mr. Hooker of Hertford, and Mr. Davenport of New Haven, signed by the Earl of Warwick and several other of the nobility, by Oliver Cromwell and many other members of the house of commons, and some church ministers, to come over and assist them in the assembly of divines at Westminster: but other letters were soon after received, which prevented them from any thoughts of proceeding therein.

The governor and deputy-governor for the last year were re-elected in 1643, when the colony was so increased, that it was divided into the four counties or shires of Essex, Middlesex, Suffolk, and Norfolk. The county of Essex contained the towns of Salem, Lynn, Wenham, Ipswich, Rowley, Newbury, Gloucester, and Chochichawick: In the county of Middlesex were the towns of Charles Town, Cambridge, Water Town, Sudbury, Concord, Wooburn, Medford, and Lynn village: the county of Suffolk had the towns of Boston, Roxbury, Dorchester, Dedham, Braintree, Weymouth, Hingham, and Hull: and in the county of Norfolk were the towns of Salisbury, Hampton, Haveril, Exeter, Dover, and Portsmouth.

Douglas, I.
P. 503.

These townships, or districts of lands, may be distinguished into four sorts: 1. Incorporated townships, which are served with precepts; and generally send representatives. 2. Incorporated townships, also served with precepts, but send no representatives in general. 3. Townships incorporated, but in express words debarred from sending representatives. 4. Townships or districts granted to a number of proprietors: but as the conditions of the grant, particularly the settling of a certain number of families in a limited space of time, were not fully performed, they were not then qualified to be constituted, by act of assembly, with all town privileges.

Ibid. 513.

The townships were generally granted in value of six miles square, to be divided into sixty-three equal lots; one lot for the first settled minister, as inheritance; one lot for the ministry, as glebe-lands; one lot for the benefit of a school; and the other sixty lots, to sixty persons or families, who should, within five years from the grant, erect a dwelling-house of seven feet stud, and eighteen feet square, with seven acres cleared and improved, fit for mowing or ploughing; to erect a house for public worship in five years, and maintain an orthodox minister. Every township of fifty householders or upwards to be constantly provided with a school-master, to teach children and youth to read and write, under penalty of twenty pounds a year for neglect: as also, if consisting of one hundred householders or upwards, they were to maintain a grammar-school; the penalty was one hundred pounds a year, if consisting of one hundred and fifty families; forty pounds, if of two hundred families; and higher penalties according to that rate.

In each township were constituted certain town-officers, to be elected at a town-meeting annually in March; such as, a town-clerk; seven select-men; a town-treasurer; twelve overseers of the poor; seven assessors; ten firewards; five sealers of leather; six fence-viewers; a surveyor of hemp; informers of deer; hay-ward; ten cullers of staves; ten viewers of boards and shingles; four hog-reeves; twelve clerks of the market; two assay-masters; six collectors of taxes; and twelve constables.

Sometimes portions of adjoining townships were incorporated into a parish or precinct, by acts of assembly, for the better convenience of attending divine service: but in all other respects, except in ministerial rates, they belonged to their original townships. Any man rateable for twenty pounds principal estate to the province-tax, poll not included, was qualified to vote in town-meetings, except in the choice of representatives,

representatives, which required a qualification of forty shillings a year freehold, or forty pounds sterling personal estate.

The dangers to which the colonies in New England were exposed, from domestic and foreign enemies, first induced them to think of an alliance and confederacy, for their mutual safety and defence. Those of Aquidnick, or Rhode Island, were desirous to join with the others; but the Massachusetts refused to admit commissioners from that colony, to treat upon the terms of agreement with the other commissioners. The other four colonies entered into a confederate union, after the manner of the Seven United Provinces of the Dutch Republic in Europe, and an instrument was drawn up for that purpose, intitled, "Articles of confederation betwixt the plantations under the government of the Massachusetts, the plantations under the government of Plymouth, the plantations under the government of Connecticut, and the government of New Haven, with the plantations in combination therewith." This instrument consisted of twelve articles, whereby it was agreed, I. That the four jurisdictions should thenceforth be called by the name of the United Colonies of New England. II. That the said United Colonies, for themselves and their posterity, entered into a firm and perpetual league of friendship and amity for offence and defence, mutual advice and succour. III. That the plantations which were or should be settled, should have peculiar jurisdiction among themselves as entire bodies; provided that no other jurisdiction should be taken in as a distinct head or member; nor should any other plantation or jurisdiction be received, nor any two of their confederates join in one jurisdiction, without the consent of the rest. IV. That the charge of all wars, offensive or defensive, should be borne in proportion to the number of male inhabitants between sixteen and sixty years of age in each colony; and according to the different charge of each jurisdiction, the whole advantage should be proportionably divided among the confederates. V. That upon notice from three magistrates of any colony, of an invasion, the rest should immediately send assistance. VI. That two commissioners should be chosen out of each of the four jurisdictions, to examine and determine upon all affairs of war or peace, not intermeddling with the government of any of the jurisdictions; but if these eight commissioners should not agree, any six should have power to settle and determine the business in question; and if six could not agree, then their business was to be referred to the four general courts of the respective provinces: that these eight commissioners should meet once every year to treat of all affairs; the meetings to be held in rotation, at Boston, Hartford, New Haven, and Plymouth. That all matters wherein six agreed should be binding upon the whole; and upon a majority

a majority under six, the matter to be referred to the general court of each colony, and not to be obligatory unless the whole agreed to it. VII. That for preserving order, a president should be chosen by the commissioners out of their number every year. VIII. That the commissioners should endeavour to establish agreements and orders, in general cases of a civil nature, for preserving peace among themselves, and preventing all occasions of war or differences with others. IX. That no colony should engage in war but upon a sudden exigency; in which case, it was to be avoided as much as possible, without consent of the whole. X. That, on extraordinary occasions, four of the commissioners should have power to direct war, which could not be delayed, and to send for due proportions of men out of each jurisdiction, as well as fix might do, if all met. XI. That if any of the confederates should break these articles, the injury should be considered and ordered by the commissioners for the other jurisdictions, that both peace and this confederation might be inviolably preserved. XII. That this perpetual confederation being considered both by the general court of the Massachusetts, and the commissioners for the three other colonies, was confirmed by the Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New Haven on the 19th of May, 1643, and also by Plymouth on the 7th of September following.

1643.

This confederacy was acknowledged and countenanced by the authority in England from its institution until the restoration; and this union subsisted, with some alterations, until the year 1686, when all the charters were in effect vacated by a commission from King James II.

From the time of this confederacy, the four respective colonies of New England are to be looked upon as one general body, relative to all the public transactions with their neighbours; though the private affairs of each province were managed by magistrates and courts of their own. For many years, commissioners met annually in September, and occasionally at other times; but in the latter part of the union, the meetings were triennial. A special and principal part of their business, after the first years, was the gospelizing the Indians; and the society established by the parliament for propagating the gospel in New England among the Indians, made the commissioners their correspondents and agents; which powers and trust were continued after the grant of a new charter by King Charles II. and a particular account of all their proceedings in this capacity are preserved in their records.

1644.

Mr. Endicot was this year chosen governor, and Mr. Winthrop deputy-governor. The general court shewed a prudent compliance with the powers

power prevailing in England, and passed an order for maintaining peace in the colony: and when the dependance of a colony is truly considered, nothing less is ordinarily to be expected, than an acquiescence under every alteration of government in the mother-country.

As the Indians were daily acquiring the use of fire-arms, the commissioners passed an act, that no person within any of the United Colonies should sell any kind of arms or ammunition to an Indian, under penalty of twenty for one; nor any smith, or other person, mend any gun or other weapon for an Indian, under the like penalty.

Some of the inhabitants of the town of Plymouth removed to a tract of land near the promontory of Cape Cod, and built the town of East Ham.

Mr. Dudley was chosen governor, and Mr. Winthrop deputy-governor for 1645. The commissioners assembled at Boston, to terminate the differences between the Sachems of Narraganset and Mohegin; which was enforced by ordering three hundred men to be raised and march against the Narragansets, who intended suddenly to break out against the English, but were now intimidated, and submitted to pacific terms.

1645.

Though the public peace of the Indians was preserved, the commonwealth was in disorder from intestine commotions. The inhabitants of Hingham, in the county of Suffolk, quarrelled about the election of their chief military officer, and Mr. Deputy Winthrop would have compelled the rioters to give bond to appear at the quarter-court, which they refused, and he committed them to prison for contempt of government. The majority of the town were inflamed at the imprisonment of their friends, and signed a petition to the general court for a free hearing, and freedom of speech to plead their common liberties.

The court and great part of the country were much offended at this petition; and a declaration was published by order of court, in answer to the petition, and in vindication of the government; which was a proceeding derogatory to the honour of the supreme authority. The petitioners were summoned before the court, imprisoned, and fined for seditious and contemptuous expressions. Mr. Winthrop was obliged by the party to answer in public to the complaints against him, to which he consented, although he shewed them how unreasonable it was to call a governor to account during the time of his administration. He came down from the bench, pleaded his cause at the bar, was honourably acquitted, and

b. ii. p. 13.

and resumed his seat on the bench, where he addressed the assembly on the impropriety of licentiously obstructing the regular course of government.

The court and people were so entirely satisfied with this conduct of Mr. Winthrop, and overcome with his condescension, that they chose him governor of the province every year after, as long as he lived. The petitioners carried their complaint to England, with a petition to the parliament, that they might enjoy the liberties of Englishmen; and added to their prayer, that the petition they had presented to the court at Boston might be considered; as also that certain constitutional queries might be resolved.

Mr. Peters and Mr. Weld were dismissed from the agency in England, to which Mr. Winflow was appointed; who, by his prudent management, prevented any prejudice to the colony from such applications.

1646. As Mr. Winthrop was governor in 1646, Mr. Dudley was deputy-governor; and they were both continued as such to the two following years.

1647. Records of the United Colonies. The number of males in each of the four colonies was carried in to the commissioners, to proportion the sum of 1043 *l.* 10*s.* 1*d.* expended for the general service; when it appeared, that the Massachusetts proportion of the sum was 670 *l.* 3*s.* 4*d.* Plymouth's 128 *l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* Connecticut's 140 *l.* 2*s.* 5*d.* and New Haven's 104 *l.* 11*s.*

1648. The civil war had continued some years in England; nor was it terminated until episcopacy was abolished and monarchy destroyed. All the American plantations, except Virginia, inclined to the parliament, and particularly the colonies of New England, because the bishops had been their implacable enemies, and driven them out of the kingdom. One part of the quarrel between the king and parliament was the same for which the colonists abandoned England; therefore the people of New England were attached to the parliamentary interest, which was their own. But although the New England colonies were on the side of the parliament, they were incapable of giving them assistance; and, as spectators at a distance, enjoying all the blessings of peace and plenty, they only heard of the calamities in which their native country was involved.

1649. Mr. Winthrop, the father of the country, died this year, in the sixty-third year of his age, and his death caused a general grief through the colony.

colony. Mr. Endicott succeeded him in the place of governor, and Mr. Dudley took the place of deputy-governor. They joined with the other assistants in an association against wearing long hair; for the rule in New England was, that none should wear their hair below their ears; and it was deemed a greater offence in the clergy, who were especially required to go *patentibus auribus*. Thus, in every age, indifferent things have been condemned as sinful, and placed among the greatest immoralities.

SECTION III.

Affairs with the Dutch and French in 1650. Harvard College incorporated. The first proceedings for propagating the Gospel among the Indians: The Society incorporated for that purpose in England. Petition from the general court of the Massachusetts Bay to the parliament of England against a new patent: and their letter to the Lord-general Cromwell against inviting the Colonists to remove to Ireland in 1651. The province of Main united to the Massachusetts in 1652: A mint erected at Boston for coinage of money. Mr. Dudley dies in 1653. Mr. Bellingham chosen governor, and Mr. Endicot deputy-governor, in 1654: Address of the general court to Oliver Cromwell. Mr. Winslow dies in 1655: Cromwell's views in America: Separation of the Anabaptists. The persecution of the Quakers in 1656: its prevention by King Charles II. in 1661. Remarks thereon.

1650. **A** Controversy which had long subsisted between the colony of New Haven and the Dutch at the Manhados, was settled by the commissioners of the United Colonies in 1650, when Mr. Endicot was again chosen governor of the Massachusetts.

Proposals were made in 1648 to Monsieur D'Aillebout, the governor of Canada, for a free commerce between the Massachusetts and that colony. The French professed to be greatly pleased, and maintained a correspondence upon the subject until 1650, when their governor sent an agent to Boston to settle a trade, and conclude an alliance between the government of Canada and the colonies of Massachusetts and Plymouth; but being informed that all such matters were left to the commissioners of the United Colonies, he returned to Canada, and the next year two gentlemen were sent with letters to the commissioners, intreating assistance from the English against the Mohawks, whom they represented as disturbers of the trade, both of English and French, with other Indians. They promised a due consideration and allowance for the expence of the war, and if the English would not join in it, the French desired they might be permitted to enlist volunteers, and be victualled for the service; but if that could not be obtained, they requested liberty to pass through the English Colonies, by water and land, as occasion required. The French declared, that until these points were settled, they could not proceed upon the treaty of commerce. The commissioners answered, "That the English engaged in no war before they had full and satisfactory evidence that it was just; nor before

before peace upon just terms had been offered and refused: That the Mohawks not being subject to them nor in league with them, they could not require an account of their proceedings, and had no means of information what they had to say for themselves: That to make war with the Mohawks, would expose the Indians, who were neighbours to the English, and professed Christianity: That although they were ready to perform all neighbourly offices to the French colony, yet they could neither permit volunteers to be taken up, nor the French and eastern Indians to pass through the English jurisdiction to invade the Mohawks, lest they should expose, not the Indians only, but the smaller English plantations to danger: That the English were much dissatisfied with that mischievous trade the French and Dutch had begun, and continued, by selling guns, powder, and shot to all the Indians, which rendered them insolent: That if all other difficulties were removed, yet they had no such short and convenient passage, either by land or water, as might be had by Hudson's River, to and beyond Aurania* Fort possessed by the Dutch: That the commissioners conceived the French deputies might proceed to settle a trade; but if they thought proper to limit it under such restrictions, a fitter season for these treaties must be attended, which the commissioners would readily improve whenever it presented."

The college at Cambridge became such an object of attention, that this year it was made a body corporate, by act of the general court, and received a charter under seal of the colony, dated the 31st of May, 1650. The corporation was to consist of a president, five fellows, and a treasurer or burser; who were declared a body politic and corporate in law, to all intents and purposes, by the name of "the President and Fellows of Harvard College." An explanatory act passed in 1657, and another in 1678, to perpetuate and confirm the privileges of Harvard College, which continued to be governed under this charter until 1685, when the colony charter was vacated.

A corporation in England, constituted for propagating the Gospel among the Indians, began their correspondence this year with the commissioners of the United Colonies, who were employed as agents for the corporation, while the union of the colonies continued. One professed design of the colony charter was gospelizing the natives, which had been too much neglected. It was in 1646, that the general court of the Massachusetts passed the first act or order to encourage the gospel

* Albany.

among the Indians, and it was then recommended to the elders to consider how it might be most properly done. Mr. Elliot signalized himself in this attempt, and was remarkably instrumental in converting many Indians, whose understandings he endeavoured to enlighten, by drawing them from their rude, savage, and wandering way of life, to civility, cohabitation, and government. Collections were made in England to promote this salutary work, for the advancement of which the parliament passed an act or ordinance incorporating the Society.

Letters were also published from the two universities of Oxford and Cambridge, calling upon the ministers of England and Wales, to stir up their congregations to a liberal contribution for the promotion of so glorious an undertaking. This collection enabled the Society to purchase an estate in land of about 600 l. a year; but, upon the restoration of King Charles II. the charter became void, and was soon after renewed by the interest of Lord Chancellor Hyde.

1651. Mr. Endicot was chosen governor in 1651, 1652, and 1653; Mr. Dudley deputy-governor. The committee for the state in England imparted their mind to Mr. Winslow, agent for the colony, respecting the government of the several jurisdictions in New England; he acquainted Mr. Dudley therewith, and that an answer was expected; in consequence of which, the court agreed upon a petition to the parliament, and a letter to Oliver Cromwell, then general for the parliament.

It was expected that all processes in the colony should be in the name of the keepers of the liberties of England; or that there should be an acknowledgment of the powers then in being, by a renewal of the patent; but it is certain, that neither proposal was adopted or established.

In October 1651, hostilities began between the English and Dutch in Europe; but the Dutch colony at Manhados was in too feeble a state openly to annoy the English colonies, and therefore desired to preserve peace in America, which gave the English an opportunity to carry on an advantageous treaty with the Dutch.

1652. The province of Main was claimed by the Massachusetts as within the bounds of their charter, and commissioners were sent to treat with the principal inhabitants about the surrender of their lands.

Sir

Sir Ferdinando Gorge and Captain Mason, so early as 1629, obtained from the council of Plymouth a grant of all that tract of land from the heads of Merrimack River and Sagadahock to Lake Ontario; but as they never occupied it, this grant became obsolete, and may be said to have reverted to the crown. Sir Ferdinando Gorge also obtained a grant from the council of Plymouth, in 1635, of a tract of land called the Province of Main, extending from Piscataqua River to Sagadahock and Quenebec River; which grant was confirmed by the crown in 1639, and afterward purchased by the agents of Massachusetts Bay of the representatives of Gorge.

The north and south lines running inland were a hundred and twenty miles: the front or sea line, and the rear line, might be about eighty miles; that is, the contents of the province of Main might be about nine thousand six hundred square miles; in which sea line were the townships or districts of Kittery, York, Wells, Arundel, Biddeford, Scarborough, Falmouth, and others, whose principal inhabitants now submitted to the Massachusetts, and the province was made a county by the name of Yorkshire, from which time the towns sent their deputies to the general court at Boston; and to this county was annexed the territory of Sagadahock.

As the trade of the province increased with the West Indies, where the buccaneers or pirates were numerous at this time; and as part of the wealth which they procured from the Spaniards was brought to New England in bullion, it was thought necessary to erect a mint for coining shillings, six-pences, and three-pences, with no other impression at first than N E on the one side, and XII. VI. or III. on the other: but it was now ordered, that all pieces of money should have a double ring with this inscription, MASSACHUSETTS, and a tree in the center on one side, with NEW ENGLAND and the year of our Lord on the other side. No other colony ever presumed to coin any metal into money, and no notice was taken of it by the parliament or protector: it was even indulged by Charles II. for more than twenty years; and although it was made one of the charges against the colony, when the charter was called in question, yet no great stress was laid upon it.

At the same session, a committee or council of trade was appointed, ^{Massachusetts} after the example as expressed in the order of the parliament: they were ^{Records} to meet at Boston or Charles Town to receive proposals for promoting trade; but nothing came from this attempt.

7th. Mr.

Sir

1653. Mr. Dudley died the 31st of July 1653, in the 77th year of his age, greatly lamented, as he was a principal founder of the colony, and had recommended himself by great firmness and fidelity in discharge of his trust. He had never been out of the magistracy, and generally either governor or deputy-governor. Mr. Cotton, one of the ministers at Boston, died a short time before, and was esteemed the oracle of the colony: he was in the 68th year of his age, and was interred with great solemnity.

1654. Mr. Bellingham was chosen governor, and Mr. Endicot deputy-governor, at a time when the peace with the Dutch, together with "the hopeful establishment of government in England," occasioned a public thanksgiving in the Massachusetts, whose general court, on the 24th of August 1654, transmitted an address to Oliver Cromwell, the Lord Protector.

1655. Mr. Winflow, who had been governor of Plymouth colony, and agent to the Massachusetts in England, died this year, at the head of an expedition to Hispaniola, and his body was honourably committed to the sea between Domingo and Jamaica, on the 8th of May.

Cromwell appears to have been the first who had a true sense of the importance of the colonies to their mother-country. The expedition to Hispaniola was by him well intended, though badly executed, and his plan for enlarging the national interest in America no doubt extended further than the conquest of that island.

The separation of the Anabaptists from the established churches of the colony began at Rehoboth, in Plymouth patent, in 1650; but was soon suppressed: after which began what has been generally called the persecution of the Quakers, whose sect first appeared in England in 1644, and soon spread into America.

1656. No person appeared in New England who professed the opinion of the Quakers until 1656, when Mary Fisher and Ann Austin came from Barbadoes; and soon after, nine others arrived in the ship *Speedwell* of London. Their head-quarters were at Salem, where they made several converts, and seemed to join with the Antinomians and Anabaptists. They were unhappily successful in seducing the people, not only to attend to the mystical dispensation of the light within, as having the whole of religion contained in it; but also to oppose the good order, both civil

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and sacred, erected in the colony. They impiously declared, that they were immediately sent from God; and blasphemously asserted, that they were infallibly assisted by the Holy Spirit: they also pretended to despise the power of the civil magistrates, and gave great disturbance to the government; dissuading the people from bearing arms, and declaring all military defence unlawful to Christians. This doctrine was deemed particularly dangerous to an infant state surrounded by Indian enemies: on which account they were imprisoned, and their books ordered to be publicly burnt. The court passed sentence of banishment against them all; though at this time there was no special provision by law for the punishment of Quakers, who came within a colony law against heretics in general. At the next sessions an act was passed, laying a penalty of one hundred pounds upon the master of any vessel who should bring a known Quaker into the colony, and requiring the master to give security to carry the Quaker back again; as also that the Quaker should be severely whipped, and kept to hard labour until transportation. A further penalty of five pounds was laid for importing, and the like for dispersing Quakers books, with severe penalties for defending their heretical opinions.

Three persons were punished under this act, which was not sufficient to deter other Quakers from coming into the country; and the general court made the following more sanguinary laws: "That whoever brought any Quaker there should forfeit 100 l. That those who concealed a Quaker, knowing him to be such, should pay forty shillings an hour for such concealment; and any Quaker, after the first conviction, if a man, was to lose one ear, and a second time the other; a woman, each time to be severely whipped, and the third time, man or woman, to have their tongues bored through with a red hot iron; beside every Quaker, who should become such in the colony, was subjected to the like punishments." Three Quakers had their ears cut off accordingly, yet others arrived; and a farther law was made for punishing with death all Quakers who should return into the jurisdiction after banishment. Some were imprisoned, others whipped; several banished; and a few hanged; which proceedings were very unjustifiable.

Such a degree of persecution raised a great clamour against the government, and sullied the glory of their former sufferings, from the episcopal power, "for now it appeared, that the New England Puritans were no better friends to liberty of conscience than their adversaries; and that the question between them was not, whether one party of Christians should

1657.

1658.

1659.

Neale, l. 329.

should have power to oppress another, but who should have that power." Great numbers of the common people were offended at these proceedings, as well as the generality of sober persons in the several nations of Europe, which obliged the magistrates to publish a declaration in vindication of themselves, as agreeable to the example of England in their provision against Jesuits.

It has been observed, upon this declaration, that the law of putting Quakers to death was contrary to the laws of England, and consequently a forfeiture of the colony charter; the court began to be sensible that the putting men to death for their religious proceedings was odious in the eye of the world; that in the case of the Quakers it could not answer their ends, for the more they persecuted, the more bloody work they had upon their hands; therefore it was resolved to whip them as vagabonds. The Restoration of King Charles II. was also favourable to the Quakers, who had interest to prevail upon that Monarch to put a stop to the sufferings of their friends in New England, and to obtain an order to the following effect: "That his Majesty having been informed that several of his subjects in New England had been and were imprisoned there, whereof some had been executed, and others were in danger to undergo the like; his Majesty thought fit to signify his pleasure in that behalf for the future, and required, that if any of those people called Quakers were there then condemned to suffer death, or other corporal punishment, or that were imprisoned, and obnoxious to the like condemnation, the magistrates were to forbear to proceed any further therein, but should forthwith send the said persons over to England, together with their respective crimes, or offences laid to their charges; to the end such course might be taken with them there, as should be agreeable to his laws and their demerits."

This put an effectual stop to the sufferings of the Quakers on account of their principles; but some of them were afterward punished as vagabonds, and criminals against the state. It would have been more rational if the magistracy of the Massachusetts had directed their most eminent Minister to answer Mr. Barclay's Latin Treatise for Quakerism in the same language, on account of its universality. The people called by the ludicrous name of Quakers were afterward remarkable for a laudable frugality, reciprocal friendship, and moral honesty. They attained a considerable interest in the Commonwealth; peeragelike they were indulged with affirmation, instead of a judicial oath; and in New England they were exempted by laws from paying rates to the township ministers.

From

MASSACHUSETTS BAY.

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From 1656 to 1660, there are few other facts relative to the public affairs of the colony that are worth transmitting to posterity. The rapid increase of the Massachusetts Colony, together with the figure which many of the first settlers made in England before their removal, and the correspondence which they maintained with their friends of great distinction there many years after, eclipsed the colony of New Plymouth, whose growth and progress would otherwise have been thought considerable.

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SECTION.

SECTION IV.

Mr. Endicot chosen governor, and Mr. Bellingham deputy-governor, in 1660. The Massachusetts corporation congratulates King Charles II. on his restoration. His Majesty's letter in answer. The King proclaimed in New England, in 1661. Declaration of the general court of the Massachusetts of their rights by charter. Synod held at Boston, in 1662, concerning baptism of infants. Hampshire county established. Ministers arrive in New England, in 1663, after the act of uniformity. The colonies of Connecticut and New Haven united by charter, in 1664. New York conquered from the Dutch. Commissioners appointed by the King to superintend the government of the colonies in New England. Address of the general court of the Massachusetts colony to his Majesty thereon. Letter from Lord Chancellor Clarendon to the Massachusetts corporation against their address. The propositions of the commissioners to Plymouth jurisdiction. Mr. Endicot dies in 1665, and is succeeded as governor of the Massachusetts by Mr. Bellingham. Form of the oath of allegiance taken there. State of the colony. Disputes between the commissioners and the general court in 1666.

1660. **T**HE government of New England submitted to all the changes in Old England for the last twenty years: they owned the parliament, acquiesced in the Commonwealth, submitted to the Protector, and at last addressed the King.

Mr. Endicot was chosen governor, and Mr. Bellingham deputy-governor in 1660, when Simon Bradstreet, Esq. secretary of the Massachusetts colony, and the reverend Mr. John Norton, were sent with an address of congratulation to his Majesty, upon his accession to the throne of his ancestors, in which the colonists made signal expressions of their loyalty, and endeavoured to justify their conduct toward the Quakers. They told the King, that the Quakers were open capital blasphemers; open seducers from the glorious Trinity, the Lord Christ, the blessed Gospel and from the Holy Scriptures, as the rule of life; open enemies to government itself, as established in the hands of any but men of their own principle; malignant promoters of doctrines directly tending to subvert both church and state. After which, the Colonists supplicated his Majesty for his gracious protection of them in the continuance both of their civil and religious liberties, according to the grantees known end of suing for the patent conferred upon the plantation by his royal father.

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The King received their address in a gracious manner, and sent back letters to the colony, signifying, that the expressions of their loyalty and affection to him were very acceptable; that he would confirm their privileges, and give them all kind of protection and encouragement. The colonists, however, were not satisfied with the conduct of their agents, who might have flattered the court too much, or promised more for their country than they ought.

His Majesty's gracious pardon to all his subjects was likewise declared, for all treasons during the late troubles, except to such as stood attainted by act of parliament, if any such should have transported themselves thither: but then it was required, "That all their laws should be reviewed, and such as were contrary or derogatory to the royal authority and government should be annulled and repealed; that the oath of allegiance should be duly administered; that the administration of justice should be in the name of his Majesty; that freedom should be given to all such as desired to use the Book of Common Prayer, and perform their devotions in the manner established in England; and that they might not undergo any prejudice thereby, all persons of good and honest lives and conversations should be admitted to the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, according to the Book of Common Prayer, and their children to Baptism: that in the choice of governor and assistants, the only consideration to be had should be of the wisdom, virtue, and integrity of the persons to be chosen, and not of any faction with reference to opinions and outward profession: that all freeholders of competent estates, though of different persuasions concerning church government, should have their votes in the election of all officers, civil and military; and finally, that this letter should be published."

Whaley and Goffe, who had been two of the proscribed regicides, arrived at Boston; and the governor received a royal mandate to secure them: but they were secreted in several parts of New England for many years.

The King was not proclaimed in the colony until the 7th of August 1661, when it was done in the following form: "Forasmuch as Charles II. is undoubted King of Great Britain and all other his Majesty's territories and dominions thereunto belonging, and hath been some time since lawfully proclaimed and crowned accordingly; We therefore do, as in duty bound, own and acknowledge him to be our Sovereign Lord and King, and do therefore hereby proclaim and declare his sacred Majesty Charles II. to be lawful King of Great Britain, France, and Ire-

land, and all other the territories thereunto belonging: God Save the King."

All processes were ordered to be issued in his Majesty's name; a committee was appointed to consider of other matters; in consequence of whose report, at the sessions of the general court, held at Boston the same year, a formal declaration was made of their charter rights.

1662. Great debates arose among the ministers of New England concerning the right of the grandchildren of church members to the Sacrament of Baptism, whose immediate parents had not entered into the communion. The importance of this matter sprung from hence: the ministers baptized none but the children of those of their communion; so that if, either through fear, or any other motive, they did not become actual church members when they were of age, none of their posterity could be admitted to Baptism; and this was become a very common case, since the grandchildren of the first planters began to rise up in the world. The dispute began in Connecticut, but soon became general, and a synod of the elders and messengers of all the churches in the Massachusetts colony was convened at Boston, in the month of September, by order of the general court.

Mather,
b. v. p. 64.
Neal, i. p.
554.

The result of this synod was printed by order of the general court, and is particularly mentioned by their ecclesiastical writers, who observe, that almost all the churches of New England were divided upon this occasion.

The inhabitants upon Connecticut River being increased to the three townships of Springfield, Northampton, and Hadley, were made a county, by the name of Hampshire, at the sessions of the general court.

The spirit of the church ran very high in England against the Presbyterians and Independents, with whom the bishops would come to no terms, but by an act of uniformity, which took place on St. Bartholomew's day. About two thousand ministers were turned out of their benefices, and some of them followed the example of their predecessors, the Puritans, by removing to New England, where they spent the remainder of their lives.

1663. Some violent shocks of an earthquake were felt in New England, which spread an universal consternation among the people, but no considerable damage ensued.

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The colonies of Connecticut and New Haven were united by the royal charter, which was obtained by John Winthrop, Esq; son of the late governor of the Massachusetts; and the United Colonies elected him annually their governor as long as he lived.

1664.

The war between the English and Dutch broke out about this time, and King Charles II. was resolved to dispossess the Dutch of their settlements upon Hudson's River, which was first discovered by Captain Hudson, an Englishman, who sold it to the Dutch in 1608, without consent of the crown: the King therefore looked upon the Dutch as intruders, and made a grant of the whole country called Nova Belgia to his brother, the Duke of York, who gave it the name of New York. A squadron of men of war, with some land forces, under the command of Sir Robert Carre were sent to expel the Dutch, who were easily reduced, and submitted to the English government.

Sir Robert Carre, Colonel Richard Nichols, George Cartwright, and Samuel Maverick, Esqrs. were also commissioned to call at New England, to hear and determine such differences as subsisted among the Colonies.

The commissioners also brought with them letters from his Majesty to the several colonies, and particularly one to the governor and council of New Plymouth, wherein his Majesty declared, that "he took them into his immediate protection, and had ordered the commissioners to settle the bounds and jurisdictions of the several colonies."

The line between the Massachusetts and Plymouth was fully and amicably settled and surveyed, by a committee from each colony, whose return was accepted by the general courts, and ordered to be recorded.

From the restoration until the charter was vacated, the colony never stood well in England; so that the principal persons, both in church and state, were always apprehensive they should be deprived of their privileges. The commissioners arrived at Boston in July, and opened their commission; in consequence of which, the general court of the Massachusetts colony drew up a long address to the King, concluding thus: "Royal Sir, it is in your power to say of your poor people in New England, they shall not die. If we have found favour in the sight of our King, let our life be given us at our petition (or rather that which is dearer than life, which we have ventured our lives and willingly passed through many deaths to obtain) and our all at our request: Let our government live, our patent live, our magistrates live, our laws and liberties live, our religious enjoyments

ments live; so shall we all yet have farther cause to say from our hearts, Let the King live for ever."

The Colonists also sent supplicatory letters to several of the nobility, and particularly to the Lord Chancellor Clarendon, who sent a letter to the Massachusetts colony, directed to "the Governor and Gentlemen," wherein his lordship informed them, "That he had perused their petition to his Majesty, and confessed to them, he was so much a friend to their colony, that if the same had been communicated to nobody but himself, he should have dissuaded the presenting the same to his Majesty, who, he doubted, would not think himself well treated by it, or the singular care he had expressed of his subjects in those parts sufficiently acknowledged: but since he found, by their letter to the Lord Chamberlain and Mr. Boyle, that they expected some effect from their petition, upon conference with them, they had all agreed not to hinder the delivery of it, though he had read to them the instructions the commissioners had; and they confessed that his Majesty could not express more grace and goodness for that his plantation, nor put it more out of their power, in any degree, to invade the liberties and privileges granted to them by his charter: That he knew not what they meant by saying, the commissioners had power to exercise government there altogether inconsistent with their charter and privileges; since he was sure their commission was to see and provide for the due and full observation of the charter, and that all the privileges granted by that charter might be equally enjoyed by all his Majesty's subjects there: He knew they were expressly inhibited from intermeddling with, or instructing the administration of justice, according to the forms observed there; but if, in any extraordinary case, the proceedings there had been irregular, and against the rules of justice, as some particular cases, particularly recommended to them by his Majesty, seemed to be, it could not be presumed that his Majesty would leave his subjects of New England without hope of redress by an appeal to him, which his subjects of all his other kingdoms had free liberty to make."

1665. The propositions of his Majesty's commissioners to Plymouth's jurisdiction were as follow:

"1. That all householders, inhabiting in their colony, take the oath of allegiance; and that their administration of justice be in his Majesty's name. 2. That all men of competent estates and civil conversation, though of different judgment, might be admitted to be freemen, and have liberty to choose and be chosen officers, both civil and military. 3. That all men and women of orthodox opinions, competent estates, knowledge,
civil

civil lives and not scandalous, might be admitted to the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, and their children to Baptism, if they desired it; either by admitting them into the congregation already gathered, or permitting them to gather themselves into such congregations where they might enjoy the benefit of the Sacrament, and that difference in opinion might not break the bonds of peace and charity. 4. That all laws and expressions in laws derogatory to his Majesty, if any such had been made in the late troublesome times, might be repealed, altered, and taken off from the file."

The court consented to the first, second, and fourth of these propositions; but they made some exceptions to the third; and declared, "that the league between the four colonies was not with any intent to cast off their dependance upon England; a thing which they utterly abhorred."

Mr. Endicot, the governor of the Massachusetts, died the 15th of March, 1665, and was interred at Boston with great honour and solemnity. He was succeeded by Mr. Bellingham; after which many altercations passed between the Kings commissioners and the general court, the latter of whom prescribed the oath of allegiance in the following form:

"Whereas I, A. B. am an inhabitant within this jurisdiction, considering how I stand obliged to the King's Majesty, his heirs and successors, by our charter and the government established thereby, do swear accordingly, by the great and dreadful name of the ever-living God, that I will bear faith and true allegiance to our sovereign Lord the King, his heirs and successors:

"So help me God."

For the form of their Constitution, they referred to their patent; and alleged, "That the annual charges of government were about 1200*l.* for their ecclesiastical constitution; but they had none imposed by civil authority; all that was enjoined by that, was attendance on public worship on Lord's days and other occasional days. That the people who maintained, also chose, their ministers, whose administrations were known, and they hoped consonant to the word of God; or if any deviated, in such case they made use of a synod and the civil authority. That the militia consisted of about four thousand foot, and four hundred horse: that they had a fort at the entrance of Boston harbour, with six guns; two batteries in the harbour, and one at Charles Town. That the number of their ships and vessels were, about eighty from twenty to forty tons; about forty from forty to one hundred tons; and about a dozen ships above one hundred tons."

HISTORY OF BRITISH AMERICA.

The commissioners in their reply said, " They supposed the King and his council, and the Church of England, understood the word of God as well as the Massachusetts corporation: they feared such answers would highly offend the King; and advised to an ingenuous and free consent to what he desired." The court then sent a message to the commissioners, whereby they desired to be excused from a direct answer to the question, " Whether they acknowledged his Majesty's commission?" They chose rather " to plead his Majesty's charter, and his special charge to the commissioners not to disturb them in the enjoyment of it; but they were ready to give such an account of their proceedings, as that the commissioners might be able to represent their persons and actions to his Majesty." The commissioners insisted on a direct answer to their question; to which the court declared, " It was enough for them to give their sense of the powers granted to them by charter; and that it was beyond their line to determine the power, intent, or purpose of his Majesty's commission."

The commissioners then summoned the governor and company of the colony to appear before them, to answer the complaint of Thomas Dean and others, for injustice done unto them; but the court drew up a declaration against such proceedings, and ordered the same to be published by sound of trumpet. The commissioners referred the whole to his Majesty, and broke off from any further conference; after which, they went to New Hampshire and the province of Main, where they appointed justices of the peace, and exercised divers acts of government. They had no better success at Connecticut than in the Massachusetts colony; but they met with less opposition at Plymouth and Rhode Island.

The government of the colony apprehended they should not be thought culpable for refusing an entire submission to the absolute authority of the commissioners, which must have superseded their charter; and if this authority had been once admitted, they would have found it very difficult ever after to have ejected it. Some part of their conduct may appear extraordinary; particularly their refusing to make the oath of allegiance necessary, unless with restrictions and limitations; and to cause all proceedings at law to be more expressly in his Majesty's name and by his authority: But it should be observed, that those persons who had the greatest influence among them, had some singular sentiments upon the nature of civil subjection, which they distinguished into necessary and voluntary. That from actual residence within any government necessarily arose subjection, or an obligation to submit to the laws and authority thereof; but birth was no necessary cause of subjection. That the subjects
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of any prince or state had a natural right to remove to any other state, or to another quarter of the world, unless the state was debilitated and endangered by such an emigration; and even in that case, if they were deprived of the right of all mankind, liberty of conscience, it would justify a separation; and, upon their removal, their subjection determined and ceased. That the country to which they themselves had removed was claimed and possessed by independent princes, whose right to the sovereignty thereof had been acknowledged by the Kings of England. They therefore looked upon themselves obliged, and accordingly, as appeared by their records, actually had purchased, for valuable considerations, not only the soil, but the dominion, lordship, and sovereignty of those princes; and without such purchase, in the sight of God and men, they had no right or title to what they possessed. That the King, indeed, in imitation of other princes of Europe, who laid claim to countries merely from the discovery of them, had granted this country to certain of his subjects; and the first planters thought it proper to purchase the title of such grantees, to prevent molestation from them or from other states; and they had also received a charter of incorporation from the King, containing a mutual compact, from whence arose a new kind of subjection, to which they were held, and from which they never would depart.

This was what they called voluntary civil subjection, arising from compact; from whence it followed, that whatsoever could be brought into question relative to their subjection, must be determined by their charter. In a short time, however, they were contented fully to comply with the oath of allegiance without qualifying it, and to give up other points which they had before insisted upon: And their posterity, who claim by birth-right as well as charter the peculiar privileges of Englishmen, and who enjoy the protection, are very sensible that they likewise owe the allegiance of English subjects, which, by a general rule of law, is not considered as local, but perpetual and unalienable.

The King recommended, by a letter dated the 22d of February, 1665, to the governor and council of the Massachusetts, an expedition against Canada; to which the court, in their answer to Lord Arlington, July 17, 1666, said, that "having consulted with Sir Thomas Temple, governor of Nova Scotia; and with the governor of Connecticut, they concluded it was not feasible at present, as well in respect of the difficulty, if not impossibility of a land march over the rocky mountains and howling deserts, about four hundred miles, as the strength of the French there, according to reports."

His Majesty sent a letter, dated the 10th of April, 1666, to the colony of New Plymouth, acknowledging his having received a satisfactory account from his commissioners, both of the good reception they had given them, and also of their dutifulness and obedience to him.

Another letter of the same date was also sent by the King to the Massachusetts colony, requiring deputies to be sent to England to answer to the complaints of his commissioners of opposition to their authority; and commanding the colonists to annul their proceedings, relative to that affair.

This letter was delivered by Mr. Maverick to the governor, when he was assisting in a court of assistants for the trial of causes; affirming it came under cover with a letter from the King to Sir Robert Carr and the other commissioners. The governor assembled a special court on the 11th of September, to consider of the letter; and the elders were desired to give their advice. Several persons petitioned the general court to comply with the royal order; but they were censured for intermeddling: Some of the elders, however, inclined that the two magistrates should be sent, and thought they ought to obey for conscience sake; but this was opposed by others, who urged, "that if two might be sent for, so might ten; that the civil magistrate was the minister of God for the good of the people, and so far as his commands tended to their good, they ought to obey; but none would say it was for the good of the colony to send away their rulers." At last it was agreed to send Mr. Secretary Morrice a letter, wherein the court seemed willing to doubt the genuineness of his Majesty's letter; and excused themselves from sending any persons over; supposing the ablest among them could not declare their cause more fully than it had been already done.

The commissioners influenced some of the inhabitants of the towns in New Hampshire to sign a petition and complaint to his Majesty of the wrongs they had sustained from the Massachusetts, "who had usurped the government over them;" but this was opposed by the majority, who declared their dissent; and all the towns desired to be considered as part of the Massachusetts colony, as they had been for many years before.

Mr. Danforth, Mr. Luther, and Mr. Leveret were also appointed to settle the peace in the province of Main, by bringing the people to an orderly submission; which was attended with some difficulty.

As to the proceedings between the commissioners and the colony, it appears, on the one hand, that the government had not sufficient excuse for non-compliance with what the King required; which might have prevented such a commission from issuing. But, on the other hand, that commission seems a stretch of power, which might supersede the charter in many respects; and in the conduct of the general court, upon this occasion, there is no appearance of an obstinate perverse spirit, but a modest steady adherence to what they imagined their just rights and privileges. At the same time they endeavoured, not only by repeated addresses and professions of loyalty to appease his Majesty, but they purchased a ship-load of masts, the freight whereof cost them sixteen hundred pounds sterling, and presented the same to the King, who graciously accepted that testimony of their affection. Beside, as the fleet in the West Indies was in want of provisions, a subscription and contribution were recommended through the colony, for bringing in provisions to be sent to the fleet for the service of his Majesty; and it appears by the record that several towns liberally subscribed.

About two hundred and fifty of the inhabitants of St. Christopher's had been taken by the French, and were brought to Boston, where others were expected; and provision was made by the court for the relief and support of such as were in necessity. And upon the news of the great fire in London, a large collection was made through the colony for the relief of the sufferers.

From 1666 to 1670, Mr. Bellingham was annually chosen governor, and Mr. Willoughby deputy-governor. Mr. John Wilson, the first minister of Boston church, died on the 7th of August, 1667, in the seventy-ninth year of his age: he had been their pastor thirty-seven years, and left a most amiable character. 1667.

Some extraordinary incidents occasioned the magistrates to promote a "reformation of manners:" a letter was therefore printed, and addressed, from the governor and council, "To the Elders and Ministers of every town within the jurisdiction of the Massachusetts in New England;" wherein they exhorted them to follow the examples of Holy Scripture, and required them to be very diligent and careful to catechise and instruct all people under their charge in the sound principles of the Christian Religion: "The effectual and constant prosecution thereof, they hoped, would have a tendency to promote the salvation of souls, to suppress the growth of sin and profaneness, to beget more love and unity among the people, and more reverence and esteem of the ministry." 1668.

About this time, the displeasure of the government ran very high against the Anabaptists and Quakers, who were severely treated by fines, imprisonment, and banishment; which occasioned a letter from the principal dissenting ministers in London to the governor of the Massachusetts, "beseeching him to make use of his authority and interest, for the restoring such to their liberty as were in prison on account of religion, and that their sanguinary laws might not be put in execution for the future."

Mather, b.
vii. p. 28.

1669. The Anabaptists in both Englands were certainly in such very low repute at this time, that their enemies thought it not worth their while to confute them with arguments, but took a shorter way to ruin them, by slander and villany. The Quakers also renewed their complaints in London concerning the sufferings of their friends in New England, where none of the penal laws had been put in execution against them since 1661, except what related to vagabonds.

The inhabitants of Boston were now grown so numerous, that the two meeting-houses would not hold them; therefore a third church was gathered out of the first, and Mr. Thacher was appointed minister. Mr. Richard Mather, minister of Dorchester, died the 22d of April, 1669, in the 73d year of his age; he left behind him four sons, all educated for the ministry; 1. Mr. Samuel Mather, first fellow of Harvard College; 2. Nathaniel; 3. Eleazer; and 4. Doctor Increase Mather, father of Doctor Cotton Mather, who wrote the Ecclesiastical History of New England.

1671. The colony began to make a greater figure than ever; for the report made by the commissioners to the King had produced no further troubles from England, where the plague, the fire of the metropolis, and the dissensions among the people, operated in favour of the Colonies. The Massachusetts governed New Hampshire and Main without opposition; and were beginning settlements even further eastward. The French were removed from their neighbourhood on the one side, as also were the Dutch and Swedes on the other. The trade of the colonists was extensive; and no custom-house was established. It is true, the acts of parliament of the 12th and 15th of King Charles II. for regulating the Plantation-trade, were in force, but the governor, whose business it was to carry them into execution, was annually to be elected by the people, whose interest it was that they should not be observed. Some of the merchants and principal inhabitants became very wealthy, while a spirit of industry and frugality prevailed through the colony: but soon afterward happened a change of affairs.

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The number of students in Harvard College was so much increased, that a contribution of 1895 *l.* of which 800 *l.* was collected in Boston, was raised to enlarge the building. With this money, and some other assistance, a new college was erected, which retained the original name: and, on this occasion, the general court passed a new act for confirming the college-charter, granted in 1650, and for encouraging donations to it. Governor Bellingham died on the 7th of December, 1672, in the eightieth year of his age: He was bred a lawyer, and was severe in his principles against the Anabaptists and Quakers, but of incorrupted integrity. John Leveret, Esq. succeeded Mr. Bellingham in the government of the Massachusetts colony, and soon after died Mr. Thomas Prince, governor of Plymouth colony, in the 73d year of his age, greatly beloved and universally lamented, as a gentleman of amiable manners and uncorrupted integrity.

1672.

The strict union which had subsisted between the civil and ecclesiastical parts of the constitution, became much weakened and in danger of being broke; but neither the church of New Haven, nor the elders of the church of Boston could be wholly justified in this dispute.

The house of deputies appointed a committee to enquire into the prevailing evils of the land, and they reported, among other causes, the declension from the primitive foundation work; innovation in worship, opinion, and practice; and invasions of the rights, liberties, and privileges of churches.

Several of the ministers presented an address to the general court, wherein they solemnly professed that "they still adhered to the safe and sober principles of the congregational way, in opposition to separation, morellian, or anarchical confusion and licentious toleration." They made this profession to vindicate their integrity and innocency from the charge of innovation and apostacy.

The whole colony were evidently engaged in this dispute; for out of fifty members, the number of the house this year, there were only twenty of the former members; which produced a profession, "That the court would adhere to the primitive ends of their coming over; and retain the sober principles of the congregational way, and the practice of their churches, in their purest and most athletic constitution."

It is thus apparent, that the civil had a great attachment to the ecclesiastical power; and as long as the charter continued, the clerical influence prevailed.

SECTION

SECTION V.

Mr. Leveret chosen governor of the Massachusetts in 1673.—The war with the Indians, called Philip's war, in 1675: its origin, progress, and conclusion. The English troops enter the country of the Narragansets, and compel them to submit to terms of peace and amity. Philip and his allies defeated in several engagements. Mr. Winslow appointed general of the united forces of the respective colonies. The grand attack upon five thousand Indians in their fortified swamp. Ravages committed by the Indians in 1676. The death of Philip, and end of the war. Remarks.—Insurrection of the Indians in the eastern parts of New England suppressed. General remarks.

1673. **M**R. Leveret was governor of the Massachusetts colony in 1673, and was annually continued till his death in 1676. His father, Mr. Thomas Leveret, removed with his family from Boston in Lincolnshire, in 1633.

The war with the Indians, commonly called Philip's war, broke out about this time, and endangered the very being of the colony. The English, on their arrival, had such ideas of the Sachems, that respect was shewn them at the first meetings, in some proportion to what would have been required by the prince of a petty state in Europe: but the sordid minds of the best of them, and the little authority they had over their own subjects, soon rendered them contemptible. At New Plymouth, the governor, in the first treaty with Massasoiet in 1620, acquainted him that King James considered him as his good friend and ally; which was too great an honour for Massasoiet, who was content to acknowledge the king to be his sovereign; and the next year the governor caused the petty Sachems to sign an instrument, in which they owned themselves to be subject to King James. The domestic quarrels of the Indians were a further security to the English, who endeavoured to restrain them from an open war with each other; yet kept-up so much contention as to prevent a combination, and to make an appeal to the English, as umpires, necessary from time to time.

Old Massasoiet died in 1662, after which his two sons Wamsutta and Metacomet came to the court of Plymouth, and requested to have English names given them; whereupon the court named the elder brother Alexander, and the younger Philip: but notwithstanding their high pretensions of

of friendship to the English, the court had soon after information that Alexander was soliciting the Narragansets to make war upon them. He was prevented in this design by Mr. Winslow, who brought him prisoner to Plymouth, where he was treated with great humanity and respect; but his great spirit swelling with revenge for the disgrace he was under, threw him into a fever, which occasioned his death. He was succeeded by his brother Philip, a bold and daring young man, who thought it his temporary interest to desire the continuance of that amity which had subsisted between the government of Plymouth and his late father and brother. At the same time he promised, "for himself and his successors, to remain subjects to the King of England, his heirs and successors; to observe such conditions as had been formerly made, and particularly that he would not unjustly raise war with any of the natives, or dispose of any lands without the privity and appointment of the English governor;" who, in return, promised "to continue with him in friendship, and to afford him such assistance and advice as they justly might."

The Indians within the Massachusetts bounds were not under one general Sachem, but divided into smaller governments, which were brought to acknowledge the subjection of the Massachusetts: but the laws could not restrain all persons from selling muskets or ammunition to the Indians, who were generally furnished with both, and were become expert marksmen in 1670, when the Pocanokets, or Wampanoags, under Philip, were suspected of hostile intentions, and he was charged by the English with being haughty, perfidious, and impious. In fact, they charged him "with pride and ambition, in aspiring to the sovereignty of a country, which he would have enjoyed as his inheritance if they had not prevented; with perfidy, in breaking promises made while under restraint, and in the power of those to whom they were made; and with impiety, in refusing to receive his religion from his enemies."

Philip was induced to meet the English commissioners at Taunton, where a writing was drawn up, which he consented to sign, acknowledging his past breach of faith, and promising future fidelity. He thereby also engaged, "to resign up to the government of New Plymouth all his English arms, to be kept by them for their security, so long as they should see reason." His submitting to the acknowledgment in writing was of little consequence; because the Indians in general will promise any thing required of them to remove an impending danger, or to procure an immediate benefit. Accordingly, when Philip was at liberty, he thought no more of his engagements; and many strange Indians resorted to him.

At this time there was a breach in the union between the colonies from some misunderstandings, which were soon rectified, and some alterations made in the articles. The court of Plymouth wrote to the Massachusetts, that they were preparing to make war against Philip, who came to Boston, and agreed "for himself, his council, and subjects, to acknowledge themselves subject to the King of England, and the government of New Plymouth, and to their laws. To pay unto the government of Plymouth one hundred pounds in such things as he had, in the term of three years. To send unto the governor five wolves heads yearly. To settle any difference between his people and the English. To make no war without the governor's approbation; and not to dispose of any lands without his consent."

The English were too much inclined to consider the Indians as a race of beings by nature inferior to them, and born to servitude. Philip was a man of high spirit, who could not bear to see the English extending their settlements over the dominions of his ancestors, and he could never rest until he brought on the war which ended in his destruction.

War was proclaimed in Boston against the Dutch, on the 28th of May, 1672, in consequence of the King's declaration of war published in England; and this was the first instance of any public declaration of war in the colony. About the same time, the union between the three colonies was renewed by commissioners, and ratified by the general court at Boston. The commissioners were now to meet but once in three years, unless upon extraordinary occasions; and the proportion of men, for any general service, was settled for fifteen years to come as follows; Massachusetts 100, Plymouth 30, and Connecticut 60.

The timber castle at the entrance of Boston harbour was accidentally destroyed by fire, on the 21st of March 1673; after which, a new fortress of stone was erected, said then to be a strong work.

1674.

From 1671 to 1674 there appears no material transaction relative to the Indians; but it is affirmed, that Philip was all that time engaging them to unite against the English in all parts of the colony. His principal seat of residence was at Mount Hope, from whence he removed to other places for hunting and fishing, particularly to Namasket or Middleborough; and he had a hunting-house in Taunton, near a swamp called the Fowling-pond, which was afterward set off from Taunton, and with other lands made a town by the name of Raynham. The Indians about Hadley intimated the designs of Philip, whom the Narragansets were

were to furnish with four thousand men. The war was hurried on by a piece of revenge which Philip caused to be taken upon John Saufaman, a praying Indian, who had been brought up in the profession of the Christian religion, and discovered to the governor of Plymouth the hostile measures that were taking by Philip; on which account the latter got Saufaman assassinated as he was travelling the country alone. The murder was soon discovered, and the two murderers apprehended by the governor of Plymouth, who had them tried by a jury, half of whom were Indians, upon whose verdict they were convicted, and executed, according to the English laws.

Mr. Winflow was then governor of Plymouth, and wrote to Mr. Leveret, the Massachusetts governor, as following: "I do solemnly profess we know not any thing, from us, that might put Philip upon these motions; nor have heard that he pretends to have suffered any wrong from us, save only that we had killed some Indians; and intended to send for himself for the murder of Saufaman*." This action of Philip, in procuring the death of that Indian, who had been his principal counsellor and secretary, was considered as a horrid crime; but Philip looked on Saufaman as a traitor and renegade, who had justly forfeited his life. The Indians left murderers to the revenge of relations and friends; but punished traitors by public execution.

1675.

The Indians at this time were not the same kind of men as when Mr. Winflow the father first went against them. The English had been almost sixty years among them, and had taught them, among other customs, one very dangerous, the use and practice of arms.

Philip was enraged at the punishment of his subjects by the English laws; he assembled a numerous body of men, and plundered some part of the colony in the neighborhood of Swanzy, where an Englishman was so provoked, that he fired upon an Indian, and wounded him. The Indians killed and wounded several Englishmen; upon which the Massachusetts and Plymouth troops assembled, and marched to Swanzy, where they established their head-quarters, being in all about three hundred men, under the command of Major Savage and Captain Cudworth, who pursued the Indians into a swamp, and then ravaged their towns.

The Massachusetts government sent Captain Hutchinson as their commissioner to treat with the Naragansets, who favoured Philip in their hearts,

* Dated July 4th, 1675.

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and waited only a convenient opportunity to declare openly for him : but the English army marched into the Naraganset country, and obliged those Indians to submit to the following terms : " 1. That the Sachems should seize and deliver up to the English governments all such of Philip's subjects as should come within their territories.- 2. That they should use all acts of hostility against Philip and his subjects until a cessation of arms. 3. That they should make satisfaction to the English for all injuries, or deliver the offenders. 4. That all hostile preparations should cease. 5. That the Sachems should deliver up four of their principal men as hostages for the performance of this agreement. 6. The commissioners engaged to the Sachems, that if they should seize and deliver up Philip alive, they should receive forty trucking cloth coats ; or twenty, if they brought in his head ; for each of his subjects, the deliverer should receive two coats, and one coat for every head. 7. The Sachems renewed and confirmed to the English all former grants. 8. And solemnly agreed to remain true friends to the English governments."

When the treaty was concluded, the English forces returned to Taunton, and pursued Philip into a swamp, where they lost fifteen men, and killed several of the enemy, but were obliged to abandon the enterprize ; which encouraged other Indians to commence hostilities.

The Nipnets killed five people in the Massachusetts colony ; whereupon Captain Hutchinson was sent with twenty horsemen to Quabaog, or Brookfield, from whence some of the principal inhabitants accompanied him toward the chief town of the Nipnets, who formed an ambush of three hundred men, and killed sixteen English, among whom was Captain Hutchinson. The others escaped to Quabaog, where the Indians pursued, and burnt almost all the houses in the town.

Philip escaped from the swamp at Pocasset, and joined the Nipnets in another swamp about ten miles from Brookfield, with about forty men, beside women and children. The Indians upon Connecticut River began their hostilities about the same time ; as likewise those upon Merrimack River ; whereby the utmost terror was struck through the whole Massachusetts colony : but Plymouth was less affected, because the Naragansets had not engaged.

Several skirmishes happened about Hatfield, in which the Indians had the advantage. Hadley was attacked on the 1st of September, while the people were at church, as it was a Fast Day ; which broke up the service, and obliged them from prayers to have recourse to arms. While they

were

were in the utmost confusion, a grave person is said suddenly to have appeared in the midst of them, and not only encouraged the congregation to defend themselves, but set himself at their head, and led them on to encounter the enemy, who by his conduct were repulsed. As suddenly, the deliverer of Hadley disappeared; and the people were left in consternation, utterly unable to account for this strange phenomenon, which it seems they were never able to explain*.

The commanders in that part of the country began to garrison the towns, and to collect a magazine of provisions at Hadley. About four thousand bushels of corn were in stacks at Deerfield, where Captain Lothrop was sent, with eighty men, to guard it down in carts: but they were attacked by eight hundred Indians, who cut off all the English except eight. Captain Moseley was then quartered with his company at Deerfield, and came out too late to rescue Captain Lothrop; but he kept his men compact, and fought the whole number of Indians three hours, with the loss of only two men, until Major Treat came to his assistance, with one hundred and sixty Mohegin Indians; and put the enemy to flight.

The Springfield Indians had lived in such a good correspondence with the English for about forty years, that great confidence was reposed in them; but Philip induced them to take his part, and join in a plot to destroy the town. The stratagem was happily discovered; though too late to prevent the Indians from destroying several houses and barns. This instance of perfidy appears to have increased the jealousies and suspicions of the other Indians in the vicinity of Boston, although many went out with the English forces against the enemy.

An alarm was made at Boston, about ten in the morning, on the 23d of September, when twelve hundred men were in arms before eleven, and all dismissed before twelve, as it proved a false signal by an intoxicated sentinel. At the sessions in October, the general court ordered, "That no person should entertain, own, or countenance any Indian, under the penalty of being a betrayer of the Massachusetts government. That a guard be set at the entrance of the town of Boston; and that no Indian be suffered to enter without a guard of musketeers, and not to lodge in town. That any person might apprehend an Indian, finding him in town, or approaching it, and that none be permitted to come in by water." Articles of war were also agreed upon by the general court, for the better discipline of their forces.

* Anecdote from Governor Leveret's family.

The Indians attacked Hatfield with all their force and fury, but were repulsed, and withdrew to the Naragansets country, which they made their general rendezvous. The commissioners of the United Colonies therefore agreed, to raise one thousand men, and march against the enemy. The Massachusetts were to raise five hundred and twenty-seven; the remainder by the other two colonies; and Mr. Winslow, the governor of Plymouth, was appointed general.

The Massachusetts forces marched from Boston, on the 8th of December, and were joined at Pettyguamscot, on the 18th, by the Plymouth and Connecticut men. The night was stormy, and the men had no covering; but, at break of day, they marched through the snow about fifteen miles, until noon, when they arrived at the edge of the swamp where the enemy lay, to the number of about five thousand men, who knew of the army coming against them, and fortified themselves with all the art and strength in their power. The English, suddenly and unexpectedly fell in upon this seat of the enemy, without drawing up in order of battle, or consulting how to begin the assault. The Indians fired upon the English as they entered the swamp, and followed them to their fortrefs, which was upon a rising ground, in the middle of the swamp, pallisadoed all round, and within a thick hedge. At one corner only, was a gap the length of one log, where the breast-work was not above four or five feet high: but the Indians had placed a block-house opposite this passage, at which the English could enter, and no where else. The captains entered at the head of their companies: the two first, Johnson and Davenport, were shot dead at the entrance, as were many of their men; beside the Captains Gardner, Gallop, Siely, and Marshall, likewise lost their lives. When the English were entered, they attacked the Indians, who fought desperately, and beat the English out of the fort; but the English continued their attack about three hours, and their advantage was such, that they began to fire the wigwams, which were five or six hundred, and in many of them the Indian women and children perished; while the survivors fled into a cedar swamp at a little distance, without any necessaries of life. The day was almost spent, which induced the English to retire, with their dead and wounded men, who were eighty-five killed, and a hundred and forty-five wounded; but the Indians lost one thousand fighting men in the action, beside many old men, women, and children, who perished by the fire, cold, and famine. The Indians repossessed their fort, and the English forces retired to Boston. This was a very gallant action, and the memory of it ought to be preserved, for the honour of those that were engaged in it.

Church.
Hubbard.
Mather.

1676.

The Indians abandoned the Naraganset country, and assaulted Lancaster, on the 10th of February, when they burnt some houses, and killed or captivated forty-two persons, among whom were Mrs. Rowlandson, who was the minister's wife, and her children. Mischief was also done at Marlborough, Chelmsford, and Sudbury, about the same time: but, on the 21st, the Indians fell upon Medfield, in which were two hundred and fifty soldiers, who were unable to prevent them from burning half the town, and killing eighteen of the inhabitants. The Indians also burnt seven houses at Weymouth on the 25th; but they committed no farther acts of hostility nearer to Boston, which was about seventeen miles distant.

Where Philip spent the winter was never certainly known; some conjectured that he went to the Mohawks, others that he ventured to Canada, which his friends said was his intention in the fall. He knew the premium set upon his head, therefore disguised and concealed himself, so that little was heard of him until about the time he was slain.

In March, the Indians attacked Northampton and Springfield, upon Connecticut River, Groton, Sudbury, and Marlborough, in the Massachusetts; as also Warwick and Providence in Rhode Island; where they committed great ravages, burning the houses, destroying the cattle, and massacring the inhabitants. Captain Peirce, at the head of fifty English, and twenty Indians of Cape Cod, were drawn into an ambushment, and surrounded by five hundred Indians, who killed every Englishman, and most of the friendly Indians; but the English fought so valiantly that they slew about one hundred and fifty of the enemy. After this, the Indians burnt forty houses, besides barns, at Rehoboth.

In April, the Connecticut men, under Mr. George Denison of Stonington, killed and took prisoners forty-four of the enemy; and soon after he took and slew seventy-six more, without the loss of a man in either of these exploits. Between these two successful actions happened an unfortunate one for the Massachusetts, who lost Captain Wadsworth, and fifty of his men, in attempting to relieve Sudbury.

In May and June, the enemy appeared in various parts of the colony; but their vigour abated, as their distresses increased; while the Mohawks attacked and killed fifty of them.

In July, the Connecticut forces killed or took one hundred and forty of the enemy in the Naraganset country. The Massachusetts and Plymouth volunteers

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volunteers were equally successful in several parts; but no commander was more fortunate than Colonel Church*, of Plymouth colony, who made Philip his principal object, upon whose life or death depended war or peace. The captain was informed by an Indian, that Philip was returned with many Indians to his old quarters at Mount Hope, where he might be easily surprized. Parties were sent out, who brought in many Indians, and more surrendered upon promise of mercy, which obliged Philip to seek for his own security. He fled from one swamp to another, abandoned by his friends, until his uncle and sister, and at last his wife and son, were taken prisoners. Reduced to this miserable condition, he was killed, on the 12th of August, as he was flying from a party under Colonel Church, out of a swamp near Mount Hope. An Indian shot him through the heart: his body was quartered and set upon poles, and his head was carried in public to Plymouth, where his skull was preserved as a curiosity.

This was a finishing stroke, as the parties of Indians that remained unsubdued were drove from one swamp to another; so that before winter, most of them were killed, taken, or obliged to surrender; though a few fled to the distant Indians, or the French. In all the promises of mercy, those were excepted who had been principal actors in any murders of the English; and none had promise made of any thing more than their lives. Many of the chiefs were therefore executed at Boston and Plymouth; most of the others were sold, and shipped off for slaves to Bermudas and other parts. There was scarce a family in the two colonies that had not lost a relation or friend, and the people in general were much exasperated.

Neale.

The Indians in the eastern parts of New England had stronger provocations to quarrel with the English than those in the western and southern parts. The Indians bordering on the provinces of Maine and New Hampshire, beyond Piscataqua River, had carried on a very profitable trade with the English, who had settled there from the Massachusetts. They treated the natives like slaves, of which they were truly sensible; and within a month after breaking out of the Philippic war, they gave the English to understand, they would bear their insults no longer. Encouraged by the example of the Wampanoags, Naragansets, Nipmucs, Saconets, and Pocassetts, the Tarenteens, or eastern Indians, fell upon the English, destroying their houses and plantations as often as they had a fair opportunity.

* He published an account of his campaign.

The government at Boston, informed of the distress that the English were in, sent a body of men to their relief, under the command of Captain Hathorn, Captain Syll, and others, who surprized four hundred Indians, as they were busy in plundering Major Waldron's house at Quoquecho, and took them all prisoners. About two hundred, who were found in arms, were sold for slaves; a few were executed for having been guilty of murder; and the others were dismissed, on a promise of committing no farther hostilities.

This blow disposed the savages to treat with the governor and council of the Massachusetts; so that articles were agreed upon about three months after the death of the Sachem Philip, between them and the Sachem of Penobscot, who paid such little regard to the articles, that the Massachusetts were obliged to send Major Waldron, with two hundred men, to see them executed. This intimidated the Indians, who concluded a kind of general peace, on terms not very honourable for the English, who were to allow a certain quantity of corn yearly to the Indians, and pay a quit-rent for their lands.

Such was the end of this Indian war, that had continued eighteen months; in which the English lost about three hundred and forty men, but above three thousand Indians perished. This was a fatal stroke to the savages, who were perpetually dwindling away by intestine wars and new diseases; while the colonists frequently had recruits from England, and built several new towns and forts, in New Hampshire and Main, within a few years.

In the height of the distress of the war, and while the authority of the colony was contending with the natives for the possession of the soil, complaints were making in England, which struck at the powers of government; and an enquiry was set on foot, which was continued from time to time, until it finally issued in a *quo warranto*, and judgment against the charter thereupon.

SECTION VI.

Agents sent to England to answer the complaints against the colonists in 1677.—Mr. Leveret dies, and is succeeded by Simon Bradstreet, Esq. as governor of the Massachusetts. Mr. Winthrop dies, and is succeeded by William Leet, Esq. as governor of Connecticut and New Haven, in 1678.—The case of the governor and company of Massachusetts Bay decided in 1679. The colonists submit to the regulations made in England. The agents return from England to Boston with the King's letter, and requisitions for the better government of the colony. New Hampshire made an independent government, and John Cutt, Esq. appointed president in 1681.—Mr. Dudley and Mr. Richards sent as agents to England, in 1682, to defend the Massachusetts charter, then threatened with a quo warranto. The vote of the governor and assistants thereon in 1683. The New England charters surrendered. Henry Cranfield Esq. appointed governor of New England in 1684. King James II. proclaimed in Boston. Mr. Dudley appointed president in 1686. Resolutions of him and his council concerning their commission.

1676. **M**R. Randolph was sent to the Massachusetts with his Majesty's letter of March 10th, 1675-6, and copies of the petitions of Mason and Gorges. The King commanded that agents should be sent over, to appear before him in six months after the receipt of the letter, fully instructed and empowered to answer. Governor Leveret summoned a special court, to meet on the 9th of August, when it was agreed, "That it seemed unto them the most expedient way of making answer unto the complaints of Gorges and Mason, about the extent of the patent line, to do it by appointment of agents, to appear and make answer for them; so as to negotiate the affair with safety unto the country, and with all duty and loyalty unto his Majesty, in the preservation of their patent liberties:" to which the reasons for their opinion were subjoined.

1677. Mr. William Stoughton and Mr. Peter Bulkley were chosen agents, and went to England, where a hearing was had before the Lords of the Committee of the Council, upon the principal parts of their agency, in both of which they were unsuccessful. The province of Main was confirmed to Gorges and his heirs, both as to soil and government; and with respect to Mason's claim, it was determined, that the Massachusetts had a right to three miles north of Merrimack River, to follow the course of the river so far as it extended; and that the expressions in the charter could nor warrant the over-reaching those bounds by imaginary lines.

Governor

MASSACHUSETTS BAY.

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Governor Leveret died, and was succeeded by Simon Bradstreet, Esq. 1678,
John Winthrop, Esq. governor of the United Colonies, of Connecticut
and New Haven, also died about the same time, and was succeeded by
William Leet, Esq. who had formerly been governor.

In all the confusions of grants, or copies of grants, the greatest stress 1679.
was laid upon that of the 7th of November 1629: upon which occasion,
Sir William Jones, his Majesty's attorney-general in England, gave his
opinion upon the whole case, which was entirely in favour of the colonists;
and a commission was issued from the crown for the government of New
Hampshire; whereupon the Massachusetts desisted from any further
exercise of jurisdiction; except as to the towns of Salisbury, Amesbury,
and Haverhill, which, by their original grants from the Massachusetts co-
lony, extended above three miles from Merrimack.

The Quakers renewed their complaints against the colony, for recent
acts of intolerance; and some other regulations occasioned murmurs
among the general part of the inhabitants, who found that excessive pe-
nalties prevented prosecutions, and that multiplying laws, with such pe-
nalties, impaired the weight and authority of the penal laws.

Several addresses were made to the King from the general court, who
passed some laws in favour of the crown; particularly an act to punish
high treason with death; and another, requiring all persons above sixteen
years of age to take the oaths of allegiance, on pain of fine and imprison-
ment. The governor and magistrates took those oaths without any re-
servation: the King's arms were ordered to be carved, and put up in the
court-house; but it was a more difficult thing to conform to the acts of
trade, which the colonists at first apprehended to be an invasion of their
rights, liberties, and properties. They soon after, however, submitted to
the acts of navigation and trade, which they ordered punctually to be
observed, considering that they were colonists, and therefore subject to the
controul of the parent state.

This year died Josiah Winslow, Esq. governor of Plymouth colony, 1680.
and the first New Englishman that was advanced to that honour. He was
succeeded by Robert Treat, Esq. and Mr. Thomas Danforth was appointed
deputy-governor of the Massachusetts, in which office he continued with
governor Bradstreet until the dissolution of the government.

The agents were detained in England until this time, and thought them-
selves not at liberty to return without the express permission of his Ma-
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jeſty: but the popiſh plot prevented an attention to plantation affairs, and the agents were diſmiſſed at London, from whence they came to Boſton, with the King's letter of the 24th of July 1679, containing the following requiſitions:

" I. That agents be ſent over in fix months, fully inſtructed to answer and tranſact what was undetermined at that time. II. That liberty of conſcience be given to ſuch perſons as deſired to ſerve God in the way of the Church of England, ſo as not to be diſcountenanced from ſharing in the government, or ſubjected to other incapacities. III. That no other diſtinction be obſerved in making of freemen, than that they had competent eſtates, rateable at ten ſhillings, according to the rules of the place, and that ſuch, in their turns, be capable of the magiſtracy, and all laws made void that obſtructed the ſame. IV. That the ancient number of eighteen aſſiſtants ſhould be obſerved, as by charter. V. That all perſons in office ſhould take the oath of allegiance. VI. That all military commiſſions, as well as the proceedings of juſtice, ſhould run in his Maſteſty's name. VII. That all laws repugnant to the laws of England for trade, ſhould be aboliſhed."

Few objections were made to theſe inſtructions, and the colony of Main continued under the protection of the Maſſachuſets; but New Hampſhire was made an independent government, and John Cutt, Eſq. was appointed the firſt preſident.

1681. The deſign of taking away the colony charters now became evident; and a new matter of charge was brought in England againſt the Maſſachuſets; which was the coinage of money. The coloniſts alleged, that this cuſtom began in the times of the late confuſions, to prevent frauds on the pieces of eight current among them; and if they had trespaſſed upon the royal prerogative, it was through ignorance.

1682. Mr. Dudley and Mr. Richards were diſpatched as agents to England; and a public faſt was obſerved throughout the colony, to pray for the preſervation of their charter and ſucceſs to the agency. The agents, in their firſt letter to the general court, acquainted them, " that his Maſteſty was greatly provoked by their ſo long neglecting to ſend agents; and they deſired the court to conſider whether it was beſt to hazard all, rather than ſatisfy his Maſteſty as to the mode of ſubmiſſion to the laws for regulating trade, ſince they ſeriously intended to ſubmit to the ſubſtance."

Lord

Lord Radnor and Sir Lionel Jenkins threatened that a *quo warranta* should proceed: the colonists resented it, and were determined to make no concessions of any privileges conferred upon the chartered colony.

It was determined a *quo warranta* should go against the charter, and that Randolph should be the messenger of death. This man was an agent for the King, and endeavoured all in his power to ruin the colony.

1683.

The agents arrived at Boston on the 23d of October 1683; soon after Randolph came over with the *quo warranta*, and a declaration from the King, that "if the colony before prosecution would make full submission to his pleasure, he would regulate their charter for his service and their good."

Two hundred copies of the proceedings against the charter of the city of London were sent, at the same time, by advice of the privy-council, to be dispersed through the province: but the governor and major part of the assistants despairing of any success from such a defence, passed the following vote:

"The magistrates have voted, that an humble address be sent to his Majesty, declaring they would not presume to contend with him in a course of law; but submitted to his pleasure: And, for saving a default for non-appearance upon the return of the writ of *quo warranta*, that proper persons be empowered to make defence."

There was not the least pretence of misgovernment against the Plymouth company in their *quo warranta*; but those writs for Connecticut and New Haven were accompanied with a letter from the King, signifying, if they resigned their charter, they might take their choice of being under either Boston or New York. They petitioned to remain as they were; in which they judged very right.

Rhode Island had a valuable charter; but the government there saw it was in vain to dispute with a King, who had forced the city of London to change its ancient rights and privileges for his will and pleasure, and submitted to that mark of slavery. Hampshire and Maine never had a charter; but a sort of association, which they readily resigned into the hands of his Majesty, and afterward became a royal government, independent of the Massachusetts.

U

King

Lord

1684. King Charles having thus seized the charters of New England, sent over Henry Cranfield, Esq. to be governor, by a royal commission, which superseded Mr. Bradstreet, governor of the Massachusetts, Mr. Leet, governor of Connecticut and New Haven, and Mr. Treat governor of Plymouth: but the King died before any new government was settled; and King James was proclaimed, on the 20th of April, in the high street in Boston, with great ceremony.

1685. The symptoms of an expiring constitution were still to be discovered; and several of the towns neglected to send their deputies, so that little business was done at the court. There appears to have been as much indifference in the legislature about public affairs in 1685, as they expected to be superseded every day. The colonists were informed that Colonel Kirke was to be their governor, which made their condition seem very deplorable.

1686. The election for 1686 was on the 18th of May, when Joseph Dudley, Esq. being left out, Mr. Stoughton refused to serve; and, on the 15th, the Rose frigate arrived from England, with a commission to Mr. Dudley, as president, and some others, gentlemen of the council, to take upon them the administration of government. A copy of the commission was presented, and the following answer resolved upon by the court:

"That they conceived, First, That there was no certain determinate rule for the administration of justice; and that which was, seemed to be too arbitrary. Secondly, That the subjects were abridged of their liberty as Englishmen, both in the matters of legislation and in laying of taxes, and indeed the whole unquestioned privilege of the subject transferred upon the commissioners, there not being the least mention of an assembly in the commission; and therefore the court thought it highly concerned the commissioners to consider whether such a commission was safe for the whole: But if the commissioners were so satisfied therein as that they held themselves obliged thereby, and took upon them the government, although the court could not give their assent thereto, yet they hoped they should demean themselves as true and loyal subjects to his Majesty."

The president and council met on the 25th, when the royal commission was published. The court appointed a committee to take into their custody such papers as referred to the charters, and titles of land, by purchase

MASSACHUSETTS BAY.

chase from the Indians or otherwise; which they ordered their secretary to deliver, and adjourned to the second Wednesday in October.

About this time Mr. Hinckley, governor of New Plymouth, sent an account of the praying Indians, then in that colony, to the corporation in England; whereby it appeared, they amounted to 1439, beside boys and girls under twelve years of age, which were supposed to be above four thousand.

SECTION

SECTION VII.

From the dissolution of the charter in 1686, until the arrival of the province charter in 1692.

1686. **T**HERE are no public records from the dissolution of the old charter government in 1686, until the restoration of it in 1689; and if there was any book of records, it was secreted or destroyed.

Mr. Dudley's administration was short, and not very oppressive. The house of deputies, indeed, was entirely laid aside; but the people suffered little from the change. Of a president and eighteen members of the council, there was only one of the Church of England: The justices of peace and officers of the militia were congregational men; so that in the main, the persons only, and not the government, were changed*."

Mr. Dudley the president, and Mr. Stoughton deputy-president, professed a great attachment to the interest of the colony, whose church-worship had no molestation; and the civil jurisdiction was managed as formerly. Trials were by juries as usual, and even in the vice-court of admiralty, with some exceptions as to the power of the marshal in returning jurors. Mr. Dudley considered himself as appointed to preserve the affairs of the colony from confusion until a governor arrived, and a rule of administration should be firmly ascertained: As president and ordinary, he took all matters of wills and administrations into his own hands; so that in general the old colony-laws were observed, though the government which framed them was dissolved.

Connecticut, Plymouth, and Rhode Island continued their former administration, until the arrival of Sir Edmund Andros, a poor knight of Guernsey, who had a commission from King James for the government of New England, and landed at Boston on the 30th of December, when his commission was published.

1687. This Sir Edmund Andros had been governor of New York, and the beginning of his administration in New England promised very salutary views. He made the strongest professions of regard to the public good

* Randolph's Letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury.

and the welfare of the people, both of merchants and planters; directed judges to administer justice according to the custom of the place; ordered the former established rules to be observed, as to rates and taxes; as also that all the colony laws, not inconsistent with his commission, should be in force.

The major part of his council* were inclined to the public interest, and would have continued under the old form of government. With a proper firmness of mind, they might have been serviceable while they held their places in council; but they were like the reeds of their colony, and bowed before the blasts of English power.

Sir Edmund Andros has been represented as a bigotted Papist; nor is it impossible. He had no affection for his new council of New England, yet he made some of them his confidants: it was not long, however, before the case of some, who apprehended themselves oppressed, came under consideration; when one of the council told them, "They must not think the privileges of Englishmen would follow them to the end of world." This gave an alarm through the government, which has never been forgot.

There was but one episcopal minister in the country; and Sir Edmund considered the congregational ministers as laymen only; though there had been few instances of even occasional assemblies for religious worship according to the rites and ceremonies of the church of England for upward of fifty years. One of the first acts of power, after the change of government, was the restraint of the press, and Randolph was licenced; but the most grievous restraint was that upon marriages, as none were allowed to marry except they entered into bonds with sureties to the governor, to be forfeited if there should afterward appear to have been any lawful impediment.

The King favoured them with a general toleration, which dissipated the fears of the people from a persecution; but the more intelligent persons suspected this as an introduction to popery. Swearing by the book, which had never been practised, was now introduced, and such as scrupled it were fined or imprisoned. The fees to all officers had been very low under the charter; but they became exorbitant under the new administration.

* These are not apparent upon any list.

As

As the charter was vacated, the greatest profits arose from patents for lands; and the people were told they had no titles to their estates, because the general court had not made their grants under the colony seal. In the latter part of the administration, property became more precarious, and petitions were greatly multiplied. The governor and some of his council imposed arbitrary taxes upon the people, who thought themselves intitled to the liberties and immunities of free and natural-born English subjects, and that consequently no money ought to be exacted from them but by their representatives. They had no expectation that their charter privileges in general would be restored; but they hoped to be allowed a house of representatives, even under so arbitrary a prince.

There was a general submission to the taxes, and the assessments were proportioned upon the inhabitants of the towns by officers appointed by themselves; which makes it probable, that this was the reason of continuing to the towns some of their privileges; for every town was suffered to meet annually to elect officers; but all meetings for other purposes were strictly forbidden. A new model of government was intended, but there was not time to accomplish it; and the old laws of the colony seem to have continued the rule for administration of justice, except where they were superseded by arbitrary ordinances. The law proceedings were more formal than they had been; but Mr. Dudley and Mr. Stoughton were two of the judges of the superior court, and neither of them inclined to comply with dictatorial commands.

1688. The Indians upon the frontiers, in the summer of 1688, renewed their hostilities, which were not immediately checked. The governor raised about eight hundred men to oppose the Indians, who evaded his pursuit, and escaped without loss; but some new forts were built at Peppscot and Sheepscot, to prevent their incursions.

The governor received a new commission, which was published, with great ceremony, from the balcony of the town-house. New York was included in this commission; and Mr. Blaithwait wrote to Randolph as follows:

"If the union of all New England under one governor be acceptable on your side the water, what will the joining and annexing to the same government be, of all the English territories in America, from Delaware Bay to Nova Scotia? This is already determined by his Majesty, and a commission is in hand, constituting Sir Edmund Andros governor

also of New York, as united to New England : and for the two Jerseys, *seire facias* are expediting towards their union. This, besides other advantages, will be terrible to the French, and make them proceed with more caution than they have lately done." About the same time, advice was received that the Queen was safely delivered of a Prince, and a general Thanksgiving was ordered by the governor, with advice of the council.

The fate of New England depended upon that of the mother-country, 1689. and Mr. Winslow came from Virginia in April, with a printed copy of the declaration published by the Prince of Orange on his landing in England. Mr. Winslow was committed to prison, "for bringing a traitorous and treasonable libel into the country," as expressed in the mittimus : he offered two thousand pounds bail, which was refused ; and a proclamation was issued, "charging all officers and people to be in readiness to hinder the landing of any forces which the Prince of Orange might send into those parts of the world." The old magistrates and principal inhabitants silently wished and secretly prayed for success to the glorious enterprise, and determined quietly to wait the event : but more impatience was shewn by the populace, who seized and confined the governor, some of his council, and about forty other obnoxious persons ; upon which the old magistrates were reinstated, and sent a message to the governor, importing, that, "tendering his own safety, they judged it necessary, he should deliver up the government and fortifications, to be preserved and disposed of according to order and direction of the crown of England, which suddenly was expected might arrive*."

The governor complied, as he found it was in vain to resist ; and the gentlemen assembled in the council chamber drew up "a declaration of their grievances ;" which was read from the balcony or gallery of the town-house, to a great concourse of people, who heard it with satisfaction and applause †.

When the popular tumult was abated, the new council began to consider what form of government they should establish, in the room of that which was dissolved ; they were joined by many other respectable persons, and took the title of "A Council for the Safety of the People, and Conservation of the Peace." They chose Mr. Bradstreet their presi-

* Dated at "the Town-house in Boston, April 18th, 1689 : " directed "to Sir Edmund Andros Knight."

† This declaration may be found at large in Neale, and other writers ; but it is too long to be inserted here.

dent; Mr. Addington clerk of the council; and Mr. Wait Winthrop commander in chief of the militia: they also appointed officers in the several ports for entering and clearing vessels; and John Foster and Adam Winthrop were made treasurers.

Letters were dispatched to Plymouth and Connecticut, acquainting the principal gentlemen there with what had been done at Boston. Those colonies also reassumed their old form of government; but nothing passed relative to New Hampshire or Rhode Island.

When the news arrived at New York, Mr. Nicholson, the lieutenant-governor, sent a letter to the gentlemen assembled at Boston, remonstrating against their conduct, to which a suitable reply was returned, in justification of the measures pursued.

The representatives of fifty-four towns met at Boston on the 22d of May, and soon discovered a design to reassume the charter: forty of them were for reassumption, and two days were spent in debates; but the majority of the council were against it, and the people without doors were much divided in sentiments. On the 24th, the governor and magistrates, chosen in 1686, signed a paper, declaring "their acceptance of the care and government of the people, according to the rules of the charter, for the conservation of the peace and safety of the people, until, by direction from England, there was an orderly settlement of government; provided an addition should be made of fit persons to assist them, as was desired, and that what had been before done be allowed, and the stewards be reimbursed: this they did for the satisfaction of the people, and from the present necessity; nor would be understood to intend an assumption of the charter government." Their declaration was accepted by the representatives; though all the gentlemen who had joined the governor and assistants chosen in 1686, were excluded from the new council.

The next day, Mr. Winthrop, with most of the other gentlemen who had acted as members of the council, and who had a strong party in favour of their continuing so to act, generously quitted all claim to it, "in confidence that the people would be inviolably preserved in their obedience to the directions expected from England, and that the persons of all the gentlemen confined should be well treated, and promised to endeavour to pacify the people, who were dissatisfied on their account, and to promote the public tranquility, as far as in their power."

A ship arrived from England on the 26th, with advice that King William and Queen Mary was proclaimed; which was the most joyful news that New England ever received: the fears of the people subsided, and were succeeded by pleasing hopes. On the 29th, the proclamation was published in Boston, with the greatest ceremony, and rejoicing.

The representatives of the several towns assembled at Boston, the 5th of June, upon a new election, and the old government was resumed, which had continued above fifty years; but this was only the form, without the authority.

Mr. Mather was a faithful agent for the colony in England, where the house of commons voted "the taking away the charters of the plantations to be a grievance;" a bill passed the house for restoring charters, and those of New England were expressly mentioned: but while the bill lay in the house of lords, the parliament was prorogued.

King William promised Mr. Mather all the favour in his power for the colonists; but hinted what had been irregular in their former government: whereupon Mr. Mather undertook, they should reform any irregularities, and Lord Wharton offered to be their guarantee. The King intended to reserve the appointment of the governor to himself; so that it was in vain to try for the restoration of the old charter; and a new one, with retention of some old privileges, was all that could be expected; but application was made, for express power and authority to exercise the colony government according to the old charter, until a new one could be settled; which was granted.

1689.

Sir Edmund Andros, and the other persons confined, were ordered to be released, and sent to England, to justify themselves before his Majesty: but the general court thought it proper to send over two of their members to join with Sir Henry Ashurst and Mr. Mather in maintaining the charges against their oppressors, as also to solicit that the charter might be restored, with some additional privileges, consonant to the state of the colonies: but they failed, by reposing too much confidence in the courtiers of the day.

The Indians were instigated by the French to continue their depredations upon the English in the province of Main and other parts adjacent to the Massachusetts Bay colony; therefore the general court meditated an attempt both upon Port Royal and Quebec.

1690.

Sir William Phips arrived in New England at this time, and he was thought the fittest person to command the forces upon such an expedition. This gentleman was a native of New England, and was born in 1650 at Pemaquid, where he kept sheep until he was eighteen years of age, and then was bound apprentice to a ship-carpenter. When he was free, he set up his trade, and built a ship at Sheepscot; after which, he followed the sea, and hearing of a rich Spanish ship which had been wrecked fifty years since near the Bahamas, he gave such an account of it in England, that, in 1683, he was appointed commander of one of the King's frigates, the *Algier Rose* of eighteen guns and one hundred men; in which ship he went in search of the galleon, and failed. He was soon after fitted out by the enterprising Duke of Albermarle on a second expedition, in a ship called the *Bridgewater Merchant* of about two hundred tons, at the outset of about ten thousand pounds. He was successful in this attempt, and discovered the wreck, out of which he took gold, silver, diamonds, pearls, and other rich commodities generally belonging to the cargo of a Spanish galleon, amounting to the value of near three hundred thousand pounds sterling. He brought this treasure safely to England, where it was divided among the adventurers, among whom the Duke of Albermarle had ninety thousand pounds to his own share, and about sixteen thousand pounds came to the share of captain Phips, who on this account received the honour of knighthood from King James. Sir William Phips, by a series of fortunate incidents rather than by any uncommon talents, rose from the lowest condition in life to become the first man in his country.

Eight small vessels, with eight hundred men, were thought sufficient for the reduction of Port Royal in Nova Scotia. The fleet sailed the 28th of April, reduced the fort with little difficulty, and returned to Boston the 30th of May; after taking possession of the whole sea-coast from Port Royal to Penobscot and the New England settlements. The plunder was thought equal to the whole expense; and the acquisition was so easy that the English court were confirmed in the prosecution of their design upon Canada: beside, the ravages began upon the frontiers by French and Indians, as soon as the spring opened, made it appear more necessary than ever. Casco fort, with above one hundred persons, was besieged and taken on the 17th of May, while the English forces were gone to Port Royal.

A vessel was sent express to England, the beginning of April, with a representation of the exposed state of the colony, and the necessity of the

the reduction of Canada, desiring a supply of ships, troops, arms, and ammunition, to attack the French by sea, while the colony forces marched by land to perform their part. Their hands were too full in England to give any attention to this proposal: the Massachusetts, however, determined to proceed, and Connecticut and New York engaged to furnish a body of men. It was late in the season to undertake this capital attempt, which was retarded, in expectation of supplies from England, from whence none arrived, and the fleet set sail from Nantasket on the 9th of August. This expedition seems to have been as ill conducted, as it was well contrived; for it was thought Sir William Phips had an armament sufficient to expel the French from Canada. He had between thirty and forty vessels, great and small; the whole number of men on board the fleet were about two thousand; but they came not within sight of Quebec until the 5th of October. Thus they were almost eight weeks in a voyage that, with good winds and weather, might have been made in two or three.

Great dependence was had upon a division of the French forces; but it most unfortunately happened that the two thousand English and fifteen hundred Indians, designed against Montreal, had retreated, and the news of it reached that place before the fleet arrived at Quebec; so that Count Frontenac, the French general, was able to employ the whole strength of Canada against Sir William Phips and his little army; nor is it easy, at this day, to ascertain the cause of the New York and Connecticut forces making an unexpected retreat, after they had marched as far as the great lake of Canada. Indeed, the distracted state of the government of New York, where one party seemed determined to ruin the public interest, if the other had engaged in it, must have contributed to this disappointment, which greatly dispirited the troops under Sir William Phips, who was still determined to proceed in his attempt, in which he might have succeeded, if La Hontan is to be credited; but from the ill success of this undertaking, both the English and French writers have treated it with great ridicule and peculiar contempt.

The next morning after the fleet arrived, Sir William summoned Count Frontenac to surrender the place; which summons exasperated the Count, who returned an insolent answer, wherein the English were called heretics and traitors; and also told, that if it had not been for the revolution, New England and Canada would have been consolidated as one government.

An

An attempt was made to land on the 7th of October, in the morning, by the troops under the command of Major Walley, who acted as lieutenant-general; but he was prevented by a storm from landing his men until the next day, when he put on shore all the effective men, whose number was reduced to between twelve and thirteen hundred; while the French had assembled four thousand in the town.

It appears that, upon the charge, his officers and soldiers shewed courage and resolution enough; yet the enemy giving way, and, by the conveniences of swamps and bushes, having opportunity to secure themselves, kept up a firing upon the English, who continued their march toward the town, until it was dark; when two-thirds of the army took up their stand by a creek, where was a house and some other shelter; and the other part advanced about a quarter of a mile, the better to secure the shore, and see the vessels.

Upon examining a deserter, he gave them such an account of the strength of the French, as discouraged the English from advancing any farther. The ships were drawn up the next evening before the town, but did little damage to the enemy, and were much shattered by the cannon from their batteries. The forces continued ashore until the 11th, when they precipitately embarked. A council of war was called the day following, and proposals were made for another attempt, after the troops were refreshed; but tempestuous weather came on, which scattered the whole fleet, and they made the best of their way back to Boston, where Sir William arrived the 19th of November. Some of the fleet were blown off to the West Indies, one was lost upon Anticosti, and three others were heard of no more.

This was a mortifying stroke to New England, where the conduct of Major Walley was censured by particular persons; but no public enquiry was made, and he gave in the journal of his proceedings to the general court.

Sir William Phips soon after embarked at Boston for London, to solicit an expedition from thence against Canada; and the government of the Massachusetts sent by him an humble address to their Majesties, to shew the necessity of such an enterprize. They were unprepared for the return of the forces from Quebec, and the soldiers were upon the point of mutiny for their pay: but it was impracticable to raise the money in a short time; because the government depended upon success, and the treasure of the enemy to bear the expence of the expedition. Upon this

this occasion, the assembly passed an act for levying the money; but the men could not stay until it should be brought into the treasury; and the extreme difficulty to which the government was reduced, occasioned the first bills of credit ever issued in the colonies as a substitute for cash. Most of the colonies afterward adopted that mode, with very different success; and it is doubtful, whether the project of a land-bank in England was not taken from this expedient, where it entirely failed.

The debt was paid by paper-notes from two shillings to ten pounds denomination; which notes were to be received for payment of the tax to be levied; and all other payments in the treasury. The soldiers, however, were great sufferers in general, as the notes would not command money, or any commodities at money price: but as the time of payment of the tax approached, the credit of the notes was raised: the government allowed five *per cent.* to those who paid their taxes in notes, which then became preferable to cash, and was a profit to the possessor, without restoring to the poor soldiers what they had lost by the discount.

What was the consequence? fatal enough. The colony encouraged by the restoration of credit, afterward issued others for charges of government. They obtained good credit at the time of being issued; and the charges of government were paid in this manner from year to year. While the sum was small, silver continued their measure, and bills retained their value; but when the charges of government increased, especially after the second expedition to Canada in 1711, the bills also increased, and in the same or greater proportion the gold and silver were exported. There being a cry of scarcity of money in 1714, the government ordered fifty thousand pounds to be issued; and one hundred pounds more in 1716, and lent to the inhabitants, to be paid in at a certain period, and to pass as money in the mean time. Lands were mortgaged for security; but when the gold and silver were gone, and the bills were the only instruments of commerce, money became ideal; for no possible reason could be assigned, why a bill of twenty shillings should bear a certain proportion to any one quantity of silver more than another. Sums in bills were drawing into the treasury from time to time by the taxes, or payment of the loans; but other sums were continually issuing out, and all the bills were paid and received without any distinction either in public or private payments; so that, for near forty years together, the currency was much in the same state; as if one hundred thousand pounds sterling had been stamped in pieces of paper of various denominations, and declared to be the money of the government, without any other sanction than this, that when there should be taxes to pay,

the treasury would receive this sort of money, and that every creditor should be obliged to receive it from his debtor. But can it be supposed that such a medium could retain its worth? No: it sunk to about one-eighth of its original value. In 1702, the sum of six shillings and eight pence was equal to an ounce of silver, which in 1749 was judged equivalent to fifty shillings. Such was the delusion, that not only the bills of the Massachusetts government passed as money, but they received the bills of the government of Connecticut, New Hampshire, and Rhode Island also in currency; while the Massachusetts bills likewise passed in those governments. In 1749, however, bills of credit were abolished; and unless the evils which they occasioned should be forgotten, the government, it must be presumed, will never issue any more*.

During the attempt upon Quebec, the Indians made some terrible incursions upon several parts of New England, particularly in the county of York, or province of Main: but when a force was collected to march against them, the Indians pretended to be disposed to peace; delivered up ten captives,* and agreed upon a truce until the 1st of May following, when they were to meet at Wells, to bring in all the English captives, and settle articles for a firm and lasting peace. In consequence of this truce the land enjoyed rest for the winter; but at the day appointed, when Mr. Danforth, the deputy-governor, and several others, with a proper guard, repaired to Wells, no Indians appeared. The deputy-governor returned disappointed, and a garrison was left at Wells, where they were attacked by two hundred Indians, who were repulsed there, but killed many persons at Berwick, Exeter, and other places. A small army was sent into the Eastern country by sea, and landed at Maqorit, where they were attacked by a great body of Indians, who continued their devastations until the next year, when they destroyed the town of York, killed Mr. Dummer the minister, and made his family prisoners: they also murdered about sixty other persons, and carried near an hundred into the most wretched state of captivity.

* Hutchinson, p. 403.

SECTION VIII.

The new charter obtained in 1691;—A comparison between this charter and the old one.—Sir William Phips appointed governor of New England; the state of the colony under his administration: many persons prosecuted on pretence of witchcraft: Articles of impeachment against Sir William Phips; and his death in 1693.

WHILE the colonists were thus distressed among themselves, their enemies in England took advantage of these misfortunes; which they used as an argument against the restitution of the charter, and imputed all to the bad administration of government. King William had too much work upon his hands in Europe to have either money or men to spare and employ against Canada; therefore Sir William Phips was unsuccessful in his negotiation; however, he was serviceable to his country, by joining with Sir Henry Ashurst and Mr. Increase Mather, the New England agents, to obtain the restoration of their charter, which had been in vain solicited ever since the revolution: His Majesty had those about him who concurred to stretch the prerogative in the two preceding reigns, particularly the earls of Danby and Nottingham, who found it no difficult matter to convince the King, that it was not consistent with his honour to suffer any diminution of the royal authority, where it was supported by laws. 1691.

The colony agents were divided in opinions, and acted differently in their views. Mr. Wiswal, a minister of Plymouth, accompanied Mr. Cooke and Mr. Oakes from Boston to London; but he had no credentials, and joined rather with Mr. Cooke than with Mr. Mather in politics. The people of Plymouth were extremely desirous of continuing a separate government; or if that could not be obtained, they chose to be annexed to the Massachusetts rather than New York, under which Plymouth was put when Mr. Slaughter was appointed governor.

An order was afterward issued to the Lords chief-justices Holt and Pollexfen, as also to the attorney and solicitor-generals, Treby and Somers, to draw up a new charter for the Massachusetts, in which Plymouth was included; but Mr. Wiswal opposed it, in hopes of obtaining a separate grant. This offended the solicitor-general, who struck out Plymouth, and it was again intended it should be annexed to New York. When this news arrived the people were alarmed; yet their general court per-

sisted in desiring Sir Henry Ashurst, their agent, to apply for a separate charter, without intimating that they chose to be joined to the Massachusetts in preference to New York. The sentiments of many of the best men in the colony were known to Mr. Mather; otherwise Plymouth might have finally been included in New York commission, although near three hundred miles distant.

Mr. Hinckley wrote to Mr. Mather as follows: "Not being in a capacity to make rates for the equal defraying the charge, I see little or no likelihood of obtaining a charter for us, unless their Majesties, out of their royal bounty and clemency, graciously please to grant it, *sub forma pauperis*, to their poor but loyal subjects of this colony."

When Mr. Mather found it impossible to obtain the restitution of the old charter, he endeavoured to preserve as many of the privileges contained in it as he could, and Sir Henry Ashurst joined with him in all his measures. Mr. Cooke and Mr. Oakes were for the old charter or none at all; and it was doubtful, by their instructions, if they had authority to solicit for any other: Mr. Oakes, however, signed the petition for a new charter, though Mr. Cooke refused.

In the first draught of a new charter, the governor only was reserved to the King; the deputy-governor and council and other officers were to be chosen by the people; nor had the governor a negative in any case. This draught was made by the attorney-general, according to what he thought the King intended, as expressed in council, at which board it was presented on the 8th of June 1691, when it was objected, that, "by such a charter as this, the King's governor would be made a governor of clouts*;" and an order passed for preparing the heads of another draught.

While the Massachusetts agents were soliciting a charter for that colony, a project was set on foot by Dr. Cox, to form a grand colony or state, more extensive than all the other colonies together; and the original draught of a charter has the following entry upon it: "In the Council Chamber at Whitehall, the 22d of August, 1690: The Right Honourable the Lords of the Committee for Trade and Foreign Plantations are pleased to refer the consideration of this draught of a grant to Mr. Attorney-general, who is desired to consider how far the same is consistent with law, and to report his opinion thereon to the Committee." Mr. Attorney re-

* Mather's Narrative.

ported in favour of the grant; but with some legal objections and constitutional restrictions.

When the heads of another draught for the Massachusetts colony were prepared, a copy was given to Mr. Mather, with an order from their Lordships, that "if the agents were not satisfied therewith, they should bring in their objections to the attorney-general:" but Mr. Mather was so dissatisfied, that he declared "he would sooner part with his life than consent to them." He was told, "The consent of the agents was not desired; the agents of New England were not plenipotentiaries from a sovereign state; if they declared they would not submit to the King's pleasure, his Majesty would settle the country, and they might take what would follow. Sir Henry Ashurst and Mr. Mather, however, drew up their objections against the minutes, insisting upon the royal promise, and that charters might as well be refused to be restored to any of the corporations in England, where they had been taken away, as to New England. These objections were presented to the attorney-general, laid before the council, and a copy transmitted to his Majesty in Flanders, but all without effect. The King approved of the minutes, he disliked the objections, and the charter was drawn up accordingly.

Mr. Hampden, upon this occasion, desired the opinion of Mr. Hooke, an eminent lawyer, the result of which was as follows:

"A middle way seems most desirable; *viz.* that new charters be granted to the respective colonies, wherein the former to be recited, and the proceedings against them respectively; and a new grant made *in terminis*, by the words grant and confirm; and reciting the deficiency in the former charter, all those powers may be vested in the government of the Massachusetts for the time being; and the colonies which have no charters to be annexed to the Massachusetts colony."

The only question with the agents was, whether to submit to this new settlement, or to signify to the ministers of state that they would rather have no charter at all. Mr. Cooke and Mr. Wiswall continued firm against accepting a new charter; which occasioned contests not material to enter into at this distance of time.

The new charter of Massachusetts Bay may be considered as an union or consolidation of several separate grants into one legislature and jurisdiction, for the more effectual protection of the whole, against the incursions of the French and Indians. It was granted by King William and

Queen Mary, in the third year of their reign*, and incorporated the territories and colonies known by the names of The Colony of the Massachusetts Bay, and Colony of New Plymouth; the Province of Main; the Territory called Acadia, or Nova Scotia; and all that Tract of Land lying between the said Territories of Nova Scotia and the said Province of Main, into one real Province, by the name of their Province in the Massachusetts Bay, in New England.

The privileges granted by the new charter are not so valuable as the old ones were, as appears by the following particulars: 1. That the nomination and constitution of the governor, lieutenant-governor, secretary, and all officers of the admiralty, are taken from the people and wholly reserved to the crown. 2. The power of the militia is turned over to the governor, as captain-general. 3. All judges and justices of a superior and inferior order, as also all sheriffs, are appointed by the governor, with the advice and consent of the council. 4. The governor has a negative upon all laws, elections, and acts of government of the general assembly and council. 5. All laws enacted by the general assembly and approved of by the governor, are to be transmitted home for the royal approbation, and if disallowed within the space of three years, to be utterly void."

It may be also farther remarked as to the new charter, that in the delineation of the province of Main the following words are omitted: "And up Sagadahock River to Quenebec River, and through the same unto the head thereof, and into the land north-westward, until one hundred and twenty miles be ended, being accounted from the mouth of Sagadahock." That Nova Scotia and this neighbouring tract called Sagadahock were annexed by this charter to keep the English claim, as that territory was then possessed by the French, who never relinquished their claim until the treaty of Utrecht in 1713: That Nova Scotia, after the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748, was constituted a separate property and jurisdiction of government; but Sagadahock still continues annexed to the province of the Massachusetts Bay; though as it is not the absolute property of the province, perhaps from so large an extent of a frontier defenceless in itself, it has been until lately more of an incumbrance than of any advantage. That the council of the present constitution of the Massachusetts Bay may labour under two disadvantages or difficulties; first, to be arbitrarily led or impelled by the governor, to prevent future negatives: secondly, as their election is annual, they may be biased by the humour of the majority of the representatives, for fear they should be dropped the

* See the charter at large in the Appendix to Neale's History of New England.

next annual election. That by the former charter the provincial lands were granted to twenty-six proprietors, and such as should be admitted freemen; but by this new charter, these lands are granted to the inhabitants in general, to be disposed of by their representatives or general assembly. That in the election of all civil officers the council and representatives vote together, but not as two separate negatives: And those officers are, the treasurer; the impost officers; the excise officers; the general commissary of provisions, stores, and traffic for garrisons and Indian truck-houses; the attorney-general; and notaries for the several sea-ports.

To say only, that the people have lost the nomination of their governor, the management of their militia, the affirmative vote for their laws, and the naming their judges, justices, and sheriffs, is sufficient to make the difference between the old and new charters appear very much to the disadvantage of the latter; nor was it thought they had any amends made them in a permission to nominate their first governor.

This first governor was Sir William Phips, who arrived at Boston with the charter, on the 14th of May, 1692, and issued writs for a general assembly, which met the 8th of June following. Although a party was formed which opposed a submission to the charter, yet a majority of the court wisely and thankfully accepted it, and appointed a day of solemn thanksgiving to Almighty God, for "granting a safe arrival to his excellency the Governor and the reverend Mr. Increase Mather, who have industriously endeavoured the service of this people, and have brought over with them a settlement of government, in which their Majesties have graciously given us distinguishing marks of their royal favour and goodness."

1692.

Mr. Hutchinson observes, that "Sir William arrived just at the beginning of as strange an infatuation as any people were ever under: that a considerable number of innocent persons were sacrificed to the distempered imagination, or perhaps wicked hearts, of such as pretended to be bewitched." But he adds, that "having proceeded as far as he proposed, he left the relation of this unfortunate affair, and other transactions and occurrences since the present charter, to be communicated to the public by some abler pen*."

The governor gave his affirmative to the laws which the assembly had passed, and then declared his resolution to march against the Indians in

* Hutchinson, p. 416.

person.

person. The feat of war was in his native country, upon Kennebeck River, where the Indians were astonished when they heard of his promotion; for they well knew his original, which they thought as mean as their own. He had frequently fished and hunted with them; so that he knew all their haunts and recesses, which enabled him to disperse or destroy them with the more facility; but they were spirited by the French, and fell upon some husbandmen at work in the meadows to the north of Merrimack River; upon advice of which, Sir William Phips hastened away, with four hundred and fifty men, toward the east.

On his arrival at Pemmaquid, he gave orders for building a new fort there, pursuant to his instructions; and accordingly one of the strongest fortresses in America was erected in less than six months; it was built of stone in a triangular figure, about 737 feet in compass without the outer wall, and 108 square within the inner one. It had 28 port-holes, eight feet from the ground; and fourteen guns mounted, six of which were eighteen pounders. The fort stood about twenty rods from high-water mark, and had a garrison of sixty men for its defence: It was named William Henry Fort, and certainly would have been a great security to the frontiers of the colony upon the east.

In the mean time, Major Church destroyed the Indian country about Taconet; while Major Convers scoured the woods and laid the foundation of a new fort at Saco, which was finished by Major Hook, who destroyed several Indians, to revenge some murders lately committed by them at Oyster River. The savages then appeared in arms above Connecticut River; but the English came up with them near Quaboag, pursued them to a swamp, slew most of them, and recovered the captives they were carrying into slavery.

1693. These successes, the building those forts in the east, and augmenting the forces there, inclined the Indians to think seriously of peace, which was concluded at Fort William Henry, on the 11th of August, 1693.

By this peace they renounced their French alliance, owned themselves subjects to the crown of England, confirmed the English in the possession of all their lands, and submitted the trade between the English and Indians to the regulation of the general assembly. But this peace was of so short a duration, that it is unnecessary to mention the other articles.

As to the persons prosecuted at this time upon a pretence of witchcraft, it is hard to believe the least part of the evidence upon which the New England

England witches, so irrationally called, were convicted and executed. The law against them was unjust, cruel, and absurd; contrary to reason, and repugnant to credibility: it was meanly enacted in a superstitious time, and wisely repealed in more auspicious days.

This inhuman persecution carries with it the greater aggravation, as it was perpetrated by sanction of law, upon many ignorant maniacs, and other persons affected in their nerves, if we believe Dr. Douglas, a physician long resident in New England, who says, it was an endemial distemper of the brain and nerves; for which he physically accounts.

Mr. Paris, minister of Salem, first introduced this tragic scene of witchcraft on the stage, in February 1692, by declaring that his daughter and niece, the one about nine, the other eleven years of age, were under the power of witchcraft, which was imputed to two very old Indian women, who were barbarously treated to extort an involuntary confession from them that they were witches, which they recanted afterward.

Before the end of May, about one hundred persons were imprisoned upon that account; at which time Sir William Phips assumed the government, and issued a special commission of oyer and terminer for the trials of those accused. The commissioners were Lieutenant-governor Stoughton, Major Saltonstall, Major Richards, Major Gidney, Wait Winthrop, Esq. Captain Sewall, and Peter Sergeant, Esq. whose names ought to be remembered, that it might not be thought a prosecution carried on by persons of no consequence.

Under this ridiculous charge of witchcraft, five men and twenty-three women were condemned to die; of whom nineteen were hanged, one pressed to death, and some died in prison. Mr. George Burroughs, minister of Falmouth, was one in this sacrifice, and perhaps in repentment from his having quitted the ministerial office at Salem, where he was executed, to the disgrace of humanity. Most of those who thus suffered death were remarkable for piety; and none of them confessed any guilt. After these twenty dismal deaths, some of the popular clergy addressed the governor with thanks for what was already done, and exhorted him to proceed.

Some of the accusers were those who confessed themselves witches, and others were such to whom the spectral sight was allowed; but they overacted their parts so far, that at last they accused the friends and relations of the governor and magistrates, who arrested the accusers in high actions

actions for defamation, which put such a stop to farther accusations, that in the superior court, held in January 1693, of fifty-six bills preferred against witches, the grand jury brought in thirty ignoramus; and of the remaining twenty-six, the petty jury convicted only three, who were afterward pardoned.

At this time, about one hundred and fifty persons were in prison, and two hundred more accused; but they were all discharged, and no other accusations allowed. Many of the confessing witches signed a paper, importing that most of their confessions were only assenting to, or repeating what they were directed to declare; being weak in mind, and under terror, from the putting to death all persons accused who did not confess.

It would be very unjust to make this folly and wickedness national and personal; for much the greater part of the inhabitants of New England abhorred these desperate persecutions at the time they were carrying on; and similar insatiations have at times prevailed in many other countries.

In December 1696, a general fast was appointed by the assembly; praying "that God would pardon all the errors of his servants and people, in a late tragedy raised among us by Satan and his instruments." At this fast, Judge Sewall and several of the jury gave in papers signed, heartily asking forgiveness of all, and declaring that they would not do such things again for the world.

1694. As the frantic heat about witchcraft abated, the complaints against the governor increased, both on account of the loss of their ancient privileges in the charter he had brought over, and the increase and continuance of the taxes for the Indian war, without any suitable success in it. The discontented at last drew up articles of impeachment against him, and transmitted them to the King and council, with a petition that he might be discharged from his government: but this was opposed by a counter-petition from the general assembly, praying that the governor might be continued in his office. These opposite addresses puzzled the cause; but the friends of Sir William Phips flattered themselves that it would terminate in his favour, and he would be restored to the government. He had been ordered home, and sailed from Boston on the 17th of November 1694. The matter was referred to a committee of the council; but Sir William Phips, soon after his arrival at London, was seized with a malignant fever, and died on the 18th of February following. If he had been dismissed from his government, he designed to have gone upon another Spanish wreck,

wreck, which had Governor Broadbille aboard *. Sir William had the character of an honest man; but his education was very low. He was of a hasty temper, and being a stout man, he would use his cane and fist after he was governor. Some instances of that sort with a captain of a man of war and a collector, occasioned one of those complaints against him in England, which he was sent for to answer †. Mr. Mather, his advocate, writes, "Nor indeed had the hunger of a salary any such impression upon him, as to make him decline doing all possible service for the public; and that he was not to be reckoned among those who were infamous for infinite avarice and villany ‡. Sir William was not ashamed of his former low circumstances; and once in sailing with a considerable armament, in fight of Kennebeck, he said to those under his command, "Young men, it was upon that hill that I kept sheep a few years ago; you do not know what you may come to." He was interred in St. Mary Woolnoth church, London; and Dr. Cotton Mather wrote an elegy upon his death.

New England was now become a great body of people, for there were at least two hundred thousand English souls in the whole province, and it required a good hand, considering their fomenting spirits, to keep order among them, without interrupting trade or infringing liberty.

William Stoughton, Esq. lieutenant-governor, was commander in chief from the departure of Sir William Phips until the arrival of the Earl of Bellamont in 1699. After a few months his lordship returned to his government of New York, and Mr. Stoughton was again in the chair, where he continued until his death in 1702, when he was succeeded by Governor Dudley.

The principal transactions that happened in the colony from 1695 to 1702 were depredations made by the Indians, who were supplied with arms by the French, and excited to renew the war against the English: but the barbarians had certainly more native probity than the French, as appears by their observing all their treaties with the English from the Pequot to the Philippic war, near forty years, until the French corrupted both their religion and morals; for if the Indians had any religion at all, it must be better than what the friars and jesuits taught them; a specimen of which Mr. Neal has thought proper to insert in his History §.

1695.

* Douglas, i. 477.

† Hutchinson, p. 397.

‡ Magnalia, book ii.

§ See Neale, vol. i. p. 284.

When the peace of Ryfwick was concluded, Count Frontenac advised the Indians to make the best terms of peace they could for themselves. They applied for that purpose to the English governor, who sent Colonel Philips and Major Convers to meet the Sachems at Penobscot, where the conferences began on the 6th of October, when the Indians excused themselves for making hostilities, laying the blame on the French. Another treaty was concluded with them, in which they added a more formal submission to the sovereignty of the crown of England than they had hitherto expressed.

SECTION

SECTION IX.

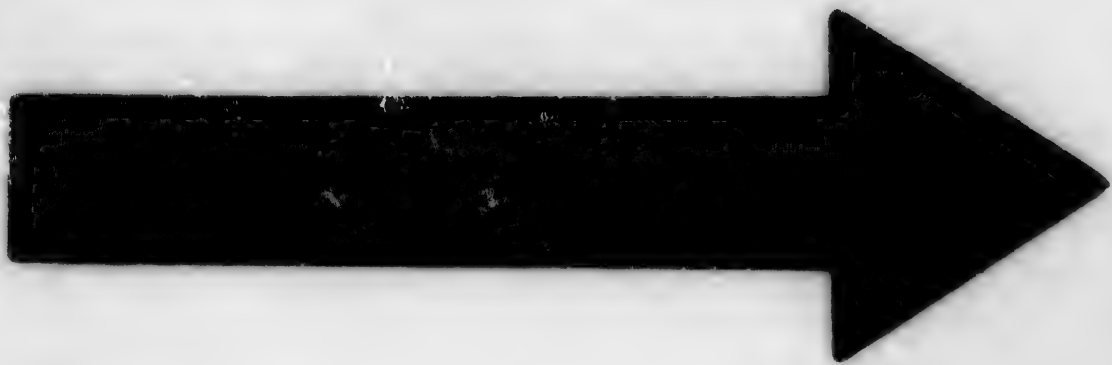
The administration of affairs under Governor Dudley from 1702 to 1715: The reduction of Port Royal in Nova Scotia, by General Nicholson, with the assistance of the New England forces, in 1710: The unsuccessful expedition against Canada, by General Hill and Sir Hovenden Walker, in 1711: Remarks on the conduct of the Massachusetts government upon that occasion: a terrible fire in Boston.—Colonel Burges appointed governor in 1715. Governor Dudley dies.—Colonel Shute arrives as governor in 1716, when William Dummer, Esq. was appointed lieutenant-governor. The administration of affairs under Governor Shute, who returns to England in 1722, to exhibit articles of complaint against the house of representatives; and obtains an additional charter in 1726.—William Burnet, Esq. appointed governor in 1728.—He is succeeded by Jonathan Belcher, Esq. in 1730.—And he is superseded by William Shirley, Esq. in 1741.—The other royal officers appointed by the crown. Contests between the respective governors and houses of representatives relative to an established salary. As also the dispute about the disposal of the public money.

WAR was again declared between England and France; but the Indians preserved a neutrality, and the merchants of New England were successful in fitting out privateers.

1702.

Upon the death of the earl of Bellamont, Joseph Dudley, Esq. was appointed governor of New England by Queen Anne, to whom the people of that province, on her accession to the throne, sent a congratulatory address, which was presented by William Vaughan and Constantino Phips, Esqrs.

Mr. Dudley was son to Thomas Dudley, Esq. who was elected governor in 1645, and died at Roxbury in 1657, aged 77. His son sustained many great and arduous posts, as colony-agent, president of the council, chief justice, member of parliament in England, and governor of the Massachusetts Bay: and his other son, Paul Dudley, Esq. was afterward chief-justice of the province, where he was highly respected for his great experience in the laws, and was well known abroad by some ingenious pieces relating to the natural history of New England, published in the Philosophical Transactions for the years 1720 and 1721.



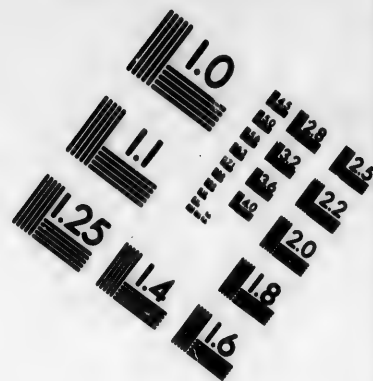
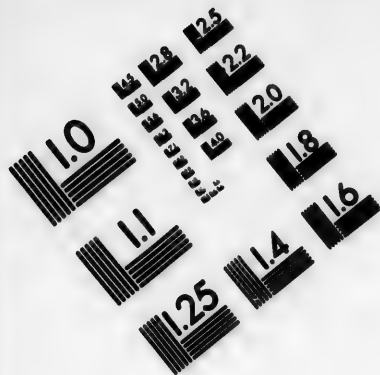
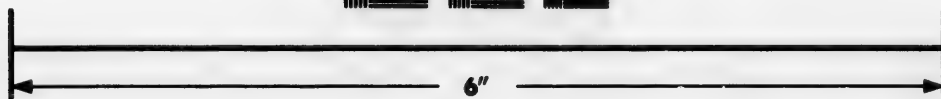
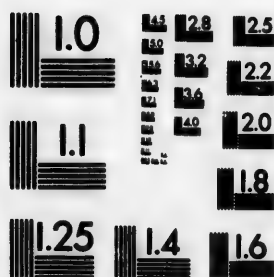


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Joseph Dudley, Esq. arrived as governor on the 11th of June 1702; he was chosen of the council in 1682; and when the charter was in danger, he was sent to England jointly with Mr. Richards as colony-agent. As he was a native of the country, and a person of abilities, the court of England deemed him a proper person to facilitate a change in the administration of the colony; and accordingly, when the charter was vacated, he was appointed president, or protempore commander in chief, in April 1686; in which station he continued until the arrival of Sir Edmund Andros as governor at the end of the same year, when Mr. Dudley was appointed chief-justice. He was displaced in 1689; but the next year he was appointed chief-justice of New York. He afterward went to England, and in 1701 was elected member of parliament for Newport in the Isle of Wight, which introduced him to the government of the Massachusetts Bay. King William died before Mr. Dudley embarked for his native country; but his commission was renewed by Queen Anne, and he continued governor until the year 1715.

1703. The inhabitants of Jamaica were apprehensive of an invasion from the French, and applied for assistance to the government of New England, which they readily granted, and sent two companies there under the command of Colonel Walton and Captain Lawrence, who served two years upon the Island, and lost many of their men by sickness. When Nevis was plundered and ruined by Ibberville, the government of New England generously raised two thousand pounds for the relief of the distressed people of that Island; which they sent in cargoes of flour, salt, provisions, and materials for building, on board two ships, neither desiring nor receiving any returns, when that Island came into more prosperous circumstances.

During this war, the colony remained in a quiet and flourishing condition, except some domestic dissensions of little consequence. They took part in the glories acquired by the arms of Great Britain in the war, to recover Spain and the West Indies out of the hands of the house of Bourbon; in which they were very instrumental, first in the reduction of Nova Scotia, and in their endeavours to promote another attempt against Canada.

1710. The expedition against Nova Scotia was undertaken under General Nicholson and Adjutant-general Vetch, with instructions to all the governors of New England to be assisting therein. General Nicholson, with some British officers, and Colonel Reading's regiment of marines, arrived

arrived from England at Boston, on the 15th of July 1710, for the intended expedition.

The armament set out from Boston upon the 18th of September, consisting of four men of war, a bomb, and the Massachusetts province-galley, with transports, in all thirty-six sail. The land forces on board were, the regiment of marines, two regiments of Massachusetts Bay, one regiment of Connecticut, with one regiment of New Hampshire and Rhode Island, commissioned by the Queen, and armed by her gift. They arrived at Port Royal in six days; and after a small affair of cannonading and bombarding, the French governor capitulated on the 5th of October, when the fort was delivered up. The terms of capitulation were, that all the French, being four hundred and eighty-one persons within the Banlieu, or three miles of the fort, should be under the protection of Great Britain, upon their taking the proper oaths of allegiance: but the other French settlers were left to discretion, that, in case the French made incursions upon the frontiers of New England, the English should make reprisals upon the French in Nova Scotia. The garrison consisted of two hundred and fifty-eight soldiers with their officers, who were shipped to Rochelle. General Nicholson sent Major Livingston, and M. Subercasse dispatched baron St. Casten to the Marquis de Vaudreuil general of Canada, with advice of this event, and they arrived at Quebec on the 16th of December. Colonel Vetch was appointed governor of Port Royal, now called Annapolis Royal, where he was left with a garrison of two hundred marines, and two hundred and fifty New England volunteers, who were relieved the next year by four hundred of the troops destined against Canada. The men of war and transports, on the 14th of October, sailed for Boston, where they safely returned; and the New England charge in this expedition was upwards of 23,000 *l.* sterling, which was reimbursed by parliament.

The scheme and expedition for reducing of Quebec and Placentia, and consequently all Canada and Newfoundland, were solicited by General Nicholson, who sent four Sachems of the Five Nations to England to recommend the attempt. Seven regiments of foot, and a battalion of marines, were sent from England under the command of Brigadier-general Hill, brother to the new royal favourite Mrs. Masham, in forty transports, escorted by a squadron of twelve ships of the line, several frigates, and two bomb-vessels, commanded by Sir Hovenden Walker as admiral; with a fine train of artillery under Colonel King. This formidable armament sailed from England on the 28th of April, and arrived in Nantasket River near Boston on the 25th of June. The castle hav-

1711.

ing given the usual signal to the town of the approach of several ships in the bay, the alarm began about noon, and in a short time the troop of guards, with a regiment of foot, were under arms, and other precautions taken for defence of the place, until the inhabitants were agreeably surprised to find that it was the British fleet. As Governor Dudley was then absent, the gentlemen of the council received General Hill and the Admiral at their landing with all military honours; and the forces on board were ordered on shore at Noddies Island, where they encamped.

By order from England, a congress was held at New London of all the plantation governors north of Pennsylvania, to concert measures with General Nicholson; in consequence of which, the British troops were to be joined by two regiments from Massachusetts Bay, Rhode Island, and New Hampshire, to attack Quebec; while the militia from Connecticut, New York, and the Jerseys, with the Indians of the Five Nations, should march by land from Albany, under General Nicholson, to attack Montreal, by way of diversion to facilitate the grand attempt.

It was alleged, that the grand armament was retarded at Boston for want of provisions; and when Admiral Walker demanded a supply of sailors, the governor and council represented, that "The ordinary guards for the sea-coast, inland forces, with those detached for the present expedition, were upward of two thousand men; which, upon a strict examination into the muster-rolls, was more than one-fifth of all the persons within that government capable of bearing arms: therefore it was inconsistent with the safety of that her Majesty's province to spare any more men; as there were one thousand one hundred and sixty land-forces, and one hundred and sixty sailors in their transports."

The fleet set sail from Boston on the 30th of July, amounting to sixty-eight vessels of all sorts, carrying six thousand four hundred and thirty-six troops. On the 18th of August, they anchored in the bay or harbour of Gaspee, on the south side of the entrance of St. Lawrence's River, to wood and water: but, on the 23d, in a foggy night, contrary to the advice of the pilot, they fell in with the north shore, and lost eight transports, with eight hundred and eighty-four men, upon the Islands of Eggs. In a council of war, it was resolved, that, "by reason of the ignorance of the pilots, it was impracticable to proceed; and that advice should be sent to recal General Nicholson from proceeding to Montreal." The fleet anchored in Spanish River off Cape Breton on the 4th of September, when it was resolved, in a general council of war,

"not

"not to attempt any thing against Placentia, but to return to Great Britain." They sailed from Spanish River on the 16th, and were in soundings off the English coast in twenty-one days: but, on the 16th of October, the Edgar was blown up at St. Helen's, with the journals and other papers belonging to the admiral.

The charge incurred by the Massachusetts province was upwards of 24,000 *l.* sterling, which was allowed by parliament, and converted into debentures transferable and bearing interest.

Sir Hovenden Walker wrote to Governor Dudley in Boston as follows: "I concur with the opinion of all the sea and land officers here, that the government of this colony have prejudiced the present expedition, instead of assisting it." It was also publickly said in England*, that "those who had the principal management of this expedition were made to expect, that, upon the arrival of the fleet in New England, they would find there all the necessary supplies of provision; but, contrary to their expectation, above five weeks elapsed before all things could be got in readiness." But Mr. Dummer† has remarked, that "when the great unfortunate expedition was set on foot against Canada, the New England people furnished more than the quota assigned them, and provided all necessaries for the British troops in so short a time, that if they had not been animated by an extraordinary zeal, would not have been possible; and such a fleet and army, wanting the necessaries they did, could not have been dispatched in so short a warning from any port in England."

Soon after the return of the ships from the River of St. Lawrence, a terrible fire happened at Boston, and destroyed a great part of the city; upon which occasion the governor informed the assembly, That "he must offer them his sincere sense and condolence of the fleet and forces sent there by her Majesty's special favour. That he had time enough, since the account thereof, to consider the several articles of her Majesty's command to this government, for the putting forward that expedition; and he could not charge the assembly with neglecting any particular; but, on the contrary, when he perused the journals of the proceedings, he thought there was provision and expedition made in every article referring to soldiers, artificers, pilots, transports and provision for the service.

* Political State, October 1711.

† This gentleman was many years agent for New England at London; a man of great sense, learning, and experience.

of her Majesty's British forces, as well as their own: therefore he hoped they would see reason to consider and represent home, for their justification, that it might be demonstrated they were in earnest to do their duty to the utmost for their own benefit and establishment, as well as her Majesty's honour and just right, set down in the instructions for the expedition. That beside this great article, they had in their view the most sorrowful Providence of God, in suffering so great a part of Boston to be consumed by fire, and, among the rest, the public buildings; which, if the heavy debts that the war had unavoidably brought upon them, would allow them to restore, this general assembly must consider what was proper for them to grant, and what directions and orders were necessary to put upon the particular persons that would rebuild their houses, to secure the buildings from the like desolation."

1713. The peace of Utrecht happened soon afterward; and the town of Boston rose out of its ashes, more beautiful and more secure than before; so that in a few years after the conflagration, the inhabitants there, and through the whole colony, continued increasing in number, trade, and opulence.

1714. Queen Anne died on the 1st of August 1714, and Mr. Dudley retained his government according to an act of parliament for continuing officers six months after the demise of a Sovereign; but when that time was expired, the council, in conformity to the charter, took the administration upon themselves. However, Mr. Dudley received the King's proclamation for continuing all officers until further orders, and reassumed the government, which he held until November 1715, when Colonel Tailer was appointed lieutenant-governor, under Colonel Burgefs, appointed governor. Colonel Tailer produced an exemplification of the commission or patent granted to the new governor, and as lieutenant-governor under him assumed the government on the 9th of November 1715. Governor Dudley died at his house in Roxbury near Boston in 1720, aged seventy-three.

1715. Colonel Burgefs did not come over to his government, and was superseded by Colonel Samuel Shute, as "his Majesty's captain-general and governor in chief of the Provinces of the Massachusetts Bay and New Hampshire, and vice-admiral of the same."

1716. Colonel Shute was brother to Lord Barrington, and was appointed governor on the 14th of March 1716, by the solicitation of Jonathan Belcher Esq. an eminent merchant of New England, and afterward governor

governor there. The colonel had served under the Duke of Marlborough in Germany, and received several wounds at the battle of Donawert, where he commanded a troop of horse. His Excellency arrived at Boston on the 4th of October 1716; and William Dummer, Esq. was appointed his lieutenant-governor. He was a natural patron of his country, and his good management in the Indian war, during his administration, with small expence, will perpetuate his memory among all true lovers of New England.

The governor, in his first speech to the assembly, intimated there was no settled salary for himself or lieutenant-governor. The assembly declined the point of salary, but provided an elegant house for the residence of his Excellency; and the good intelligence between Governor Shute and the assembly, kept affairs in such good order, that little material offers for his time in history, except the following facts:

He proposed to the assembly to refit the fort of Pemmaquid, or rebuild another, that might be a greater security to the frontiers of the colony. He also informed them, that notwithstanding the law passed in England for encouraging naval stores, and for the preservation of white pine trees, his Majesty had been informed, that great spoils were daily committed in his woods in the province of Main, and in some parts of Massachusetts Bay, by cutting down and putting to private use such trees as might be proper for the royal navy: therefore he recommended, that all laws against it might be put in execution, and new ones made if those were not sufficient.

He suppressed the increasing insolence of the Indians on the eastern frontiers, and compelled them to accept of more submissive terms. He also obtained an additional or explanatory charter from the court of Great Britain; which affair was occasioned as follows:

1717.

The governor was tenacious of the royal prerogative, and was opposed by some persons who had an ascendancy over their fellow representatives; as also in some measure over the council, and at last endeavoured the same over the governor, by assuming some articles of the prerogative. His Excellency, instead of sending home, was well advised to carry his complaints in person, and support them there with his interest; which he accordingly did in November 1722. He presented seven articles of complaint against the house of representatives encroaching upon the prerogative: "1. Their taking possession of royal masts cut into logs. 2. Refusing the governor's negative of the speaker. 3. Assuming authority jointly with the governor and council to appoint fasts and thanksgivings.

1722.

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A a

4. Adjourning

4. Adjourning themselves for more than two days at a time. 5. Dismantling of forts, and ordering the guns and stores into the treasurer's custody. 6. Suspending of military officers, and mulcting them of their pay. 7. Sending a committee of their own to muster the King's forces."

Upon a hearing before the King in council, Mr. Cooke, agent for the house of representatives, and his counsel, in their name, gave up or renounced the first, third, fifth, sixth, and seventh articles; acknowledged their faults, induced by erroneous precedents of former assemblies. The other two articles were regulated by an explanatory charter, which the assembly were directed to accept.

This explanatory charter was dated the 20th of August, in the twelfth year of King George I. and after reciting, that "whereas, in their charter, nothing was directed concerning a speaker of the house of representatives, and of their adjourning themselves; it was thereby ordered, that the governor or commander in chief should have a negative in the election of the speaker; and the house of representatives might adjourn themselves not exceeding two days at a time." By the prudent conduct of Governor Dummer, the assembly were induced to accept of this explanatory charter in 1726, by a public act of the general court.

When Governor Shute had obtained this redress, he was too infirm to return to his government, and was allowed a pension of 400*l.* sterling a year for life: the chief command in the administration then devolved upon Lieutenant-governor Dummer, whose conduct is universally esteemed; and he was continued in his station until the arrival of Governor Burnet at Boston, on the 19th of July, 1728.

1728. William Burnet, Esq. was a son of the noted Doctor Burnet, bishop of Salisbury. He was comptroller-general of the customs in Great Britain, and exchanged with Governor Hunter, of New York, whose health required his return to England: but, upon the accession of King George II. Colonel Montgomery was appointed governor of New York, and Mr. Burnet was made governor of the Massachusetts Bay, where he died much lamented on the 7th of September, 1729.

1730. Upon the death of Mr. Burnet, Lieutenant-governor Dummer was chief in the administration, until the arrival of Jonathan Belcher, Esq. as governor, on the 8th of August, 1730. Mr. Belcher was a native of New England, of a good clear paternal estate, and consequently of a true natural interest in the country. During his government, he strongly adhered to his

his instructions; but was superseded by a commission granted to William Shirley, Esq. which arrived on the 14th of August, 1741. This new governor was a gentleman of the law, who had resided and practised in New England for several years; but the particulars of his administration are reserved for another place.

These are the governors and lieutenant or deputy-governors, appointed at home, from the date of the new charter in 1691 to 1756. The other royal officers, reserved by charter to be appointed by the crown, are the secretary and judge of vice-admiralty; therefore it may not be improper here to annex a short account of their succession.

I. Secretaries. Isaac Addington, Esq. the first secretary, was appointed by the charter, during pleasure. He died in 1715, and was succeeded by Captain Woodward, who resigned in 1717, in favour of Mr. Willard, who kept his station in 1748.

II. Vice Admiralty. The charter reserves to the crown the exercise of any admiralty court or jurisdiction, by commission to be issued under the great seal of the crown, or that of the high admiral or commissioners for executing that office. This court of vice-admiralty consists of a judge, a king's advocate, a register, and a marshal. A sole judge without a jury, in cases of high consequence; but there lies an appeal to the court of delegates in Great Britain.

The succession of judges was as follows:

Wait Winthrop, Esq. on the 22d of May, 1699, was appointed judge of admiralty for New York, Massachusetts Bay, Connecticut, Rhode Island, and New Hampshire. He was succeeded by Mr. Atwood in that office, as also for the Jerseys; and, on the 10th of November, 1701, he appointed Mr. Newton his deputy. Roger Monpeffon, Esq. on the 1st of April, 1703, had a commission as judge for the same colonies. Nathaniel Byfield, Esq. had the like commission granted on the 13th of December, 1707. John Menzies, Esq. on the 26th of August, 1715, was appointed judge for Massachusetts Bay, Hampshire, and Rhode Island. Upon the death of Mr. Menzies in 1728, Robert Auchmuty, Esq. was appointed judge *pro tempore* by Governor Burnet, who soon after reinstated Mr. Byfield: but Mr. Auchmuty succeeded him in 1733, and was superseded by Chambers Russel, Esq. in 1747.

All the officers of this court of vice-admiralty have a power of appointing deputies; and Mr. Cradock was deputy-judge in 1748.

Beside this court of vice-admiralty in each of the provinces and colonies, there is a justiciary court of admiralty, for trial of piracies and other crimes committed upon the high seas. The members of this court are various in the different colonies; but in the province of the Massachusetts Bay, the judges are, the governor, the council, the secretary, the judge of vice-admiralty, the commander of the King's station ships of war, the surveyor-general of the northern district of customs, and the collector of the customs for the port of Boston.

The survey of the royal timber, especially of masting trees, extends over the northern provinces and colonies. The officers are appointed from Great Britain; and are a surveyor-general, with four subordinate surveyors: the whole charge of this survey is about 800*l.* sterling a year, with considerable riding charges, paid by the navy-office.

The officers belonging to the collections of customs are appointed by the treasury-board, and warranted by the commissioners of the customs in Great Britain; but in this province there are only the two collections of Boston and Salem.

A deputy auditor was commissioned by the auditor-general in Great Britain, to audit the treasurer's provincial accounts; but, in 1721, this was declared by the general assembly of the province to be inconsistent with their charter, and was never afterward put in execution.

Before Governor Shute returned to England, he received orders from thence to get an established salary settled on the governor; but the assembly were in no disposition to leave the governor in a state of independency upon them as to that article. The same orders were sent to his successor, William Burnet, Esq. who most strenuously insisted on such an establishment, pursuant to his instructions; but with as ill success. This interested contest between the governor and the representatives, occasioned much warmth in the assembly, and ill blood in the whole body of the people, who had before their eyes the ruinous effects of the prodigality of Barbadoes to their governor, Mr. Worsley, which they daily groaned under, and could not take one effectual step toward recalling it. Governor Belcher had a salary of 200*l.* a year settled upon him by the government of New Hampshire; but the assembly of Boston would not follow the leading example. The council, indeed, were compliable, but the house of representatives continued inflexible; therefore the governor dissolved the assembly, and remained without any salary.

Before

Before the house broke up, they made the following minutes on the 1st of January, 1731. "After the most serious consideration of his Majesty's instruction for fixing a salary on his Excellency and his successors, together with the rights and privileges of the people, we apprehend the house ought not to accede thereto: but at the same time we esteem it the duty of this house, as well as their honour, willingly and unanimously to give their votes in passing acts for the ample and honourable support of his Majesty's governor." The people were of the same sentiments with their last representatives, whom they re-elected to compose the new assembly, which was also dissolved on the same account: but the third assembly were equally refractory as to the grand article of salary. They still persisted in their resolution to allow the governor 1000*l*. a year, and leave the continuance of it to succeeding assemblies; which the governor accepted, and put an end for the present to this controversy; but the royal injunction was still insisted upon for establishing a salary on the governor.

A new difficulty was raised in 1733 by the council and representatives, about the disposal of the public money. The governor insisted such disposal was only in him; but the assembly, who gave the money, argued from thence, that such right was only in them: however this debate was determined by the British parliament, who voted, "That the complaint from New England was frivolous and groundless, an high insult upon his Majesty's government, and tending to shake off the dependency of the said colony upon Great Britain, to which by law and right they were and ought to be subject."

In fact, there was still subsisting in this province a virtuous and public spirit, which is the principal support of any country: but it will be afterwards seen, that this public spirit of the Colonists has not been always so well approved.

SECTION X.

The system of laws, government, and the civil administration, established in the colony.

IT may be observed in general, that the mode of jurisdiction is much the same in all the four colonies of New England, by justices of the peace and their quarterly sessions; by inferior county-courts of common law; and by provincial superior courts for appeals.

They are divided into constituted districts called townships; which are a kind of bodies corporate, may sue and be sued, elect all proper officers, send deputies to the house of representatives, and make bye-laws. The management of township affairs is in a few persons, who are called Select Men, annually elected by the qualified voters of the townships or districts. In most of the other British colonies, their constituted parishes act as bodies corporate by custom; the management is in vestry men, who generally are for life, and the survivors supply vacancies.

In the four colonies of New England, juries are returned to the several courts by election in certain quotas from the several townships, but not by the appointment of the sheriffs.

As to the colony of Massachusetts Bay in particular, it should be remembered, that their original old charter was dated the 4th of March, 1629; soon after which, the company in London chose Mr. Winthrop governor, and Mr. Dudley deputy-governor. At the first meeting of the court of assistants at Charles-Town, on the 23d of August, 1630, they established rules of proceeding in all civil actions, and instituted subordinate powers for punishing offenders. The supreme authority being in the court of assistants, they resolved upon frequent meetings for the execution of it in the manner formerly mentioned.

In 1634, the plantation was greatly increased; settlements were extended more than thirty miles from the capital town; and it was thought high time to have known established laws, that the inhabitants might no longer be subject to the varying uncertain judgments which otherwise would be made concerning their actions. The ministers and some of the laymen were consulted about a body of laws suited to the circumstances of the colony both civil and religious. Committees of magistrates and elders were appointed

appointed almost every year, for twelve years successively; and while they were sitting a code, particular laws, which were of the greatest necessity, were occasionally enacted; the whole were collected together, ratified by the court, and printed in 1648. Mr. Bellingham, of the magistrates; and Mr. Cotton, of the clergy, had the principal share in this work.

The expence of settling the Massachusetts Bay colony, for the first twelve years, was about two hundred thousand pounds sterling; and the settlers were neither necessitous nor criminals*. The character of these new planters, with the state and condition they were in before they left England, and after their arrival in America, so as to see the source of the peculiarities in their laws and customs, has been considered before; but here is the place to make some farther observations thereon.

The character which the colony acquired, by the strictness and severity of their laws, induced many persons of pious minds to come over themselves, and others to send their children for education, many of whom remained there. Pennsylvania, by a greater latitude in their system, have drawn inhabitants in much greater proportion; but the ancestors of the New England people valued themselves upon being a colony for religion; and Mr. Penn had no other motive to found his colony than human policy.

Those who first directed the springs of government in New England acted so far upon principle, that they did not choose such punishments for crimes, as were merely in proportion to their affecting the safety or peace of society; a principle upon which the European nations have been attempting to model their criminal laws for several ages past; but the new colonists annexed greater penalties to some immoralities and impieties than had been known in their native country; this brought circumstances under the notice of the civil magistrate, which would have escaped it in England; and some actions might have been judged criminal that would have appeared indifferent to minds less scrupulous.

Murder, sodomy, witchcraft, and rape of a child under ten years of age, were the only crimes made capital in the colony, which were so in England; and yet, from the above mistaken principle, the laws of the infant colony were more sanguinary than those of the mother-country; for many offences were made capital in the former, which were not so in the latter. Thus homicide, was either murder, excusable homicide, or

* Mr. Dummer's defence of the New England charters.

justifiable;

justifiable; for they did not make the distinction of manslaughter from murder: because the benefit of clergy was of popish extract, and burning in the hand appeared to them a ridiculous ceremony.

Blasphemy, and man-stealing, were also made capital: so was adultery with a married woman, both to the man and woman, although the man was single, and several have suffered death upon this law: but male adultery with an unmarried woman, was not capital.

Perjury, if wilful, with intent to take away the life of another, was death, from Deut. xix. 16. but this crime was never made capital in England, though it highly deserves that punishment: in this instance, however, the Massachusetts law appears to have agreed with the civil law, the laws of Scotland at this day, and of some other European states.

A child above sixteen years of age, that cursed, or smote the father or mother, unless provoked by cruelty, or unchristianly neglected education; and also a stubborn and rebellious son, according to Deut. xxi. 20. upon conviction, were to suffer death. There have been several trials upon this law; but there appears only one conviction, and the offender was pardoned in 1665.

High-treason was not mentioned; because the royal authority had sunk before they agreed upon their constitution: but conspiracy to invade their own commonwealth, or any treacherous perfidious attempt to fundamentally alter and subvert the frame of their polity and government, was made a capital offence.

Rapine was left to the discretion of the court, to punish with death, or otherwise. This crime was not capital by the Jewish law, and for that reason it was not so for many years by the colony law: but when complaints were made against the colony, in 1678, it was by law made capital.

Several offences were capital upon a second conviction; as the returning of a Romish priest into the jurisdiction, after banishment upon the first conviction; and the law was the same with respect to Quakers.

The denial of either of the books of the Old and New Testament, which were all enumerated to be the written and infallible word of God, was either banishment or death, for the second offence, at the discretion

cretion of the court; and, what is extraordinary, an inhabitant who was guilty of this offence upon the high-seas, was made liable to the penalty.

Burglary and theft, in a house or fields, on a Lord's Day, were capital upon a third conviction.

These were all the offences which they made capital: but in the first draught of the laws, by Mr. Cotton, divers other offences were made capital. Thus, profaning the Lord's Day in a careless or scornful neglect or contempt thereof; as in Numbers xv. 30—36. Reviling the magistrates in highest rank; that is, the governor and council; as in Exod. xxii. 18. 1 Kings xxii. 8, 9, 44. Defiling a woman espoused; as in Deut. xxii. 23—26. Incest within the Levitical degrees. The pollution mentioned in Levit. xx. 13—16. Lying with a maid in her father's house, and keeping it secret until she was married to another.

The punishment by death was erased from all these offences by Mr. Winthrop, who left them to the discretion of the court to inflict any other punishment not capital.

From the same prejudice in favour of Israelitish customs, a fondness arose, or at least was increased, for significant names for children; of whom the three first baptized in Boston church were, Joy, Recompence, and Pity. The humour spread; and the town of Dorchester, in particular, was remarkable for such names as Faith, Hope, Charity, Deliverance, Dependance, Preserved, Content, Prudent, Patience, Thankful, Hate-evil, Holdfast, and others; many of which are still retained in some families, in remembrance of their ancestors.

Profanation of the sabbath was ten shillings penalty.

Fornication might be punished by enjoining marriage, by fines, or corporal punishment; and a freeman, convicted of this offence, might be disfranchised.

Idleness was no small offence; common fowlers, tobacco-takers, and all other persons who could give no good account how they spent their time, the constables were required to present to the next magistrate, and the select-men of every town were required to oversee the families, to distribute the children into classes, and take care they were employed in spinning and other labour, according to their age and condition.

VOL. I. B.b. Contempt

Contempt of authority was punished with great severity, by fines, imprisonment, or corporal punishment.

Lesser offences, as all breakers of the peace, and also every offence *contra bonos mores*, the court punished at discretion, if there was no determinate penalty.

Negroes were brought in very early among them: but they had a law against slavery, except prisoners taken in war.

In testamentary matters, the county courts had jurisdiction by law. They at first so far followed the civil law as to consider real estates as mere *bona*, and did not confine themselves to any rule of distribution then in use in England, and which were afterward more fully established by the statute of distributions. They considered the family and estate in all their circumstances, and sometimes assigned a greater portion to one branch than another; sometimes they settled all upon the widow; in other cases assigned the whole estate to the administrators, or to any relation who would undertake to support or provide for the family, and pay certain sums to the children when they came to age or marriage. All this seems to be necessary in a new plantation, where most people soon spent what little personal estate they had, in improvement upon their lands.

When they established a general rule, they conformed very near to the rules respecting personal estate in England, only they gave the eldest son a double portion; and in the real estate, the widow was generally considered for her dower only; but still, according to the circumstances of the estate and family, the court would consider the widow, and allow her a greater or lesser part, and enjoin her to take care of the children unable to provide for themselves, in proportion to what she received. The common law was altered with respect to fee-simple estates, which descended to every child: and it seems natural to suppose, that estates in fee-tail should descend in like manner, except so far as the entail limited or cut the fee; as in gavelkind all the sons take as heir of the body: notwithstanding which, the construction of a general tail was such, that the heir at common law took as heir of the body to the exclusion of other children: but traitors and felons might dispose of their estates by will, after sentence; and, if they died intestate, distribution was made, as in other cases, because there were no forfeitures.

They held their lands as of the manor of East Greenwich, in free and common socage; from whence they conceived that socage-tenure included

cluded all the customs and properties of gavelkind. They made provision, by temporary laws, for the charges of government; which was done for many years in the most equitable way, by assessing every inhabitant in proportion to the profits of his whole estate: but after the year 1645, imposts and excises were introduced.

Their military laws at first were more severe, and every person was required to appear in arms once every month for military exercise; some few persons in public office only excepted. This was afterward reduced to eight times in a year, and at length to four. Every inhabitant was to be furnished with arms and ammunition: but a few months actual service against the Indian enemy in Philip's war, made better soldiers, than all their exercise at home had done in forty years. Upon the division of the colony into regiments, colonels and lieutenant-colonels were appointed to each regiment; which was of no long continuance; for afterward they had a serjeant-major to every regiment, and a major-general for the whole, who were chosen by the freemen: but the officers of the several companies were chosen by their men respectively, and presented to the general court for their approbation.

As to their legislative and judiciary forms, with some special customs, it may be observed, that their enacting style was, "It is ordered by this court, and the authority thereof." For many years, the governor, assistants or council, not under seven; with the deputies or representatives, in a legal capacity, voted together: but, in 1652, that the governor and council should sit and vote apart, so as to constitute a separate negative. The governor, deputy-governor, and assistants, or council called magistrates, were the superior court for appeals in civil cases; and were the court of Oyer and Terminer in cases of life, member, banishment, or divorce. After they were constituted two distinct houses, if they happened to differ in any cases of judicature civil or criminal, the affair was to be determined by a vote of the whole court assembled together. The general court only had power to pardon condemned criminals: no general court was to continue above a year; and the governor when present was president in all courts. The governor, deputy-governor, or majority of the assistants, might call a general assembly, which was not to be adjourned or dissolved but by a vote of the same.

The officers annually elected by the freemen in general, were, the governor, deputy-governor, assistants, treasurer, major-general, admiral, commissioners for the United Colonies, and secretary.

By an act in 1641, the freemen had liberty to choose deputies for the general court, either in their own county or town, or elsewhere, as they thought proper, so as they were freemen inhabiting that jurisdiction: but this law was not re-enacted under the new charter administration.

By a law made in 1654, no common attorney in any inferior court was to be admitted to sit as a deputy in the general court or assembly. In 1634, an order or law was made, that no trial should pass upon any for life or death, without a jury regularly chosen by freemen: but grand-juries were not legally established until September 1635, when about one hundred offences were presented at the first court.

In criminal matters, a spirit of virtue produced informers, without reproach to their characters; and in criminal prosecutions a bill was to be regularly found by a grand jury, in which they were not very formal; because sometimes the bill would be indorsed, that the jury had strong grounds of suspicion, yet not sufficient evidence to put upon trial.

As the colony increased, and the settlements extended remote from the capital, it was found necessary to make a division into shires or counties; and courts were held in each county; some had four in a year, others two, and Main but one. These courts were held by the magistrates who resided in each county, or any others who would attend, together with such other persons as the freemen of the county should nominate, and the general court approve, so as to make five in all, and any three to hold a court, who had power to determine all civil causes, and all criminal, that were not capital.

In several towns, a petty court was established for small debts and trespasses under twenty shillings: and in every town the select-men had power to determine all offences against the bye-laws of the place under the penalty of twenty shillings: but the bye-laws could not extend to matters criminal in their nature; being limited to the regulation of their buildings, fences, and streets; so as to prevent nuisances, or improve conveniences, for the use and accommodation of the inhabitants.

Their judicial proceedings were in a particular summary way; and they seem to have not much regarded forms in books of entries. At first, the parties spoke for themselves; but sometimes they were assisted by a patron,

patron, or man of superior abilities, who gave his assistance voluntarily, without fee or reward.

As early as the year 1640, they made provision for a public registry; and no mortgage, bargain, sale, or grant of any realty was good, where the grantor remained in possession, against any persons, except the grantor and his heirs, unless the same was acknowledged before a magistrate, and recorded: and all grants that had been before made were to be acknowledged and recorded.

Every marriage, birth, and death was likewise registered, first in the town, and then in the county register; under a fine of twenty shillings for neglect.

For the first twenty years, they used little formality in their deeds and conveyances of titles to lands: but, in 1651, it was ordered, that no estate of inheritance should pass, unless it was expressed in the deed or conveyance, "To have and to hold to the grantee and his heirs for ever," or words to that effect: and so no estate tail, except expressed, "to the heirs male of the body lawfully begotten for ever, or to the grantee for life or term of years."

Oaths were administered with no other ceremony than holding up the hand; which was sufficient to distinguish a witness from the rest of the court. Kissing, or laying the hand upon the book, was scrupled, as an idolatrous ceremony; nor has it ever since been practised in any of the governments in New England, except when special commissions from Great Britain, to take depositions to be used in the courts of judicature there, have made it necessary.

In 1652, it was enacted, that a Mint-house should be erected at Boston, to coin silver of sterling alloy into 12 *d.* 6 *d.* and 3 *d.* pieces in value less than that of the present English coin by 2 *d.* in the shilling: the stamp to be, within a double ring; on the one side, MASSACHUSETTS, with a tree in the center; on the other side, NEW ENGLAND, with the year 1652; and the figures XII. VI. and III. according to the value of each piece; with a private mark. All the New England coin is dated 1652; though they continued coining for some years afterwards; which is a prerogative of the sovereign, not of a colony: but scarce any of this coin appears at present; because, with all other silver coin, it has been ejected by a paper currency. Excepting English coin, no other was to be current; and five *per cent.* for charges of coining, was allowed by the

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the owners of the silver brought into the mint to be coined : but exportation of this coin, except twenty shillings for necessary expences, was prohibited, on pain of confiscation of all effects.

In the old charter times, the colony was at first divided into the three counties of Suffolk, Essex, and Middlesex ; but when they assumed the jurisdiction of New Hampshire and province of Main, and settled compactly upon Connecticut River, the colony, in 1671, was divided into these counties :

Counties.	Chief Towns.
1. Suffolk,	Boston.
2. Norfolk,	Salisbury and Hampton.
3. Essex,	Salem and Ipswich.
4. Piscataqua,	Dover and Portsmouth.
5. Middlesex,	Charles Town and Cambridge.
6. Yorkshire,	York.
7. Hampshire,	Northampton and Springfield.

But as they now stand, the several counties, with their courts of general quarter-sessions, and inferior court of common-pleas, are as follow :

1. Suffolk, —	{ At Boston ; first Tuesday of January, April, July, and October.
2. Essex, —	{ Salem ; second Tuesday of July, and last Tuesday in December ; Newbury, last Tuesday in December ; and Ipswich, last Tuesday in March.
3. Middlesex, —	{ Cambridge ; third Tuesday in May : Charles Town ; second Tuesday in December and March : Concord ; last Tuesday in August.
4. Hampshire, —	{ Springfield ; third Tuesday in May ; last Tuesday in August : Northampton ; second Tuesday in February and November.
5. Worcester, —	{ Worcester ; first Tuesday in November and February ; second Tuesday in May ; third Tuesday in August.
6. Plymouth, —	{ Plymouth ; first Tuesday in March ; third Tuesday in May, September and December.
7. Barnstable, —	{ Barnstable ; last Tuesday in June ; third Tuesday in March, October, and January.
	8. Bristol,

- | | | |
|--------------------|---|---|
| 8. Bristol, | — | { Bristol; second Tuesday in March, June, September, and December. |
| 9. York, | — | { York; first Tuesday in April, July, October, and January: Falmouth; first Tuesday in October. |
| 10. Duke's County, | | { Edgartown; first Tuesday in March; last Tuesday in October. |
| 11. Nantucket, | | { Sherburne; last Tuesday in March; first Tuesday in October. |

The superior courts of judicature and assizes are also held in the following manner:

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|--------------------|---|--|
| 1. Suffolk, | — | { Boston; third Tuesday in August and February. |
| 2. Essex, | — | { Salem; second Tuesday in November: Ipswich; second Tuesday in May. |
| 3. Middlesex, | — | { Cambridge; first Tuesday in August: Charles Town; last Tuesday in January. |
| 4. Hampshire, | — | { Springfield; fourth Tuesday in September. |
| 5. Worcester, | — | { Worcester; third Tuesday in September. |
| 6. Plymouth, | — | { Plymouth; second Tuesday in July. |
| 7. Barnstable, and | | { Barnstable; third Tuesday in July. |
| 8. Duke's County, | | |
| 9. Bristol, | — | { Bristol; fourth Wednesday in October. |
| 10. York, | — | { York; third Wednesday in June. |

By act of assembly, occasionally but not statedly, the times of sitting of these several courts alter, and as they may be varied from time to time by acts of the provincial assembly, the above is only a temporary account.

By charter, the general assemblies are allowed to erect judicatories; to hear and determine concerning pleas, whether real, personal, or mixed; and all manner of crimes, capital or not capital. In personal actions, where the matter in difference exceeds the value of 300 l. sterling, appeals are allowed to the king in council; provided such appeal be made in fourteen days after judgment given; and that before such appeal is allowed, security be given by the appellants to the value of the matter in controversy, with costs and damages, so as execution is not staid.

Their

Their judicatories in civil actions were thus constituted: 1. All actions under 10*l.* old tenor, which may now be about 20*s.* sterling, are at first instance cognizable by a justice of peace. 2. From thence lies an appeal to the county court of common-pleas; which court seems of no great consequence, and generally serves, without much pleadings, only to transmit it to the superior and provincial court, perhaps the most upright of any in the plantations: but all actions not exceeding the value as above, must originate in the inferior courts. 3. From the inferior court of common pleas, there is appeal to a superior or provincial court in their circuits; and this is also a court of Oyer and Terminer in civil affairs. 4. From this court there is a review to the same court of judges, but of another jury. 5. There lies a liberty of petitioning the general assembly, as a court of error, upon proper allegations, to order a rehearing before the same superior court.

In each county, the governor and council appoint one high-sheriff, with a power of deputizing; and any number of coroners, the judges of the several courts, are generally accepted on recommendation from the governor.

The juries never were appointed by the sheriffs of the counties; but every township, at a regularly called town-meeting, elected their quota for the county: but as some designing men officiously attended these township-meetings, upon particular occasions, to obtain a packed or partial jury, the jurors were afterward by lot, some by chance, and others by rotation: but the privilege of juries seems to give the people a negative, even in the executive part of the civil government.

In each county, beside the civil officers appointed by the governor and council, and the military or militia officers appointed by the governor as captain-general, there is a county-treasurer, and a county-register or recorder of deeds or real conveyances. These officers are chosen by a joint written vote of the qualified voters in each township of the county, and forced in the next quarter-sessions: but the county-treasurers annually render and pass their accounts with a committee of the general assembly.

The plantations and farms in the old townships near Boston, are generally become small, occasioned by a provincial act of assembly, which divides the real as well as the personal estate of intestates, among all the children or collaterals. The people there are much bigotted to this province law, and frequently die intestate: but this humour is attended with some advantages; as where a farm thus becomes small, the possessor can-

not live by it, and is obliged to sell to the proprietor of some adjoining farm, and move farther inland, where he can purchase waste land in great quantities at an easy rate, to the enlargement of the country improvements. Thus in the townships which now compose the county of Worcester, about half a century ago, there were not above two hundred families; whereas, in the valuation in 1742, there were found in that county about three thousand two hundred taxable white male persons, though the number has been since diminished by the late wars upon that continent.

The civil administration may be divided into the supreme court of legislature, called the general-court or general-assembly of the province; and the subordinate executive courts. The great and general-court, or provincial assembly, consists of three negatives; the governor, council, and house of representatives, in the following manner:

1. The governor is by patent or commission from the king, *durante bene placito*, with a book of instructions, which are binding to him, though not so conclusive to the house of representatives. The military government by land and sea is solely vested in the governor, who grants all commissions in the militia; appoints all judges, justices, and sheriffs; and he has a negative not only in all bills of assembly, but likewise in all their elections of officers, that of a speaker not excepted. Thus the governor commissions all militia and other military officers independently of the council or assembly; he nominates all civil officers, except those concerned in the finances, and they are accordingly appointed with consent of the council. He calls, dissolves, prorogues, adjourns, and removes the general assembly at pleasure. Some governors have also refused their assent to bills, resolves, and orders of the general-court; thus a delegated power assumes more than the sovereign authority; for the Kings of Great Britain, especially of late years, have never exerted this branch of their royal prerogative, except upon some extraordinary occasion.

The just pecuniary profits of the governor have been always considerable, and of late years he has been allowed a salary of 1000 l. sterling a year. He has one-third of all custom-house seizures. The naval office belongs to him, with many fees of various kinds; and in time of war there are fees for granting letters of marque to private ships of war, beside many emoluments arising from military transactions by land. The governor, however, is not authorized by charter to impress men into the military service, to march out of the province, without an act or resolve of the general-court; nor can he give his assent to any act for repealing

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any of the standing laws of the province, without a suspending clause; that is, until a copy thereof be transmitted and laid before the king, to whom the governor is accountable for his conduct upon complaints exhibited against him from the colony.

2. The second negative in the legislature is, that of the king's or governor's council, called the honourable board; which consists of twenty-eight assistants or counsellors, to be advising and assisting to the governor, and to constitute one negative in the legislature, similar to the House of Lords in Great Britain. They are annually chosen the last Wednesday in May, by a joint vote of the last year's counsellors, and the new house of representatives.

This negative is called **THE BOARD**; but there seems to be some inconveniencies in the constitution of their power, for they may be intimidated by the governor, who has a power of negating the election of any counsellor, without alleging reasons; and they also stand in awe of the members of the third negative, as to their election by the house of representatives.

The council are assisting to the governor, by their advice and consent in appointing all civil officers, except those of the finances; and seven of the council make a board. The governor and council have the probate of wills, of granting administrations, and of divorces; but they appoint a subordinate judge of probates in each county. The governor also, with the advice and consent of the council, nominates and appoints judges, commissioners of Oyer and Terminer, sheriffs, justices of the peace, and other civil officers; but no such appointment is to be made without summons issued seven days before unto such of the counsellors as should be residing within the province at that time.

3. The third negative in the legislative body is called "The honourable house of representatives," by whom the freemen are represented in their lower house; not by election from counties, cities, and boroughs, as in Great Britain, and in some of the British colonies; but from certain districts of land incorporated by the names of townships, very unequal in extent. Thus Springfield contains upwards of one hundred thousand acres, and Medford does not contain above two thousand acres; but generally they should be about six miles square, or near twenty-three thousand acres.

By

By charter, each place is empowered to depute two persons and no more; yet Boston is allowed to send four, and might be allowed twenty, considering its taxes and number of inhabitants in proportion to the whole colony representations; but such proportions are not observed in Great Britain: the qualification of an elector is forty shillings a year freehold, or other estate to the value of fifty pounds sterling.

By acts of assembly, all townships under one hundred and twenty qualified voters, are restricted to send one representative; but with this reasonable qualification, that no township, consisting of less than eighty legal voters, shall be fined for not sending a representative.

The votes of the house of representatives are regularly printed at the public charge; one copy for each township, and another copy for each member. The present enacting style is, "Be it enacted by the governor, council, and representatives." Thanksgivings and fasts are appointed by the governor and council, at the desire of the house of representatives. When a joint committee of both houses is appointed, generally one-third is from the council, and two-thirds from the representatives, who insist upon several privileges, and the following in particular:

1. That the governor's instructions from the secretary of state of that department, are recommendatory, but not obligatory upon the representatives of the people. And they also assert, that they are at liberty to vary from any former grants to governors.

2. That the council may only concur or not concur in a tax or any other money-bill; but may make no amendment; and the affair of supplying the treasury always originates in the house of representatives.

Although the military are the absolute prerogative of the crown, the assembly, especially the house of representatives, have sometimes complained and admonished the governor, upon extraordinary occasions, in that respect.

Writs for calling a general assembly are to issue from the secretary's office thirty days before their meeting, directed to the select-men, as returning officers; the returns to be made into the secretary's office one day at least before the time prefixed for the meeting of the general assembly. About one hundred and fifty representatives are summoned; and forty constitute a house. The penalty for non-attendance is five shillings

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a day. All representatives, with one son or servant each, to have personal protection during their sessions, except in cases of treason or felony: but about one-third of the towns, which have precepts sent them, return no representatives.

There are a few things in which this house of representatives differs from the practice of the house of commons in Great Britain; particularly, that a representative must be resident in the township for which he is elected; and that counsellors or representatives may serve their country upon wages.

As to Taxes, and Valuations, it is only necessary to observe; 1. That the provincial Taxes of Massachusetts Bay consist of three articles; excise, impost, and rates.

I. Excise, as settled, by act of assembly, is upon brandy, rum, and other spirits distilled; lemons, oranges, and limes. Boston, with the rest of the county of Suffolk's excise, in 1748, was farmed for 10,000 *l.* old tenor, being about 1000 *l.* sterling: but this tax has been greatly augmented since that time.

II. Impost, is by tonnage upon foreign wines and goods; upon salt, cotton-wool, and provisions, the growth of the colony: but prize-goods condemned in any part of the province, and goods from Great Britain, are exempted from impost.

III. Rates, are taxes upon polls and estates: polls are all white men of sixteen years of age and upward: estates are real, personal, and faculty, or income arising from their trade and business. Those exempted from polls and rates are, the governor, lieutenant-governor, and their families; the president, fellows, and students of Harvard College; settled ministers and grammar schoolmasters; as also persons deemed invalids, by age, infirmities, and poverty.

The annual supplies, or appropriations, are in many articles: thus, of the 400,000 *l.* old tenor in 1748, there were granted the following sums:

For garrisons, armed vessels, forces upon the eastern	£.
and western frontiers,	160,000
Warlike stores and commissaries disbursements,	136,000
Allowances and grants,	72,000
	Expended

Expended where no establishment,	£.
Contingencies, <i>IN W-IT</i>	18,000
Representatives wages, <i>— — —</i>	2,000
	18,000
Total	<u>£. 400,000</u>

With regard to money-affairs; as the emission of public provincial bills of credit, called paper-money; supplies of the treasury; and government charges; all these, at various times, have been expressed in different tenors; as old tenor, middle tenor, new tenor first, and new tenor second; which last was about twelve *per cent.* worse than new tenor first, though they have passed indifferently at the same value. These various tenors, if reduced to old tenor the original, and to a proper standard of exchange with London, compared with the value of currencies in the other British Colonies as they stood in 1748, will appear thus:

For 100*l.* sterling, the currency was for New England 1100*l.* New York 190*l.* East Jerseys 190*l.* West Jerseys 180*l.* Pennsylvania 180*l.* Maryland 200*l.* Virginia 120*l.* to 125*l.* North Carolina 1000*l.* South Carolina 750*l.* Barbadoes 130*l.* Antigua 170 to 180*l.* St. Christopher's 160*l.* and Jamaica 140*l.*

SECTION

SECTION XL

The ecclesiastical constitution of the colony; the university, and state of learning there.

IT was one great design of the first planters of the Massachusetts colony, to obtain for themselves and their posterity the liberty of worshipping God in such manner as appeared to them to be most agreeable to Holy Writ. They did not suppose the form of episcopal government to be enjoined by divine authority; and they knew very well, that, upon their arrival in America, they would be no longer subject to any diocesan in England. They must however have supposed some form of church-government would be necessary; yet they were far from being determined what it should be. The New England Puritans, when at full liberty, went the full length which the Separatists did in England; but it does not follow that they would have done so if they had remained in their mother-country. Upon their removal, they supposed their relation both to the civil and ecclesiastical government, except so far as a special reserve made by their charter, was at an end, and that they had right to form such new model of both as was most agreeable to their situation and circumstances.

They seem to have had no settled plan of church-government until the arrival of Mr. Cotton in 1633, who projected the plan of government of the New England churches, which from that time took the name of congregational. This was called the middle way between Brownism and Presbyterianism, and is said to be distinguished by the four following characteristics:

1st, The subject matter of the visible church; that is, saints by calling, such as are acquainted with the principles of religion, who profess their faith, and the manner how they were brought to the knowledge of God by faith in Christ.

2d, The constitutive part of a particular visible church ought to be a mutual covenanting, to walk together in the Christian communion, according to the rule of the gospel.

3d, No church ought to be of larger extent, or greater number, than may ordinarily meet together in one place, for the celebration of divine worship.

There is no jurisdiction to which particular churches ought to be subject, by way of authoritative censure.

These are said to be the principles upon which a platform of church-government was established. By the law established in the colony, no man could have a share in the administration of civil government, or give his voice in any election, unless he was a member of one of the churches.

The ministers of the several churches in Boston have always been supported by a free weekly contribution: but in the country towns compulsory laws were found necessary; thus, in 1654, the county-courts were empowered to assess upon the inhabitants of the several towns, which neglected the support of the ministry, a sum sufficient to make up the defect, agreeable to the condition on which the lands were granted.

They laid aside the fasts and feasts of the Church of England, and frequently appointed days of thanksgiving, as occasion required. Beside occasional fasts, they constantly appointed a day for fasting and prayer, every vernal period, to implore the divine blessings upon their affairs the ensuing year: and in the autumnal season they had a day of thanksgiving for the favours conferred upon them in the preceding year. By a law of the colony, every person absenting himself from the public worship, on these days, without sufficient excuse, was liable to five shillings fine.

During the fifty years the old charter continued, there were few instances of any society of Christians professedly differing in doctrine, discipline, or form of worship from the established churches. The number of Baptists was small: the Quakers came over in small parties; nor was there any episcopal church in any part of the colony, until the charter was vacated.

They were called Independents, because every congregation was independent of the other churches; but not independent of the civil government. A church consisted only of so many people as could conveniently meet together in one audience, and under covenant among themselves. A vote of their brotherhood made and unmade their minister, elders, and deacons; nor could a minister administer but to his own congregation. They allowed of communion with other churches in word and prayer; but not in sacraments and discipline: and though they advised with neighbouring churches, they were under no obligation to follow their advice.

After some time they still became more moderate and sociable, when they converted the designation Independent to that of Congregational. Although

Although they retained the notion of an independent supreme ecclesiastical power in each congregation, they allowed that sometimes it might be expedient to have the advice of synods and councils. Thus insensibly and naturally, for the sake of good order, they fell into the Presbyterian mode; and, in fact, have had several synods appointed by the civil legislature.

In 1718, it was proposed in the general assembly to call a synod of the congregational churches of the province of Massachusetts Bay; but this was rejected, because, by the act of union of England and Scotland in 1707, it was provided that the Church of England government, in all the English Colonies, should be for ever established.

The test went a great way toward producing a general uniformity; and he that refused to conform was deprived of more civil privileges than a Nonconformist was deprived of by the test in England; but both of them must have occasioned much formality and hypocrisy. Beside this test, another reason may be assigned. As good, if not better lands than any in the colony lay contiguous to it; and men of different opinions chose to remove where they might enjoy both civil and religious liberty, rather than remain and be deprived of either: so that, in this way, birth and quick growth were given to a neighbouring colony, which admitted persons of all religions, and gave equal privileges in general; therefore as soon as what they called a sectary sprang up in the Massachusetts colony, it was transplanted to Rhode Island.

Beside the synodal conformity, the Independents of New England became less contracted and of more extensive charity in other articles; so that, at present, the Congregationalists may be esteemed among the most moderate and charitable of those who profess the doctrines of Christianity.

Although a church properly consisted of no more persons than could conveniently meet together in one place, cemented by a holy covenant, and admitted into church-membership by personal public confession; yet now they have relaxed of that rigidity, and particularly in the following instances:

1. In many of their churches they do not require that personal public confessional appearance to be admitted into church-membership, but only a private application to their pastor or minister, to be communicated to the church only, if required.
2. They admit occasionally members of other churches to the Lord's Supper, by letters of recommendation.
3. A minister may occasionally administer the sacraments to a neighbouring vacant church.
4. The brethren of the church, at the ordination of a minister,

minister, do not lay on hands; but it is done by the laying on of the hands of the ministers of some neighbouring churches invited for that purpose; and this is a considerable festival day in the township or parish. 5. A lay-elder may teach and perform all offices except the administration of the sacraments.

After all that may be said in favour of the ecclesiastical constitution, the strength of it lay in the union with the civil authority. The usual way of deciding differences and controversies in churches, it is true, was by a council, consisting of the elders and other messengers of neighbouring churches; and when there was a general agreement in such councils, the contending parties usually acquiesced; but if the council happened to differ in apprehensions among themselves, or if either of the contending parties were contumacious, it became a common thing for the civil magistrate to interpose and terminate the dispute.

In a New England ordination, five distinct parts are required: 1. A preparatory prayer. 2. A suitable sermon. 3. A charge. 4. Another prayer. 5. The right-hand of fellowship; but some join in the imposition of hands.

The ministers of the congregational persuasion in the province of Massachusetts Bay continue to meet annually about the time of the general provincial election of counsellors; not by assuming any ecclesiastical authority, but only by way of brotherly intercourse.

The first Church of England congregation formed in New England was at Boston in 1679; it still subsists and flourishes; and, beside a rector in the election and at the charge of the congregation, there is an annual royal bounty for an assistant-minister or lecturer. In 1748, there were about two hundred and fifty Independent congregations in the new charter province of Massachusetts Bay; as also seven missionary congregations; beside some congregations of Irish Presbyterians, Baptists, Quakers, and new Separatists or Methodists.

Of Harvard College.

It was thought necessary to erect a collegiate school for the education of youth, and as a seminary for a succession of able and learned gospel-ministers. The general assembly, in 1630, granted 400*l.* toward the establishment of such a school or college at New Town, about six miles

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from Boston; but that money was not then applied, because it was insufficient to answer the purpose intended; and the design was neglected until 1638, when the reverend Mr. John Harvard, lately come from England, died at Charles Town, of which he was minister, and by his will bequeathed 779 *l.* 17 *s.* 2 *d.* to carry on this useful work. Upon his decease, a committee was chosen to manage the undertaking, which now met with encouragement from the other colonies; and several private gentlemen contributed liberally toward it. When the building was erected at New-Town, that place, upon this account, was called Cambridge, which name it has ever since retained; and the college, in honour of its great benefactor, received the name of Harvard College.

It was no better than a *schola illustris*, or an academical free-school, for the first ten years, under the direction of certain overseers, as appears by an act passed by the general court at Boston in 1642.

The income of a ferry between Boston and Charles-Town was granted to the college, which is now lett at 600 *l.* New England currency, or 60 *l.* sterling a year; and this ferry is about three miles from Cambridge; which town increased and enlarged in the number of houses and inhabitants.

This was the constitution of the college until the year 1650, when it was incorporated by a provincial charter. Thomas Dudley, Esq. was then governor of the colony, and Mr. Henry Dunster was president of the college, which was situated in a healthful soil.

The college-building consisted of a triangular court, whose front was open to the fields. The building on the first side was in 1672, by a contribution through the whole colony of 1895 *l.* 2 *s.* 9 *d.* whereof Boston furnished 800 *l.* and it was called by the former name of Harvard College. The building on the bottom-side was erected in 1699, at the charge of Lieutenant-governor Stoughton, and was called Stoughton College, which consisted of sixteen chambers. The third side was built in 1726, at the charge of the province, and was called Massachusetts Hall, consisting of thirty-two chambers. Beside this court, there was a house for the president at some distance from the court; and at a small distance behind the Harvard side of the court was a neat chapel, the gift of Mrs. Holden of London, widow of Mr. Holden, a late director of the Bank of England.

Harvard College being built, a foundation was laid for a public library, which was a work of absolute necessity; as books were so scarce in the country, that it was impossible for the students to purchase them. The first

first furniture of this library was the books of Doctor William Ames, the famous professor of divinity at Francque, whose widow and children transported themselves and their effects into these parts. Several gentlemen also in England made very valuable presents to it, some of books, and others of mathematical instruments, so that before the end of the century it was increased to between three and four thousand volumes; and if the Cambridge library in New England could not pretend to rival the libraries of European universities, yet it contained a collection of the most valuable authors that have wrote in the learned languages, and was undoubtedly the best furnished of any in those parts of the world.

This university never conferred any degree above Master of Arts upon any of its members, except Dr. Increase Mather; for the charter by which they were incorporated gave them no farther powers; nor was it usual to confer the degree of Master of Arts upon any but those who were of seven years standing in the college. Some attempts were made in the beginning of the reign of King William and Queen Mary to obtain a new charter, whereby their powers might be enlarged, and they might be capable of conferring the degrees of Batchelor and Doctor in Divinity, after the manner of the European universities; but without success.

The resident instructors of youth were lately a President, four tutors or philosophy professors, the Hollisian professor of Divinity, the Hollisian professor of Philosophy, and a professor of Hebrew. The income or revenue of the college was not sufficient to defray its charge; therefore some of that body received an additional allowance. The four tutors, or professors of Philosophy, had from 300 to 400 *l.* old tenor a year, with some little perquisites. In 1672 there was not a scholar to commence; and of late there were ten Hollisian scholars at 10 *l.* old tenor a year. But Mr. Holyoke, the president in 1748, was voted 1400 *l.* a year old tenor, out of the province treasury, beside the rents of Massachusetts Hall. Doctor Wigglesworth, the Hollisian professor of Divinity, had a salary advanced to 380 *l.* old tenor; and the Hollisian professor of Philosophy had the same salary.

Protestants of any denomination might have their children educated and graduated there; but, in 1746, there were only twelve students who commenced Bachelors.

Upon the continent of North America there are four colleges; of which two are by charters from home. That of Virginia was dated in

1692; and that for the New Jerseys in 1746; but the other two were incorporated by provincial or colony charters; Harvard or Cambridge College of Massachusetts Bay, and Yale College of Connecticut.

Harvard College never had any remarkable accident or misfortune until lately, when the whole was destroyed by fire.

A building adjacent to the college was erected for the education of Indians, at the charge of "the Corporation for propagating the Gospel in New England," and was called Indian College; but it had no effect, and is converted into a printing-house.

SECTION

SECTION XII.

The climate, soil, produce, and trade of the colony.

THE English planters, at the beginning, promised themselves great advantages from the soil of New England; and imagined they were opulent, as they had the property of so great an extent of territory. The general court allowed no more than two hundred acres of land, in the first dividend, for fifty pounds sterling advanced to the plantation; but the planters soon found by experience, that their improved lands were of no greater value than the labour and expence of subduing them.

Several opinions, which at first prevailed, both of the soil and climate, have been preserved. Wood was a writer of fertile imagination, and lived in the country four years, which appears to have been about the year 1636: He says, "the soil is, for the general, a warm kind of earth, there being little cold spewing land, no moorish fens, no quagmires; the lowest grounds are the marshes, over which the sea flows every full and change. These marshes are rich ground, and bring plenty of hay, of which the cattle feed, and like as if they were fed with the best up-land hay in New England, of which there is great store that grows commonly between the marshes and the woods. The meadow-ground lies higher than the marshes, whereby it is freed from the overflowing of the seas; and beside this, in many places where the trees grow thin, there is good fodder to be got among the woods. There are likewise in divers places near the plantations great broad meadows, wherein grow neither shrub nor tree, lying low, in which places grows as much grass as may be thrown out with a scythe, thick and long, as high as a man's middle, some as high as the shoulders, so that a good mower may cut three-load in a day. Many object that this is but coarse fodder; and true it is, that it is not so fine to the eye as English grass; but, being made into hay, the cattle eat it as well as lea-hay, and like as well with it. The worst that can be said against the meadow-grounds is, that there is but little edish or after-pasture, which may proceed from the late mowings more than any thing else. For the more upland grounds, there are different kinds; in some places clay, others gravel, some a red sand; all which are covered with a black mould, in some places a foot deep, in others not so much. Such is the rankness of the ground, that it must be sown the first year with Indian corn, which is a soaking grain, before it will be fit to receive English seed. He preferred it before the

counties

counties of Surry or Middlesex, which, if they were not enriched with continual manurings, would be less fertile than the meanest grounds in New England; wherefore it was not impossible, nor much improbable, that, upon improvements, the soil may be as good in time as England."

This account of the country is not unfavourable; but a different idea of it was given in an anonymous manuscript, which was sent to England in 1637, and asserts, "That the soil, for the nature of it, was mixed; the upland rather participated of sand than clay; yet English rye liked it not; an argument it was both cold and barren. That the low-lands were for the most part covered with underwoods; and the soil, which was a mixture of clay and sand, seemed to have been fattened by the continual fall of leaves from the trees growing thereon. That this soil was like the woodland in England, best at first, yet afterward grows more barren. That this raised the report of so rich a soil; but those that came after found, by dear experience, that affection, not judgment was the author of it; for after five or six years, it grew barren beyond belief: and whereas, after the land in England proved fertile for grass, this yielded none at all; but, like the land about Dunstable, put on the face of winter in the time of summer. The author, however, believed, that if they had marle, lime, or other manure, that barrenness might in part be cured; but then they were destitute of those supplies. That the natural coldness confuted the opinion of those who conceived it to be originally fertile; and experience confirmed this to be true; for beans, millets, fitches and roots, which delight in a cold soil, prospered here alike. That hay they had of the low-lands, such as it was; which he thought inferior in goodness to reed and sedge in England; for it was so devoid of nutritive virtue, that their beasts grew lousy with feeding upon it, and were much out of heart and liking; beside, it bred among them sundry diseases which they knew not how to cure. That some had learned to make better provision, by burning the grass when it was near ripe, and so suffering a new crop to spring out of the ashes of the old: this they cut down, before it was half ripe, and made it into hay; but this proved like after-meath in Old England, not fit to labour with, yielding a faint nourishment, which brought the cattle so low, and many times to diseases of which they seldom recovered."

Another manuscript account, of some later date, says, that "the air of the country was sharp, the rocks many, the trees innumerable, the grass little, the winter cold, the summer hot, the gnats in summer biting, and the wolves at midnight howling: but if it was to be looked upon as the means of grace, it might be called a Canaan."

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Mr. Hubbard could make a better judgment, as he wrote his manuscript history about the year 1680, and says, "As for the soil, it was for the general more mountainous and hilly than otherwise, and in many places very rocky and full of stones; yet intermingled with many plains and valleys, some of which were sandy and inclinable to barrenness, especially those which abounded with pitch-pines, and there were many such; as likewise many swamps or boggy places full of small bushes and underwoods; but here and there were many rich and fertile spots of land, such as they called interval land, in level and campaign grounds, that oftentimes were overflowed by the channels of water running beside them, which was supposed to enrich the soil; the fatness of the earth washed by the rains, and melting of the snow from the surface of the higher parts of the country, being, by those floods, cast upon the levels which lie by the sides of those greater streams. In many such places, their land has been known to be sown or planted full forty years together, without any considerable abatement of the crop, never failing of thirty or forty bushels an acre. But for the generality of the soil, it was of a lighter sort of earth, whose fruitfulness was more beholden to the influence of the heavens, advantage of the season, skill and industry of the tiller, than to the strength of its own temper. Such as came thither first upon discovery, chanced to be there in the first part of the summer, when the earth was enriched with herbs and flowers, flourishing with such early fruits as weather-beaten travellers are wont to refresh themselves with beholding; as strawberries, gooseberries, raspberries, cherries, and whorts; as they observed who first landed about Martha's vineyard, from whence they promised themselves and their successors a very flourishing country, as they did who landed first upon the coast of Florida. All sorts of grain sown in the spring, were found to grow pretty naturally there. The cold oftentimes proved so extreme as to kill that which was committed to the ground before winter."

From these several accounts some judgments may be made of the opinion the first Colonists had formed of the country. Experience convinced many of them, that the value of the land when cleared, would make but poor wages for their labour in clearing it. However, it is a happy thing, that a fondness for freeholds to transmit to posterity, with privileges annexed to them, excited so many of the first planters of America to hard labour, and supported them under hard fare. A great part of this vast continent, filled with wild beasts, and savage men scarcely superior to them, now affords the necessities and conveniences of a civilized life. History affords no instance of such great im-

provements in so short a time. The same passion still continues, and affords a prospect of the like happy effect to distant posterity.

There are timber of many sorts in the colony, and particularly several kinds of pine-trees, whereof the principal are the white-pine, a beautiful tree of the best use for masting and joiner's work; and the pitch-pine, which produces pitch, tar, rosin, turpentine, and oil of turpentine; various kinds of oaks; the principal for ship-building, and other constructions, are the white-oak, which is the best; the swamp-oak, and the black-oak.

The white-pine, or masting-pine, is of very large dimensions; and, in 1736, near Merrimack River, a little above Dunstable, was cut a white pine strait and sound, seven feet eight inches diameter at the butt-end. The commissioners of the navy seldom contract for any exceeding thirty-six inches diameter at the butt-end; and to be so many yards in length as they are inches in diameter at the butt-end.

The commissioners of the navy agree from time to time with contractors to furnish certain numbers of specified dimensions of masts, yards and bowsprits, with his Majesty's licence for cutting such trees. But the late contracts have been from Piscataqua Harbour in New Hampshire, and Casco Bay in the province of Maine. The mast-ships built peculiarly for that use, are generally about four hundred tons, navigated with about twenty-five men, and carry from forty-five to fifty good masts each voyage.

By the new charter granted in 1691, all trees fit for masts, of twenty-four inches diameter and upward, twelve inches from the ground, growing upon land not granted to any private persons, were reserved to the crown; and the penalty for cutting any such reserved trees was a hundred pounds sterling *per tree*: and by several acts of the British parliament, this penalty has been extended to all the American provinces, and penalties fixed on the cutting or destroying white-pines.

New England abounds in saw-mills of cheap and slight work, generally carrying a single saw. One man and a boy attending on a mill may, in twenty-four hours, saw four thousand feet of white-pine boards, which are generally one inch thick, and of various lengths, from fifteen to twenty-five feet; and of different widths, from one foot to two feet at a medium; and it is reckoned that forty boards make a thousand feet.

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These mills commonly stand upon small streams, because cheap fitted; but with the following inconveniencies. 1. As the country is cleared of wood and brush, the rivulets dry up. 2. In living small streams, there is not water sufficient to drive the wheel in summer. 3. In the winter they are frozen up.

Colonel Dudley, in his frequent surveys of new townships about fifty or sixty miles inland, observed white-ash trees, strait and without branchings for about eighty feet, and about three feet diameter at the butt-end. It is as light and much tougher than white-pine; therefore it has been imagined that these trees would make stronger masts: but then the land-carriage for so great a distance is inconvenient.

There are five different kinds of firs in New England; some of which are cut into deal-boards, and their bark is used by the tanners. The spruce or true fir grows strait and tapering; is very beautiful, and used as spars; but it is apt to cast or warp; and being too flexile is not fit for large masts or yards. Its twigs with the leaves are boiled with a beverage made of molasses, and is esteemed good in the scurvy and the like foulnesses of the blood.

The white spruce fir grows in swamps or marshes: there are also the red spruce, the black spruce, and the fir turpentine-tree, commonly called the Balsam of Gilead-tree of Nova Scotia.

There are several kinds of oaks, but the white-oak only is required by contract with the ship-builders for construction of shipping.

The American pitch-pine, which furnishes the naval stores of turpentine, tar, pitch and rosin, grows on a dry sandy soil, and has leaves about three inches long: but in New England there is another distinct pitch-pine, called yellow-pine, whose wood has a yellow cast, but does not yield turpentine so plentifully as the pitch-pine of Carolina, which is harder and straiter than that of New England, so as to be used for masting, and sawed into boards for the West India islands.

The horn-beam and the button-trees are used for windlasses, blocks, and turnery work: red-cedar is of excellent use for posts fixed in the earth, and will hold good for a century. The common chestnut of North America bears a smaller fruit, with a capsula not so much echinated as in Europe; but it rives well, and is most durable for rails in fencing of lands.

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In North America are so many different kinds of walnuts, that the hunters of the woods report there are almost as great a variety of walnuts as apples: but their general distinction is into black and white, from the colour of the wood.

Apple-trees are all from Europe, and flourish very well. The beginning of October is the height of cyder-making. Ten or twelve barrels of apples are required to make one barrel of cyder, which affords about one gallon of proof spirits.

Cherry-trees are natives of New England, and of different kinds.

Grape-vines are natives of New England, and of several distinct kinds.

Sassafras is plentiful in New England, though not of so strong a perfume as farther south.

There are great varieties of gooseberries, currants, raspberries, brambles, wild-roses, and other such productions, unnecessary to be particularly mentioned; as also are their beasts, birds, fishes, and other things that relate more peculiarly to natural history. It may, however, be observed, that Plumier, in his four voyages to America, discovered nine hundred new plants, especially in the capillary tribe, with which North America abounds; and that Douglas arrived to the descriptions of about eleven hundred indigenous plants in the Massachusetts colony.

Grain is produced of various sorts; but scarcely any of them are natural or spontaneous. Indian corn is the principal: rye and French beans thrive tolerably well: all kinds of English grain are sown, yet they seldom grow kindly. Flax grows well, and employs a considerable number of hands in the linen manufactory; but the soil appears not strong enough for hemp.

The farmers in New England, by sowing their seed early, the ground being prepared in ridges to throw off the rains and melting snows, raise winter-wheat and rye with good success; but their great discouragement has been the blast. Sir Henry Frankland, several years ago, imported from Lisbon the seed of summer-wheat, which has been less subject to blast than any other; and it ripens about six weeks from the sowing, in the Massachusetts colony. It has been generally remarked, that between the first and tenth of July, the honey dew falling upon the wheat, causes the rust or blast, if the following morning is hot and calm; but ordinarily,

ordinarily, if the wheat be sown early, it will be so forward that the grain will not suffer by it in that time. An idle opinion prevailed among the populace, that since the execution of the Quakers, wheat has always blasted; but this folly was equal to that cruelty.

As the Indian-corn requires frequent ploughings, beside what are now called horse-hoings, as also hoeing and hilling by hand, the land is pulverized, and then there is fine tilth necessary for English grain the next year. Indian corn is also gathered late, after the frosts set in; and if the corn has been well tended, there will be no grass or weeds when the frosts break up in the spring; immediately after which it should be ploughed for the English grain.

The natural upland grass of the country, commonly called Indian-grass, is poor fodder, perhaps not better, if so good, as barley-straw. Cattle, remote from the sea, must have salt, and a little salt hay would undoubtedly be grateful to black cattle, horses, and sheep, which may be kept alive through the winter with it; but all creatures prefer English-hay when they can have both.

Land of a tolerable quality, where English-grass, a name given to all imported grasses, has been mowed, they now find by experience will afford after-feed until the severe frosts wither the grass. It has been made a question, whether the seed of the white-clover is not in the earth in all parts of the country? The New England farmers affirm, and there is no doubt of the fact, that if they break up new ground in the woods where no dung has ever been spread, and lay it down the next or the same year, and give it a thin coat of ashes, the white-honey-suckle comes in as thick as if the seed had been sown: but some are of opinion, that the plant and flower differ from the English honey-suckle.

The two great rivers in this colony are, 1. Merrimack, which comes from the fork near Endicot's tree, where Pomagewasset River and the discharge of the Pond or Lake Winipinket meet, and acquire the name of Merrimack, signifying in the Indian language a sturgeon, with which this river abounds. From this fork it runs southerly about fifty miles to Patucket Falls; and thence it runs easterly about thirty miles to Newbury-Bar. Upon this river, the townships in a descending order lie as follow: On the east and north side are Gilman-Town, Canterbury, part of Rumford, part of Suncook, Harry's-Town, Litchfield, Nottingham of New Hampshire, part of Dunstable, Dracut, Methuen, Haverhill, Amesbury,

and Salisbury of Massachusetts Bay. Upon the west and south side are the townships of Contacook, part of Rumford, part of Suncook, Merrimack, and Dunstable of New Hampshire; Dunstable, Chelmsford, Tewksbury, Andover, Bradford, and Newbury of Massachusetts Bay. The bar at the mouth of this river has only about ten feet of water, and shifts; but it is navigable no more than eighteen miles, to Mitchell's Falls in Haverhill. The falls in this river are many; but excepting Dracut or Patucket Falls about thirty miles from the bar, and Amuskeag Falls about twenty miles higher, all the other falls are passable for floats of timber, and for canoes or small boats in freshes or floods of the river. Many of those called falls are only riplings or veins of scattered great rock stones. The elbow or flexure of the river, called the horse-shoe, is about two miles above Patucket Falls. There are several ferries upon the river; and, when it is low, a fording place above Swan's Ferry, twenty-four miles up from the bar; as also another above Munt's or Dracut's Ferry. There are several rivers and rivulets which fall into the Merrimack.

2. The other great river is Connecticut, an Indian word signifying a long river. Upon its banks are three of the New England colonies: Connecticut lies upon it about fifty-two miles: thence Massachusetts Bay, by an indent of nine miles, which makes an imaginary divisional line between these colonies; from which line the province of Massachusetts Bay lies about forty-seven miles direct northerly; and farther north is New Hampshire indefinitely, or crown lands annexed to the jurisdiction of New Hampshire.

From the bar at the mouth of Connecticut River to the boundary imaginary line of Massachusetts Bay and Connecticut are about sixty miles. This River of Connecticut, from its long course, is subject to sudden floods or freshes, and at Hartford sometimes rises twenty feet; but the tide rises only a few inches. At the mouth of the river, the tide flows from four to six feet; and upon the bar are about ten to twelve feet water. The general course of the stream is north north-east and south south-west: but a south south-east wind will carry a vessel up all the reaches of this river so far as it is navigable, which for sloops is nearly sixty miles.

The first falls of this river are about sixty miles from its mouth, at Devotion Island in the south parts of Suffield; and the next are about the middle of Suffield, and half a mile in length; both of which are passable by boats in channels. Next are the falls in the southerly parts of Northampton, about fifteen miles farther up the river, whose banks are generally

generally steep and sandy, losing on one side in different places, and gaining ground on the other side in process of time.

The rivulets and brooks, where they fall into the great river, are not passable in freshes and floods, because of the back water. From the mouth of the river to about one hundred and fifty miles up, the breadth appears much the same, though in that space it receives many considerable streams. Some ferries, where are no habitations, have been kept at the charge of the counties, consisting of a large scow or flat to carry persons, cattle, and goods, with a canoe-tender: thus travellers ferried themselves over, always leaving the flat on one side, and the canoe on the other, to fetch the scow upon occasion, particularly at Northfield ferry.

The townships upon this river are, 1. Upon its east side, in Connecticut Colony; Lime, East-Hadham, part of Middletown, Glastenbury, part of Hertford, and part of Windsor: in the province of Massachusetts Bay, Enfield, Springfield, Hadley, Sunderland, and part of Northfield: in the province of New Hampshire, part of Northfield and Winchester. 2. Upon its west side; in Connecticut Colony, are Seabrook, West-Hadham, part of Middletown, Wethersfield, part of Hertford, and part of Windsor: in the province of Massachusetts Bay, are Suffield, part of Springfield, Northampton, Hatfield, Deerfield, and part of Northfield: in the province of New Hampshire, are part of Northfield, in which stands Fort Dummer, maintained at the charge of the Massachusetts Bay.

This river falls into the bottom of Massachusetts or Boston Bay, and serves to bring floats or rafts of ship-timber down by the tide to Boston from Watertown barcadier, about nine miles. There is another creek or river, a little way east of this, called Mystick River, of about four miles rafting from the barcadier of Medford township; and from Mystick barcadier are sent to Boston, bricks, tar, and turpentine.

The promontories remarkable are only Point Alderton, about ten miles below Boston, upon the south side of the bay, opposite the light-house. Here is a good harbour called Hull-gut; and the safe road of Nantasket, secured by circumjacent islands, where the King's ships and merchant ships outward and inward bound anchor for a time: it lies about seven miles below Boston, and, by act of assembly, is deemed belonging to the harbour of that town.

Cape Anne is the north side entrance or promontory of Massachusetts Bay. Thatcher's Island lies about two leagues east of this harbour; and
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near that island are the rocks called the Salvages. Cape Anne harbour is about eleven leagues north north-east from Boston: The southern promontory of Massachusetts Bay, called Cape Cod, lies about eighteen leagues east by south from Boston; and the breadth of the entrance into this bay is, from Cape Anne harbour south-west fourteen leagues, to the hook or harbour of Cape Cod.

It is only since the new charter that sea-port districts of preventive custom-houses and branches have taken place. Charles-Town, Boston, and all the other custom-house branches of Massachusetts Bay belong to the collection of Boston. Ipswich, Cape Anne, Salem, and Marblehead belong to the collection of Salem: and Newbury is a branch of the collection of Portsmouth in New Hampshire. Beside there are small creeks and inlets for timber and firewood in small coasting vessels, and for curing of fish.

The post-office is a very beneficial institution, and the province of Massachusetts Bay is its most considerable branch in all North America. The post-office in England was settled by act of parliament in the twelfth year of King Charles II. and in the reign of Queen Anne a post-office for North America was projected by Mr. Hamilton of New Jersey, which he soon effected, and obtained a patent for the management and profits of the same. This patent he afterward sold to the crown; and after the Union, the posts of Great Britain, Ireland, and America were put under one director by the statute of the ninth of Queen Anne.

The number of inhabitants in this colony has been variously represented at different periods. In 1656, they had three regiments of militia, Suffolk, Middlesex, and Essex; but in 1671 three more regiments were formed, Norfolk or Piscataqua, Yorkshire or province of Main, and Hampshire upon Connecticut River. In 1706, the militia of Massachusetts Bay, in their address to Queen Anne, called themselves twelve regiments; and in 1711, when Admiral Walker demanded a supply of sailors, the governor and council represented, that their ordinary garrisons, forces upon the inland frontiers, and troops detached for the Canada expedition, were upward of two thousand men, which were more than one-fifth in the province who were capable of bearing arms.

In 1722, the small-pox happened to rage in Boston, where 5980 persons were seized with that distemper, whereof 844 died, and about the same number quitted the town. Thus it may be estimated, that there were about 12,000 people in Boston at the arrival of the small-pox; for
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when it was over, the select-men ordered a kind of lustration to be made by Mr. Saller, who reported 10,670 souls. By a new calculation in 1742, there were reported 16,382 souls in Boston: add to these some men lately gone upon the Cuba expedition, beside several sons and apprentices designedly overlooked to ease the quota of Boston's provincial tax, the inhabitants may be reckoned about 18,000 at that time. Thus in the space of twenty years, from 1722 to 1742, the inhabitants of Boston increased 6000, or one-third. In the valuation of 1742, of those in Boston were 1200 widows, and 1000 of them poor; in the alms-houses 111; in the work-house 36; and negroes 1514: dwelling-houses 1719; warehouses 106; horses 418; and cows 141.

When governor Shute returned to England in 1722, he reported to the Board of Trade and Plantations, that in the province of Massachusetts Bay were 94,000 people, whereof 15,000 were in the training list, disposed into sixteen regiments of foot, and fifteen troops of horse; but the alarm-list of males, from sixteen years of age and upward, was about one-third more than the training list; because many were excused from impresses and quarterly trainings. About 25,000 ton of shipping were in the two collections of Boston and Salem at that time.

In the valuation of 1728, for Boston were about 3000 rateable polls of males from sixteen and upward; which was nearly the same with the alarm-list; for instance, in 1735, the rateable polls in Boston were 3637; and in 1733 the alarm-list was about 3500; which, allowing for two years increase, is nearly the same. Captain Watson, one of the assessors, out of curiosity examined the books about that time, and found the Church of England people charged not exceeding one-tenth of the rates or taxes in Boston town.

In 1735, the provincial valuation was 35,427 polls, being white men of sixteen years and upward; 2600 negroes; 27,420 horses of three years old and upwards; 52,000 neat cattle of three years old and upward; and 130,000 sheep of one year old and upwards.

In the valuation of 1742, were 41,000 white men's polls; but in 1747, the house of representatives informed the governor, that 3000 was about one twelfth of their fencible men.

The alacrity of the New England militia may be observed, by the alarm given by the Brest Squadron in September 1746, when 6400 men, well armed, appeared in a short time from the country upon Boston common; and

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and some of them travelled seventy miles in two days, each with a pack of provisions for fourteen days, of about a bushel of corn weight. Connecticut was also to have sent 6000 men, being one-half of their training list; who were to be paid by the province for their travel and attendance.

Ship-building is one of the greatest articles of trade and manufacture in New England, as it employs and maintains above thirty several denominations of tradesmen and artificers. In New England ship-building, a vessel fitted to sea, two-thirds of the cost is gain to the country; but the other third is iron, cordage, sail-cloth, and small stores from Great Britain.

The ships built in Boston exceed all those of other building-yards; because the merchants and ship-masters inspect them, and every bad piece of timber or length of plank is censured: but in Newbury, where they are not much inspected, the builders act at pleasure; and as the contracts are generally to be paid in goods, they build accordingly. The other country building-places are still worse, particularly North River, where they used forest-wood of any sort, instead of what is reckoned ship-timber.

The great support of New England was the fishery, which amounted to about 250,000*l.* a year, including all the species of cod, herring, mackarel, and whale fisheries. Great part of this fish they were obliged to sell for molasses, as the French would let them have nothing else in return; but when the British parliament laid a duty of three-pence a gallon on French molasses, the French ministry exacted eight shillings a quintal on New England fish, which is forty *per cent*; and as the duty on molasses amounted to forty *per cent.* more, there was a duty of eighty *per cent.* on such an unprofitable trade as that in fish and molasses, and upon such a poor employment as the fishery, which rather deserved a public encouragement. Beside, in New England, it was not only a source of trade and wealth, as also a nursery of seamen; but it was a necessary of life, without which these colonies could not subsist; because it was with their fish they supplied the want of other provisions, and purchased the corn they eat, which the land would not produce.

The fishery may be reduced to five separate heads: 1. The whale-fishery. 2. Herring-fishery. 3. Cod-fishery. 4. The smaller fisheries exportable, but of no considerable account. 5. Some fish not exportable or merchantable, but of great benefit in present spending, especially for the poor.

1. Whales.

1. Whales. The New England whalers have distinguished about twelve different species of the whale kind; but the most beneficial is the black whale, or true whalebone fish, which are very large in the higher northern latitudes. Some may yield 150 puncheons, being 400 or 500 barrels of oil, and bone of eighteen feet and upward; but the whalebone fish killed upon the coast of New England, Terra de Labradore, and entrance of Davis's freights, are smaller; so that they seldom yield above 130 barrels of oil, and bone of nine feet of 140 lb. weight.

Whales are gregarious, swimming in shoals, and are great passengers: in autumn they go south, and return northward in spring. The swallow of a true whalebone fish is not much larger than that of an Ox; he has only a small fin on each side of his head of no great use to him in swimming; but he sculls himself in the water with a large horizontal tail. Formerly it was imagined that the true whales lived upon a kind of alga or sea-grass, or upon an oozy mud; but now it is well known they feed upon small fish and sea insects that keep in shoals.

When whales are much disturbed, they quit their keeping-ground, and the tracks of their usual passages; thus, as to New England, they formerly set in along shore by Cape Cod for many successive years, when there was good whaling in boats, and proper condors or watchmen on shore gave notice when a whale appeared. After some years they left this ground, and passed farther off upon the banks at some distance from the shore. The whalers then used sloops with whale-boats aboard, and this fishery turned to good account. At present, the fish seem to be driven off from these banks, and take their course in the ocean, where the New England whalers follow them in whaling-sloops or schooners, with two whale-boats and thirteen men; each boat having an harpioneer, a steerfman, and four rowers.

The New England whalers reckon so many hundred weight of bone as it is feet in length; for instance, seven feet bone gives 700 lb. weight. New England bone scarce ever exceeds nine feet; and 100 barrels of oil is supposed to yield 1000 lb. weight of bone.

The best place for striking a whale is in her belly, about one-third from her gills. The fast is a rope of about twenty-five fathom; then a drudge or stop-water, a plank of about two feet square, with a stick through its center, and to the further end of this stick is fastened a tow-rope, called the drudge-rope, of about fifteen fathom. They lance the whale, after

having fastened her by the harpoon, until dead; but whales killed in deep water, if they sink, never rise again.

In New England whaling, they go upon shares; one quarter to the vessel or owners, and the rest to the company, who victual themselves.

2. Herrings are peculiar to the coasts of Great Britain; but those of New England are either of a different species, or of a bad quality. Notwithstanding they are a periodical kind of fish, their periods are uncertain. They have been pickled and barrelled for the negroes in the West Indies, but turned out not merchantable, and that branch of fishery was relinquished.

3. Cod fishery. The cod is a fish of passage, and the New England winter dry-cod are of prime quality. The New England fishery have their salt from Salt-Tortugas, Cape de Verde Islands, Turks Islands, the Bahamas, Portugal, and Spain. The fishermen victual only with salt pork, biscuit, and rum. All cod-fish caught from the beginning of June to the beginning of October are called summer-fish; the others are called spring and fall fish, or winter fish, which are of the better quality. The salt fleet from Tortugas generally arrives in New England about the middle of April; but at Newfoundland they make use of salt from Lisbon and the Bay of Biscay, of a milder quality. In Newfoundland, they work their fish belly-down; in New England they work them belly-up, to receive more salt.

4. Smaller fisheries used in commerce, are scale-fish, that is haddock, hake, and polluc, which in New England are cured in the same manner as dry cod; these, together with the dry cod that is not fit for European markets, are shipped off to the West India islands for the negroe slaves, and make a considerable article in that trade. Mackarel split, salted, and barrelled for the negroes in the Sugar Islands, are caught either by hook or net; but those by hook are the best. There are two seasons of mackarel, spring and autumn: the latter are the best; the former appear about the middle of May, very lean, and vanish in two or three weeks. Sturgeon are very plenty, some of which are twelve feet in length, and 400 lb. weight; but the fishery is not advantageously pursued, so that London is supplied with sturgeon from Russia and the Baltic Sea. Salmon abound in all the rivers from Newfoundland to about 41° of north latitude. They set in to Massachusetts Bay about the middle of April, and continue there only until they have spawned; but farther north they continue several months.

months. This salmon is not of a good quality, therefore not so proper for a market as the salmon of Great Britain and Ireland. Alewives are of the herring tribe, but somewhat larger than the true herring; they are dry and insipid: some are cured in the manner of white herrings, and sent to the Sugar Islands for the slaves; but in some places they are used to manure the land. They are very numerous, but never take the hook: they come up the rivers and brooks into ponds in the spring, and return to sea when they have spawned.

5. For spending fresh, beside the abovementioned, which are also eat when fresh, there are many sorts that are not cured and shipped off. They are generally well known in New England, and are much the same as in Great Britain.

Many fish go up the rivers, and into ponds, earlier or later in the spring to spawn; particularly salmon, shad, alewives, tomcod, and smelts. Several good laws have been made in New England to prevent the passages of these fish being stopped by weirs; because they are of great benefit to the inhabitants near these rivers and ponds.

The fishery in general has decreased, and the cod fishery in particular, as appears by the following state: In 1716, there were exported 120,384 quintals from the districts of Massachusetts Bay, but only 53,000 quintals were exported in 1748.

Rum is a considerable article in the manufactures of New England, where it is distilled from molasses imported from the West India Islands: it is vended to all the continental colonies, and the use of it has greatly depopulated the Indians.

Hats are manufactured and exported to all the colonies, and are a considerable article of trade.

Iron is also a great article in manufactures; as it consists of these general branches: 1. Smelting-furnaces, reducing the ore into pigs; having coal sufficient, and appearances of rock-ore. 2. Refineries, which manufacture pigs imported from New York, Pennsylvania, and Maryland furnaces, into bar-iron. 3. Bloomeries from bog or swamp ore. One hundred and twenty bushels of charcoal are sufficient to smelt rock-ore into one ton of pigs; and the complement of men for a furnace is eight or ten, beside cutters of the wood, coalers, carters, and other common labourers. Bog or swamp-ore lies from half a foot to two feet deep:

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in about twenty years from digging, it grows or gathers fit for another digging; but if it lies longer, it turns rusty, and does not yield well: three tons of swamp-ore yield about one ton of hollow ware.

The premium or bounty on naval stores imported into Great Britain was first granted by the 3d and 4th of Queen Anne, and afterward continued by the 24th of King George II. The several sorts of naval stores hereafter mentioned, imported directly from any of the British plantations in America, in any ship that may lawfully trade, manned as by law is required, are to enjoy the following bounty:

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Hemp, water-rotted, bright and clean, the ton containing 20 cwt.	6	0	0
Masts, yards, and bowsprits, the ton, allowing forty feet to each ton; girt-measure, according to the customary way of measuring round bodies	1	0	0
Tar, clean, good, merchantable, well-conditioned, clear of dross or water, and fit in every respect for making of cordage, the ton, containing eight barrels, and each barrel to gauge $31\frac{1}{2}$ gallons, to be well hooped and filled up	2	4	0
Tar, clean, good, merchantable, well-conditioned, clear of dross or water, and fit in every respect for making of cordage, made from trees prepared according to the directions mentioned, the ton, containing eight barrels, and each barrel to gauge $31\frac{1}{2}$ gallons, to be well hooped and filled up, on the importation thereof	4	0	0
Pitch, good, clean, merchantable, and well-conditioned, not mixed with dirt or dross, the ton, containing 20 gross cwt. neat pitch, to be brought in eight barrels of equal size	1	0	0
Turpentine, good, clean, and merchantable, clear of dross and water, the ton, containing 20 gross cwt. neat turpentine, to be brought in eight barrels of equal size	1	10	0

These premiums are to be paid by the commissioners of the navy, by bills to be made out for the same, and delivered to the importers within twenty days after the discharge or unlading of the ship, in order to be paid in course, upon certificate of the respective chief officers of the customs where imported, to whom a certificate has been produced under the hands and seals of the governor, lieutenant-governor, or collector of his Majesty's customs, and naval officer, or any two of them, residing within any

any of his Majesty's said plantations, testifying, that, before departure of the ship, the person lading the same had made oath before them, that the said stores were truly and *bona fide* of the produce of his Majesty's said plantations: and with respect to the high bounty on tar, expressing that it appeared to them, by the oath of the owner or maker of the tar for which such certificate was granted, that the tar therein mentioned was made conformable to the directions of the act: as likewise upon oath to be made by the master of the ship, at the port of importation in Great Britain, that the same were shipped within some of his Majesty's plantations in America; and that he knows, or believes, those stores were the produce of such plantations. And the said officers of the customs, before they make out such certificates, are to examine the pitch, by opening the heads of the barrels, sawing of the staves in the middle, and breaking the barrels, or by such other means as they shall think proper, to discover whether the said pitch is good and merchantable, not mixed with dirt or dross; and also to examine and search the said tar, to discover whether the same is good, clean, merchantable, well-conditioned, clear of dross or water, and fit for making of cordage.

New England turpentine is of a consistence like honey; but that of Carolina is less liquid, so as to resemble tallow or slush. The turpentine of New England yields about three gallons of oil in each hundred weight; and the residuum in distillation is about $\frac{1}{4}$, called rosin; the still not exceeding one half full of turpentine, for fear it should boil over. The stills in Boston are small, and three barrels of turpentine of 300 *lb.* weight each may be wrought off in three hours. After the oil is drawn off the rosin is to run from the still.

There are two kinds of oil drawn from turpentine by distillation; but varnish is from half rosin and one half oil of turpentine boiled up together, and is sold at the same price with oil of turpentine.

Pitch has been generally brought to Great Britain from Denmark and Sweden; but as the merchants of those countries put exorbitant prices on this commodity, it occasioned the British government to give particular encouragement to their planters in North America to make pitch; in which they have succeeded so well, that great quantities have been sent from New England, Virginia, and Carolina. It is absolutely essential to a trading nation, for pitching their vessels and cables; therefore the making of it should be carefully attended to in the British plantations; for if they can supply the mother-country with naval stores, it will take the

the balance of trade out of the hands of the northern nations, and be a great saving to Great Britain.

Lumber, in a commercial sense, signifies wood or timber cut down or sawed by mills, in New England, and other colonies in America; which is carried to the Sugar colonies, and there exchanged for the product of those islands. This sort of lumber consists in deals, timber-balks, shingles, barrel-boards, clap-boards, pipe-boards or pipe-holt, white-boards for shoemakers, boom and cant spars, bow-staves, cap-ravens, clap-holt, ebony wood, heading for barrels, hoops for coopers, oars, barrel-staves, trunnels, speckled-wood, sweet-wood, small spars, oak, plank, wainscot, and lignum-vitæ; which, by the statute of the 8th of King George I. and the 1st of King George II. whether wrought or unwrought, of the product of the British plantations in America, may be imported directly from thence into Great Britain, free of all duties.

The merchants of New England, in exchange for their naval stores and lumber, receive from the West India Islands, sugar, molasses, rum, ginger, indigo, and cotton, much more than is necessary for home consumption. They have also supported a considerable trade with the French Sugar Islands for that lumber; but the British Sugar Islands complained of it, as a great encouragement to the French, who could not support their sugar plantations without supplies from New England and the other British northern colonies.

It has been recently said, that Great Britain is a country of manufactures without materials; a trading nation without commodities to trade upon; and a maritime power without either naval stores or materials for ship-building. That it is this situation, which renders both trade and plantations so essentially necessary, for the support of Great Britain, as well as agriculture; whereby as many people are perhaps maintained in Britain, as by the produce of the lands. When the Colonies make such commodities as are wanted in the mother-country, of which there are many, they must depend upon her for the vent of such products, on which they rely for their daily subsistence; and as Great Britain is the best market in the world for such commodities, that makes their dependence their interest, and interest rules the world.

CHAP. III.

An Account of the Colony of Connecticut in New England.

SECTION I.

The origin of the colony; and its charter granted by King Charles II. The counties and towns; with their number of representatives and jurymen. The legislative power and courts of judicature. Rates and taxes. Number of people, and militia. Abstract of some of their laws.

IT has been a matter of question with some persons, whether the British Colonies and Plantations in North America are not prejudicial to Great Britain; and a moot point with others, whether of any advantage to it? but it may be safely advanced, that the trade and navigation of Great Britain are greatly increased by her Colonies and Plantations, who are a spring of wealth to the mother-country, since they work for her, and their treasure centers in her: beside, as the British laws have tied the Colonies fast to the mother-country, it must be through her own fault and misgovernment if they ever fail to enrich Great Britain; or all or any of them become independent of it.

The people in Europe, the public boards not excepted, have long entertained a very indistinct notion of these settlements; and the American settlers were too indolent to make themselves sufficiently acquainted with the real state of their neighbouring colonies. Some of them even ridiculously placed a confidence in what has been as vainly asserted by de la Motray, who published several large volumes of his travels, and among others, his travels in New England; though it is well known he resided there only a few days, and was generally at his lodgings in Boston, with company of no intelligence.

The United Colonies of New England from 1643 to 1663, were Massachusetts Bay, Plymouth, Hertford, and New Haven: but during the civil war in England, the Colonies in America were neglected, and acted at pleasure; particularly those at Hertford and New Haven, who afterwards became united as a plantation of industrious husbandmen.

The

The colony of Hertford sprung from an emigration of some discontented scrupulous persons who inhabited a few towns near Boston, such as New Town, Dorchester, Water Town, and Roxbury; from whence about one hundred of them went, under their leaders and teachers, such as Holmes, Hopkins, Ludlow, and Hooker; who removed south-west to a pleasant country upon Connecticut River, and gradually made the settlements of Hertford, Weathersfield, Windsor, Springfield, Enfield, Suffield, and others; which migration happened in the summer of 1636.

Some of these were within the jurisdiction of Massachusetts Bay; and those who were without formed themselves after the model of that colony, by subscription of articles, as a voluntary, not legal jurisdiction. They elected magistrates the same year, and formed the colony of Hertford: but, in 1637, people from England, under the direction of Mr. Eaton, Mr. Davenport, and others, purchased lands of the Indians, and began another distinct voluntary jurisdiction upon Long Island sound called the colony of New Haven. Both colonies remained distinct until the restoration of King Charles II. when his majesty incorporated them by royal charter into the present colony of Connecticut, which example was followed by King William and Queen Mary, who united the colonies of Massachusetts Bay and New Plymouth into the present province of the Massachusetts. The Pequot Indians gave the new planters all the disturbance they could, which obliged them to unite together in a body for their defence: but the Indians picked up several stragglers, whom they put to death with the utmost barbarity.

The colony of New Haven also met with a considerable loss at sea in the year 1647, when they had finished a new ship at Rhode Island, of about one hundred and fifty tons, and freighted it for England with the most valuable effects of the country; but the ship perished at sea, with all on board, among whom were six of the principal persons in the colony, and others of inferior rank, who took their passage in her. The people were so dispirited by this accident, that they would have broke up the plantation, if they could have agreed upon a place to settle on, more to their satisfaction.

The same year the colony of Connecticut also sustained a great loss by the death of the reverend Mr. Thomas Hooker, pastor of the church at Hertford in that colony, where he was justly considered as the father of it. He was born at Marfield in Leicestershire, in 1586, and was educated in Emanuel College in Cambridge, of which he was fellow.

He

He was silenced for non-conformity by bishop Laud, and embarked for New England in 1633; where he first became pastor at New Town; but that place being too confined for his congregation, they removed by his encouragement, in 1635, to the banks of the River Connecticut, and built the town of Hartford, where he spent the remainder of his days.

The first volunteer governor of Hartford colony was Edward Hopkins, Esq. who was born in England in 1600, and died there in 1657. Mr. Hains was alternately chosen governor with him; to whom succeeded Mr. George Willis, Mr. Thomas Wells, and Mr. John Webster.

Theophilus Eaton, Esq. an east country merchant of London, and one of the patentees of Massachusetts colony, settled with some planters in 1637 at New Haven, where he was governor many years successively, and died in 1657, when he was succeeded by Mr. Francis Newman, who continued governor four years, and died. Mr. Leet, a lawyer, was the next successor, and continued governor until Hartford and New Haven were united into one colony in 1662.

John Winthrop, Esq. son of governor Winthrop of Massachusetts Bay, arrived at Fort Saybrook in 1635, as agent from the Lords Say and Brook, who built that fort at the mouth of Connecticut River, and sold it to the settlers in 1644. Mr. Winthrop was chosen governor of Hartford colony; and, upon the restoration of King Charles II. he went to England, where he obtained the royal charter for incorporating the two colonies into the present colony of Connecticut, of which he was governor fourteen years, and died at Boston, on the 5th of April 1676, aged seventy-three. Mr. Leet acted as deputy-governor to Mr. Winthrop, whom he also succeeded as governor, and continued as such ten years, until his own death.

The Connecticut charter was granted by King Charles II. in the fourteenth year of his reign; and was an excellent charter for the people, who were thereby rendered in a manner independent of the crown, as they were impowered to choose their own governor, deputy-governor, and twelve assistants, who, with the deputies or representatives of the people, were to hold two annual assemblies, and ordain all laws for the good of the community. It is said, Mr. Winthrop procured the King's favour in this peculiar manner, by presenting him with a ring, which King Charles I. had on some particular occasion given to his grandfather.

father. Some disaffected persons, however, in each colony, opposed the union at first; but they were soon satisfied and reconciled.

In the reigns of King Charles II. and King James II. the colony of Connecticut tacitly dropped their charter or jurisdiction, which they re-assumed at the revolution, and it still subsists. The government is in the hands of the representatives of the freemen or people, as was also the property: but at present no colony or general lands remain, except some Indian reserves; and so it is in Rhode Island, which also preserved its charter by yielding to the storm like Connecticut, instead of resisting like the Massachusetts.

As to their disputes with the French of Canada and their Indians, they were in common with the Massachusetts colony: but the Indians are now almost extinct. They have a small reserve upon the east side of Connecticut River at Pistol Point in Weathersfield: there is another reserve upon New London River, in the northern parts of that township, called Mohegins; and there are a few of the Nianticks about five miles west from New London.

The partition line between New York and Connecticut, as established on the 1st of December 1664, runs from the mouth of Memeronecock River, a little west from Byram River, north north-west, and was the ancient easterly bounds of New York, until the 23d of November 1683, when the line was run nearly the same as it was settled in 1713.

The Duke of Hamilton's grant took in part of the present colony of Connecticut; for that grant was from Narraganset Bay to Connecticut River, and back into the country until it met with Massachusetts south line: but as this was never purchased of the Indians, nor ever settled, it has been deemed as obsolete; though some attempts were made to revive this claim.

The present Counties are as follows: 1. Hertford County; 2. New Haven County; 3. New London County; 4. Fairfield County; and 5. Windham County. These counties send in all about a hundred representatives, of which every township sends two, excepting some which are poor, pay no colony rates, and consequently send no representatives to the general assembly or legislature.

In Connecticut, and all over New England, every constituted township is a corporation: but in this province the qualification for a voter or freeman,

freeman, is to be twenty-one years of age, with a freehold rated in the common list at fifty shillings, or personal estate rated at forty pounds, beside his poll or person.

Township meetings or assemblies are empowered to make prudential laws or orders, with a penalty of transgression not to exceed twenty shillings. Township officers are to be chosen annually in December; that is, select-men, not exceeding seven; and listers, or assessors, not exceeding nine. Town-clerks are to register marriages, births, and burials. No person is to be admitted an inhabitant of a town, but by the consent of the select-men; and no stranger is to reside exceeding a limited number of days without liberty from the select-men; and the entertainer is finable. A stranger continuing after being warned out, may be fined ten shillings a week, or whipped, not exceeding ten stripes. A stranger entertained above four days, the entertainer is to be at the charge if taken sick. Vagrants are to be ordered from constable to constable back to the place from which they came; and if they return, they are to be whipped.

One year's residence qualifies a person for an inhabitant; and all elections are to be by a major part of the qualified voters. The freemen of each town are to meet in September to elect representatives for the general assembly; and also to put twenty persons in nomination for the next general election in May. In April, the twelve assistants are to be chosen by the freemen of each town out of the twenty nominated persons, to be sent sealed up to the general assembly; with the votes for the governor, deputy-governor, secretary, and treasurer; as also votes for the representatives for the May assembly, called proxies, returned by the constable of each town.

There are two general-courts annually: the first at Hartford, called the court of election, held on the second Thursday in May, where the freemen elect a governor, deputy-governor, twelve assistants, a secretary, and treasurer. The second at New Haven, on the second Thursday in October. In the general-court subsists the power of making laws, granting levies, disposing of colony lands, erecting of judicatories and officers, granting pardons in criminal or capital cases, and dissolving and proroguing of themselves. The governor, deputy-governor, or secretary may call a general-court upon emergencies; and every town may send one or two deputies, except some places who are not qualified, as before observed. No member of the general-court, during its sitting, can be arrested, except for treason or felony. Previous to all other business, the house of representatives are to choose a speaker and clerk; and the house are the only judges

judges concerning their own election. The absence of a member each day is a fine of ten shillings, to be paid to the colony treasurer; but the governor in the upper house, and the speaker in the lower house, have a casting vote.

As to the courts of judicature, all cases exceeding the value of forty shillings are to be determined at common law by a jury of twelve men. The jurymen in the several courts are to be chosen at a town-meeting, held yearly in January. The qualification is fifty shillings freehold at least, rated in the general list. The names of the jurymen so chosen are put in a box with a lock; and when any number of jurymen are summoned to serve at any court, the town constable should at random draw so many out of the box as is required from that town. Any juror so drawn, and not appearing at the court, the penalty is ten shillings.

The present enacting style of the general assembly is, "Be it enacted by the governor, council, and representatives, in general-court assembled, and by the authority of the same." All judges and justices are appointed by the general assembly, and commissioned by the governor with the provincial seal; but the governor, deputy-governor, and assistants, are justices *ex officio*.

As to the courts where no juries are required, though the case may be of considerable value, there are,

1. The court of probates, consisting of one judge, and a clerk appointed by him, who are to hold a court in each of the following districts, called the district of Hartford, New Haven, New London, Fairfield, and Windham; Plainfield, Guilford, Woodbury, Stamford, East Hadham, Litchfield, Danbury, and Norwich. In difficult cases they may call in two or three justices of the quorum; but any person aggrieved may appeal and review to the next superior court of the county.

2. The court of vice-admiralty; has the same judge and other officers of that court which serve for the province of New York.

3. The judiciary court of admiralty, for trials of crimes committed at sea, consists of judges, some of the colony of Connecticut, and others from the province of New York, pursuant to the instructions from home.

In this colony is no particular court of chancery; but in some cases the general assembly act as a court of chancery or equity.

Justiciary

Justiciary courts of Oyer and Terminer, called assizes and general-gaol delivery, are the same with

The superior court; which is a court of judicature, itinerant from county to county. It consists of one chief judge, and four other judges, three of whom are a quorum, and have cognizance of all pleas of the crown that relate to life, limb, or banishment; of divorce; of all pleas real, personal, or mixed. This court is to be held in each county twice a year; and the judges are to appoint and swear their own clerks.

An inferior court of judicature is also to be held in each county twice a year, by a judge, with two or more justices of the quorum commissioned for that purpose, to determine all civil causes, real, personal, or mixed; as also all criminal matters not extending to life, limb, divorce, or banishment; and they have power to levy a county tax.

A special county court may be called upon any extraordinary occasion, and may adjourn themselves to any distant time.

The general-assembly hear writs of error against proceedings of the superior court: and where an inferior court exceeds its jurisdiction, the judges of the superior court may grant a prohibition, with the same power as the court of King's Bench in England.

A justice may determine in any case not exceeding forty shillings, if land is not concerned. An appeal lies from a justice to the county court, and from thence a review to the next county court, or appeal to the next superior court. In a debt upon bond, bill, or note, for a value not exceeding forty shillings, no appeal is allowed, and if not exceeding ten pounds, no appeal is allowed from a county court.

No appeals were allowed to the King in council; yet some have gone to England by way of complaint, at a considerable expence; but no relief was procured, excepting the case of Mr. Winthrop, who obtained a declaration of the King in council, "That their law concerning dividing land inheritance of an intestate was contrary to the law of England, and void:" but in subsequent cases this colony paid no regard to that declaration.

No person is to be kept in prison, if he appears to have a sufficient estate; and where no estate appears, the debtor must satisfy the debt by service.

Idle persons and drunkards may by warrant be brought before a justice. All such persisting offenders are disabled from making of contracts, and their goods are to be under the management of the select-men, who may sell all or part of their personal estates, and, on deficiency, dispose of their persons to servitude for a certain time, to pay their just debts; but no real estate can be sequestered without an order of the general-assembly; and an appeal lies from the select-men to the county court.

Some peculiar laws have been made in this colony, for the regulation of public houses of entertainment, and to preserve the decency of society. The publican is to be properly licensed by the magistrates, select-men, grand-jurymen, and constables; to be nominated annually in January, and approved of by the next county court. The house-keeper is not to suffer minors or servants to sit tippling; strangers and foreigners excepted; under a fine of six shillings. No persons are to keep company in public houses on the evening following the Lord's-day, or days of fast. Any person found in a tavern the night before or after the Lord's-day, or after nine o'clock in any other night, is to be fined three shillings; with some exceptions. By special warrant, houses may be broke open in searching after persons in taverns; and inhabitants are not to sit in a tavern drinking above one hour at a time, except upon particular occasions, under a fine of six shillings. Tavern-hunters are to be posted up at the tavern doors, with a prohibition of entertaining them, upon penalty of three pounds. No tavern keeper can bring an action for drink sold after two days; and none but licensed houses to sell strong liquors in quantities exceeding one quart of wine or spirits, or one gallon of any other liquor, under a fine of three pounds for the first offence, six pounds for the second, and so doubled for every offence; but if not able to pay, to be whipped not less than ten, and not more than fifteen stripes for every offence.

Connecticut has kept free from the difficulties which the other provinces have sustained from paper currencies. At times, by the prudent administration of the jurisdiction of Connecticut colony, their taxes were only from four thousand to five thousand pounds currency a year, whereas the polls and rates of the Massachusetts Bay, at the same time, were about four hundred thousand pounds currency a year.

Taxes consist in the articles of rates, imposts, and excise, as in the Massachusetts in general, but not in particulars.

I. In Connecticut, one penny rate produces four thousand five hundred pounds currency; for in most of the colonies real estates are commonly valued only at seven years purchase. Rates comprehend the poll-tax; on which account every person is annually to give in a list of his polls and rateable estate, on or before the 10th of September, and those lists are to be returned in October to the general-court. Every male person, from sixteen to seventy, is to be set in the list at 18^l. but the persons exempted from rates and polls* are as in the Massachusetts. Every ox, at 4^l. Each steer, cow, or heifer of three years and upward, at 3^l.; a steer or heifer of two years, at 40^s.; and a steer or heifer of one year, at 20^s. Each horse and mare of three years old and upward, at 3^l.; of two years old, 40^s.; and of one year old, 20^s. Each swine one year old, 20^s. Every dwelling-house, with adjoining land, 20^s. an acre: plow and mowing land in some counties, 15^s. in others 10^s. and some 7^s. 6^d. an acre: boggy mowing meadow land, 5^s. an acre; and all upland pasture or mowing land, 8^s. an acre; but peculiars are to be assessed by the nearest towns. All allowed attorneys at law, 50^l. their admission; and others higher, in proportion to their business: but all tradesmen are to be rated at the discretion of the listers †.

II. The imposts: there is a high duty on the exportation of all timber and lumber to the adjacent governments of Massachusetts, Rhode Island, New Hampshire, and New York; which was intended as a kind of prohibition, that the colony might not be drained of those materials. The imposts upon rum is one penny a gallon, if imported directly from the British sugar islands; and two pence from all other parts: but a draw-back is allowed on exportation. The governor, with advice of the council, may, by proclamation, prohibit the exportation of grain and other provisions, for a limited time, in cases of necessity.

III. Excise: there is three pence a gallon upon all wine and distilled liquors; which duty is much less than in the Massachusetts, and is applied to defray county charges. The county courts appoint receivers of the excise, with fee of two shillings per pound, and the receivers may agree with the public houses by the year.

The act for regulating maritime affairs, has nothing peculiar in it.

* These are the governor, deputy-governor, assistants, ministers of the gospel, president and tutors of the collegiate schools, students there, school-masters, and poor, aged and infirm persons, who are all excused.

† All these are almost double rated to what they are in the Massachusetts.

Connecticut

HISTORY OF BRITISH AMERICA.

Connecticut contains about one hundred thousand men, of which one-fourth are capable of bearing arms. In 1740, at a great struggle, there were about four thousand freemen voters; and the training militia of this colony may consist of about fifteen thousand men.

By the act for forming and regulating the militia, the governor is to be captain-general; and the deputy-governor, lieutenant-general: the military companies of the several townships are formed into thirteen regiments of foot, and to each regiment one troop of horse. The field-officers of each regiment, as colonel, lieutenant-colonel, and major, to be appointed by the general-assembly, and commissioned by the governor. After being embodied, the whole are to be assembled once in four years, or oftener, for regimental exercise; but the companies are to be trained four times a year, and every soldier who does not appear is fined three shillings.

The Connecticut administration have reduced all their public fees and fines to proclamation money; and as they have existed as a government for above a century, they have acquired such experience as to have formed an excellent body of laws, which were lately revised and published in 1750, in a small folio of 258 pages; containing the most plain, concise, natural, and equitable laws for the plantations hitherto extant.

In this authoritative revival of their municipal laws, the introductory law or act is in the manner of a magna charta, for securing the general privileges of his Majesty's subjects in the colony; for it was thereby enacted, "That the life of no man should be taken away, nor his honour or credit be stained; neither his person arrested, restrained, banished, dismembered, or otherwise punished; he should not be deprived of his wife and children, nor his goods or estate taken from him, or endamaged, under the colour of law, or countenance of authority; unless by virtue of some express law of the colony warranting the same, established by the general-court, and sufficiently published; or in case of defect of such laws in any particular case, by some clear and plain rule warranted by the word of God."

All his Majesty's subjects within this colony, whether inhabitants or not, are to enjoy the same justice and law that is general for the colony, in all cases proper for civil authority, and courts of judicature in the same, without delay or partiality.

Every town is to have a sealer of weights and measures; and all casks are to be of the London assize. Every town must have a peculiar brand for their horses, on or near the left shoulder.

Common

Common interest is six *per cent. per ann.* letting of cattle and maritime affairs excepted.

Any book-debt not accounted for with the original debtor in seven years, is not pleadable after the debtor's death. Upon execution issued, the creditor shall, at the usual place of the debtor's abode, demand the debt; upon non-payment, he may levy execution upon the proper moveables*, and set up a list of the same upon the town-post, to be sold by outcry after twenty days; but in a deficiency of goods, and upon the creditor's refusing lands, the debtor's body may be seized.

Any debtor in a debt not exceeding 20*l.* may confess judgment before a single justice; and debtors committed to gaol, on swearing they have not effects to the value of 5*l.* are to be subsisted by the creditors at a certain rate.

No action is to be brought for bill, bond, or note, but within the space of seventeen years; nor can any action of trespass or defamation be commenced but within three years; and the fine for defamation not to exceed ten pounds.

The capital crimes are conspiracy against the colony, wilful murder, blasphemy, sodomy, bestiality, wilfully firing houses, disfiguring or dismembering, and false witness in case of life and death.

Single persons committing fornication are to be fined 33*s.* or whipped; and every person playing at dice, cards, or tables, to be fined twenty shillings. All fines imposed by the general court, belong to the colony-treasury; if imposed by the county-court, to the county-treasury; and if imposed by an assistant-judge, to the township treasuries.

A bill of divorce and liberty to marry again may be granted by the superior courts, in cases of adultery, fraudulent contract, seven years absence not heard of, or wilful desertion for three years.

Forgery was three days public pillory, double damages to the injured party, and incapacity of being an evidence in law: the form of their oath is, "You swear by the name of the ever-living God." Perjury was 20*l.* fine, and six months imprisonment; if unable to pay the fine, to be pilloried with both ears nailed, and incapacitated from giving evidence.

* For necessary apparel, household goods, tools, and arms, are excepted.

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For burglary or robbery the penalty was branding, ears cut off, and whipping; but the third offence was death. Theft was fine, whipping, or servitude. Buying goods of slaves, the penalty was treble value, service, or whipping; and the penalty for receiving or concealing stolen goods was the same as theft.

Any slave or Indian striking a white man, the penalty was whipping, not exceeding thirty stripes. An Indian convicted of drunkenness, was to pay five shillings, or suffer ten lashes. All the Indians in a township should be mustered once a year, and the requisite laws read to them. An Indian, Molatto, or Negro, travelling without a pass, may be seized as a runaway. Idleness and drunkenness are the general vices of Indians, therefore the penalty of selling strong liquor to an Indian was ten shillings a pint.

The established religions are Presbyterians, Congregationalists, and consecrated ministers; whose parish churches are under the direction of the county-courts; but tolerated ministers from those professions are left at large. There are about 150 established ministers, and several who are tolerated. In some townships are many parishes or precincts. They begin and end the Lord's-day at the setting of the sun, according to the Jewish manner, which is prevalent through all New England among the Congregationalists. Schools are well regulated, and have a colony allowance. Every ecclesiastical society of seventy families or upward, should have a school for the instruction of children to read and write; and a grammar-school to every principal town; beside one college in the colony.

The laws relating to the observation of the Sabbath are too puritanical and severe. These are under the inspection of the grand-jury, tything-men, and constables. They are numerous as well as strict, but they seem gradually to droop, and will scarcely be revived.

Criminal persons making their escape from the authority of other provincial governments to this colony, may be remanded back to the place of perpetration.

There are severe penalties on cutting down of trees, or firing of woods and lands; and the accused, if there is no proof, must exculpate himself by oath. But it is very extraordinary, that all kinds of delinquents are to pay the charge of presentment, whether guilty or innocent.

The age of consent for marriage, is to the man fourteen, and to the woman twelve; but contracts of persons under parents, guardians, or masters,

are of no validity; and no person unmarried is to keep house of himself, without permission of the magistrates, under the penalty of twenty shillings a week.

No person is to be married unless published in some congregation, or publicly posted up eight days before such marriage. No person is to join people in marriage, beside a justice in the county, or an ordained minister of the parish where the parties dwell; but any justice or minister marrying persons without publication, and certificate of the consent of the parents or guardians, is to pay a penalty of twenty pounds. Degrees of kindred forbidding marriage are according to the Levitical law, and such marriages are declared to be void; the offenders to sit upon the gallows with a rope about the neck, to be whipped, and to wear the letter I on their arm or back.

Any man endeavouring to gain the affections of a maid, without liberty of courtship from the parents or guardians, he is to pay five pounds for the first offence.

SECTION II.

Boundaries of the Province; mountains, rivers, produce, and manufactures; trade and navigation. Account of Yale College at New Haven. An account of the Indian charity-school lately founded at Lebanon in Connecticut.

THE Province of Connecticut is about sixty miles square; bounded by the sea on the north, New York on the west, the Massachusetts on the north, and Rhode-Island on the east. The charter boundaries have been already described; but its present boundaries are as follow: Its north line upon Massachusetts Bay of about 72 miles, settled in 1713; its easterly line upon the colony of Rhode Island of about 45 miles, settled in 1728; its southerly line upon Long Island sound, being a sea line of about 90 miles, in a direct west-southerly course, from the mouth of Pakatuke River to the mouth of Byram River; its westerly line as finally settled with New York.

Connecticut is a good country as to climate and soil, and is valuable for grain and pasture; it is generally broken land, that is, hills and dales, but well watered. The people of any country are happy, where the meaner inhabitants are plentifully and wholesomely fed, and warmly and decently clothed; which is the case in Connecticut, as it is chiefly inhabited by industrious husbandmen.

Simsbury, or the copper mine hills, are their highest lands; but not fertile, as it is said of metallic ore hills in general.

The principal rivers are, the Connecticut, the Thames, and the Housatonic or Stratford River.

1. Connecticut River, with its branches and townships thereon, have already been described.

2. Thames-River is a long navigable creek of about twenty miles, and the head of it is in Norwich in New London county. The township of Norwich pays the highest tax of any in the colony, and in time may be the principal place of trade. From Connecticut River to the eastern boundary of the colony, is an extraordinary well watered country, consisting of two principal rivers and their branches, which fall into the bottom of

of the creek at Norwich. These two rivers are Quenebaug and Satucket, or higher Willemantick. The Quenebaug rises in Brimfield, passes through Stourbridge and Dudley in the province of Massachusetts Bay, thence in the colony of Connecticut, it divides Pomfret from Killingsley, Canterbury from Plainfield, and at Norwich falls into Thames River or Creek. Satucket River where it originates in Brimfield of Massachusetts Bay, is called Willemantick River, and receives several small runs of water at Stafford in Connecticut; it divides Toland from Wellington, and Coventry from Mansfield: at Windham it is called Windham River, and there receives on its western side Scagungamog River and Hope River; on its eastern side, it receives Manchoag River, which had received Fenton River, and higher up, at Ashford, had received Bigelow River, Still River, and Bungea River from Union and Woodstock; and at Norwich it receives the Quenebaug, where both form the Creek or Thames, which runs by New London near Groton, and falls into the sea opposite Fisher's Island.

3. The Housatonic, Westenhock, or Stratford River, has its rise in the west part of the Massachusetts near Lake Iroquois, runs south to Stockbridge, and enters Connecticut near Salisbury and Canaan, proceeds to Cornwall, Dover, Kent, Fairfield, Newtown, Stratford, and Milford, where it falls into the Long Island sound.

Pakatuque River divides Connecticut from Rhode Island colony; and Byram River divides the colony of New York from Connecticut; but these are of no other consideration.

Upon the Long Island sound is a delightful and profitable range of good townships, the glory of all the British plantations in New England, as Stonington, Groton, New London, Lyme, Saybrook, Killingworth, Guilford, Brentford, New Haven, Milford, Stratford, Fairfield, Norwalk, Stamford, and Greenwich; but New London is the capital.

The principal roads throughout the province of Connecticut are, 1. From Stonington to Groton, New London, Saybrook, Brentford, New Haven, Stratford, Fairfield, Norwalk, Stamford, and Greenwich. The whole extent is 126 miles from Pakatuque River, along the Sound, to Byram River, the whole maritime length of the colony from east to west; and the road is continued generally at about two or three miles distance from the sea. 2. From New Haven town to Wallingford, and Wetherfield, from thence along the western banks of the River Connecticut to Hertford, Windsor, and to Springfield in the Massachusetts full north. 3. From Middletown to Wallingford, thence due west to New Milford and Danbury.

bury, into the province of New York. 3. From Danbury to New Fairfield, Dover, Salisbury, and Sheffield, in the Massachusetts, full north.

As there is little difference in the temperature of the air in the several parts of New England, so its several products and aptitude for different improvements vary but in a few particulars; the southermost being most natural for corn and the northern for grazing, though both afford a much greater plenty of timber and fish. In these colonies, the lands which are cleared of timber and improved for tillage and pasture are very far from yielding such profit to the owner as they are capable of, for want of manuring, and being properly subdivided into smaller allotments, which the great price of labour has made impracticable; but as nature has furnished the country with several sorts of marle and sea-ware, wherever the farmer has been able to enrich the soil with them, the produce of his lands has paid the expence, and greatly raised their value; yet, by reason of the scarcity of labourers, few can bear the charge of so necessary a cultivation; but by increasing their number, the country may soon be enabled to do it, and consequently to supply the West India islands at a much cheaper rate than has been lately done.

Connecticut had little foreign trade until of late the inhabitants sent some small vessels to the West India Islands. Their produce chiefly consists of wheat and Indian corn; flax, butter, pork, beaver, and horses.

Wool, hemp, flax, and iron are the general materials of all the New England manufactures.

The Colonies have hitherto subsisted upon the gleanings of the woods and the fertility of the fresh woodlands, which is very great at first. It is only these that produce any quantity of hemp or flax, or any plenty of the necessaries of life. These they are at first obliged to plant with such crops, in order to exhaust the luxuriant fertility of fresh wood-lands, and bring them into culture and tillage; but as soon as it is worn out, which is in three or four years at most, they are under as great a necessity of leaving off that method of planting, and making those staple commodities for Britain. For these reasons, most of the planters have been obliged to leave off planting altogether, instead of making improvements in it, with such commodities as hemp and flax. Even most of the tobacco plantations are broke up, and turned into corn and pasture grounds, which produce nothing but corn, cattle, and wool, the staple of Britain; and, without some other methods of agriculture, those will become the only staple of the northern colonies.

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Were we to consider the proper improvements for the Colonies in North America, wool should be the first. They have already wool enough, as fit for their use as if it was finer; and the only way to prevent their manufacturing it is, to improve it so as to make it fit to send to England, in order to purchase their manufactures, instead of making them, and to supply the place of Spanish wool.

They have had a bounty on hemp and flax in North America ever since the year 1663, which has been renewed from time to time; and they have as often tried to make these commodities, but could never produce such quantities as to serve for a staple commodity to send to Britain, and purchase their necessities by that means.

Upon some late and curious essays, in exploring New England for metallic ores and minerals, it has been found, that there is bog and rock iron-ore in plenty, but not profitable; as also lead-ore, but so intermixed with rock and spar as to turn to no account. In New England they have not forged bar-iron for their own consumption, by bloomeries and refineries; but they have imported from England; as also from New York, the Jerseys, Pennsylvania, and Maryland.

The government of Connecticut formerly established a corporation for commerce, called "The New London Society:" but, in the fraudulent humour of those times, contrary to the design of their institution, they soon began to manufacture printed society notes, to be imposed as a currency, but the government caused these bills to be drawn in at the charge of the society.

In the Sound the tide flows from six to eight feet; but the deep water is on Long Island side.

In Connecticut are eight convenient ports for small vessels; but they generally enter and clear at the port of New London, which is a good harbour, five miles within land, and deep water. Here they build large ships; but their timber is spongy, and not durable. Small vessels are built at Saybrook and New Haven.

In New England some oxen of 1800lb. weight, and hogs of 25 score, have been killed. Connecticut salt-pork is the best of America; and they finish the fattening of their hogs with Indian meal.

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HISTORY OF BRITISH AMERICA.

In some parts of North America, the winters are too long and cold, and in other parts too hot for grass; consequently can afford no quantity of provender for cattle, and will probably never be beef countries. Lands in New England, which yield at a medium twenty hundred weight of hay, are the best; if forty hundred weight, the hay is rank and four.

Connecticut College, called Yale College in New Haven.

The general assembly of Massachusetts Bay, in 1636, granted 400 *l.* towards erecting a collegiate school, afterward called Harvard college, in Cambridge near Boston; which was incorporated in 1650, as before particularly mentioned. The people of Connecticut joined in the contribution, and continued their assistance till the year 1701, when they thought the distance was too far, and the charge too great; therefore their ministers and magistracy presented a memorial to the general assembly, wherein they desired that a collegiate-school might be erected and endowed, and proposed ten ministers as trustees for ordering the same, the survivors to supply vacancies, and seven to be a quorum. Accordingly a charter was drawn up for this purpose by Mr. Addington then secretary of Massachusetts Bay, and was granted in October 1701, with power to appoint officers, and make laws, but not repugnant to the laws of the civil government; to confer degrees; possess lands not exceeding the yearly value of 500 *l.* and to receive yearly out of the public treasury 100 *l.* currency, which was then equal to about 70 *l.* sterling. Saybrook was resolved upon as a proper place; and the trustees chose Mr. Pierfon, minister of Killingworth, for rector, who with ten trustees constituted the corporation: and until a place could be fitted up in Saybrook, the scholars were to meet at the rector's house in Killingworth, where they continued till his death in 1707.

At the first founding of this college, it was ordered, that where no special provision was made by the trustees, the laws of Harvard college, in the province of Massachusetts Bay, should be their rule. But in 1723, Governor Saltonstall drew up an additional explanatory charter, which the general assembly gave to the college, whereby it was declared, that a trustee might resign at pleasure; that seven trustees should be a quorum, and to act by a majority; that a minister of thirty years might be chosen a trustee, and that the rector should be a trustee *ex officio*.

In 1744, the assembly was petitioned by the trustees, for a new and more perfect charter, whereby the college was to be incorporated, by the
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name, of "The President and Fellows of Yale College in New Haven." This met with such approbation, that, on the 9th of May 1745, a provincial act was passed for the more full, and complete establishment of Yale College; whereby it was enacted, 1. That certain persons therein mentioned were incorporated by the name of "The President and Fellows of Yale College in New Haven," with succession. 2. All former donations to this collegiate-school, though in various expressions, were confirmed and vested in the president and fellows, with succession. 3. That the president and fellows should continue during life, or until they resigned, or were displaced. 4. There should be a general meeting of the president and fellows annually on the second Wednesday in September; the major vote of the members present should be definitive; and in case of equal voices, the president should have a casting vote. 5. The president and fellows, six at least, concurring, might remove and appoint in their room, a president, and fellow, a clerk, a treasurer, tutors, professors, steward, and other necessary servants. 6. That the president, fellows, tutors, professors, and all other officers, before they entered upon the execution of their office, should publickly take the oaths, and subscribe the declaration appointed by the first of King George I. 7. The corporation might appoint, from time to time, regulations not repugnant to the laws of England, or of the colony; but might be disallowed by the general assembly. 8. The corporation might confer degrees as in other colleges. 9. All estates belonging to the college, if real not exceeding the value of 300 *l.* a year, all members and resident officers of the college, tutors, and students; were exempted from military service and public taxes. 10. The sum of 100 *l.* proclamation money was granted annually, during the pleasure of the assembly.

Several of the original trustees contributed to the carrying on the undertaking, in land, a house, and valuable books to begin a library for the college, and there was a general contribution throughout the colony. But the greatest donation of books was from the generosity and procurement of Jeremiah Dummer, Esq. agent in London, in 1714, when he sent over above eight hundred volumes, one hundred and twenty of which were at his own cost, and the rest by procurements from Sir Isaac Newton, Sir Richard Steel, Sir Richard Blackmore, Doctor Burnet, Doctor Woodward, Doctor Halley, Doctor Bentley, Doctor Kennet, Doctor Calamy, Doctor Edwards, Mr. Yale, Mr. Whiston, Mr. Henry, and other learned gentlemen.

Elihu Yale, Esq. was a director of the East India Company, and sent three hundred volumes; but a great part of them were lost, in a tumult

upon removing the library from Saybrook. These books were in value about one hundred pounds sterling; the donor also gave four hundred pounds sterling in effects, and by will intended five hundred pounds sterling more, but this was never accomplished. In 1718, Mr. Dummer sent more books to the value of thirty pounds, and Jahaleal Brenton, Esq. of Newport in Rhode Island, gave fifty pounds sterling. In 1723, Mr. Daniel Turner of London sent them a collection of twenty-eight volumes in physic and surgery, and the college conferred upon him a diploma of M. D. In 1744, Mr. Anthony Nougier, of Fairfield, left by will to the college twenty-seven pounds sterling, to be put to interest. In 1745, Philip Livingston, Esq. of the King's council of New York, as he had four sons educated in this college, gave two hundred pounds currency to begin a foundation for a professor of Divinity, to be called the Livingstonian professorship. In 1746, Mr. Samuel Lambert, of New London, left some lands to the college; but, from some intricacies in his affairs, they turned to no great account, excepting about one hundred acres in Wallingford, and sixty-two acres in New Haven. There also were a great many smaller donations, from time to time, which are too tedious to be enumerated.

In 1732, the assembly granted to the college fifteen hundred acres of land, being three hundred acres in each of the new towns of Norfolk, Canaan, Goshen, Cornwall, and Kent; which may be valuable in a few years: and in 1742, the general assembly augmented the annual grant to the college, whereby they were enabled to support three tutors and a rector. Divisions happened concerning the situation of the college until 1716, when the majority of the trustees voted a convenient college, and rector's house, to be erected in the town of New Haven, which were effected accordingly, but with much opposition and confusion from the northern and eastern parts of the colony: the trustees, however, held their first commencement at New Haven in September 1717.

The college building was erected on the 3d of October 1717; containing above fifty studies, beside the hall, library, and kitchen. It cost about 1030 *l.* sterling. On the 12th of September 1718, there was a grand commencement, when the trustees gave it the name of Yale College, and afterward sent a letter of thanks to Mr. Yale, for his generosity to the colony, with letters of thanks to Mr. Dummer and General Nicholson for their donations of books. In 1748, upon a motion of the president, the general assembly ordered a new college to be built at a public colony charge, a hundred feet long, and forty wide; eight rooms on a floor, and three stories high; beside garrets and cellars.

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The regulations as to the degrees of batchelors and masters are the same as in Harvard College of the Massachusetts.

This college at New Haven went on with such prosperity, that, in September 1749, there commenced eleven masters and twenty-three batchelors : but at Harvard College, in July the same year, there commenced only nine masters and twenty-two batchelors, though a college of much longer standing, and in a much larger government.

In 1732, the reverend Doctor George Berkley dean of Derry, and afterward Bishop of Cloyn in Ireland, came over to found an episcopal college upon the continent of North America, on some of the islands. He resided some time at New Port in Rhode Island, where he purchased a country-seat, with about ninety-six acres of land : but for some particular reasons he relinquished his design in erecting an episcopal college, and returned to England. He was a good judge of the world, and of the British Colonies, particularly of their seminaries of learning : but he gave the preference to the college of New Haven, even before the episcopal college of Williamsburg in Virginia ; therefore he gave his estate at Rhode Island to Yale College ; the income to be premiums, from time to time, for the best Greek and Latin scholars, in the judgment of the president and senior episcopal missionary of the colony ; which has been some incitement to excel in classical elegance. This eminent divine, great philosopher, and noble patriot, also gave the college a fine collection of books of near one thousand volumes, of which two hundred and sixty were folios, and the whole in sterling value four hundred pounds.

This great and excellent man, in 1725, published a public-spirited treatise, intitled, " A proposal for the better supplying of churches in our foreign Plantations, and for converting the savage Americans to Christianity, by a college to be erected in the Summer Islands, otherwise called the Isles of Bermuda ;" and he obtained a charter from King George II. for erecting a college by the name of St. Paul's College in the Island of Bermuda for the uses above mentioned ; which college was to contain a president and nine fellows : but it was never carried into execution.

In his sermon preached before " The Incorporated Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, at their anniversary meeting in the parish church of St. Mary-le-Bow, on Friday, February 18th, 1731," he says, as follows : " I speak it knowingly, that the ministers of the gospel, in those Provinces which go by the name of New England, sent and supported at the expence of this society, have, by their

sobriety of manners, discreet behaviour, and competent degree of useful knowledge, shewn themselves worthy the choice of those who sent them; and particularly in living on a more friendly footing with their brethren of the separation; who, on their part, were also very much come off from that narrowness of spirit, which formerly kept them at such an unamicable distance from us. And as there is reason to apprehend, that part of America could not have been thus distinguished, and provided with such a number of proper persons, if one half of them had not been supplied out of the dissenting seminaries of the country, who, in proportion as they attain to more liberal improvements of learning, are observed to quit their prejudice towards an episcopal church; so I verily think it might increase the number of such useful men, if provision was made to defray their charges in coming hither to receive Holy Orders; passing and repassing the ocean, and tarrying the necessary time in London, requiring an expence that many are not able to bear. It would also be an encouragement to the missionaries in general, and probably produce good effects, if the allowance of certain missionaries were augmented, in proportion to the services they had done, and the time they had spent in their mission."

The general scheme intended by Doctor Berkley proved abortive; but an Indian charity-school has lately been founded at Lebanon in Connecticut, and carried on by the reverend Mr. Eleazer Wheelock, who, it seems, being deeply impressed with a sense of the forlorn condition of our savage fellow-creatures in those deserts, and of the obligation the descendants of the ancient New Englanders still lie under to keep in view the avowed design of their forefathers original emigration, did, about twelve years ago, take two Indian boys, and through the whole duration of the late war, under the greatest discouragements arising from the ravages of the Indians, continued to increase his school, by receiving a larger number, both boys and girls, from the nearer tribes; together with some promising English youths, who were designed for the same purpose of evangelizing the Heathen: and being rationally convinced, at the conclusion of the war, what a favourable opportunity our late signal and amazing conquests afforded of prosecuting this plan, he still added, out of more remote tribes, many children to the number, all which he clothed, boarded, and educated, without any settled fund. He represents, that he has now upward of twenty in his school at Lebanon, who are reserved for future service; and that there are twelve English and Indian missionaries, and schoolmasters, now employed in preaching the Gospel and in settling schools, with most promising encouragement and success, among some of the remote Heathen nations; but all that these missionaries depend immediately on him for a support. That as this institution

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was intended purely to promote the common salvation of the Heathen, without regard to any particular names, sects, or parties, so it had been greatly countenanced and encouraged by persons of various denominations on both sides the water: and as there appears at present a very uncommon desire among many of the Six Nations, and others, to have their children taught to read, write, and speak well, and themselves instructed in the Gospel of Christ, as well as in husbandry, and the politer parts of civilized life; it had been judged expedient to send to England the Reverend Mr. Whitaker, minister of the Gospel at Norwich in New England; and the Reverend Mr. Samson Occom, the first pupil and Indian Christian which Mr. Wheelock educated, and the first Indian Gospel preacher that ever set foot on the British shore; to solicit benefactions toward building and endowing an Indian school as a seminary for missionaries. That in what an important point of light this design is already viewed in America, appears from many attestations, and recommendations, of several of his Majesty's governors, chief-justices, counsellors, and secretaries; many missionaries of the church of England, with various Gospel Ministers of other denominations, in the more northern Provinces; numbers of eminent merchants; and especially of the honourable S^r. William Johnson, that great supporter of the British Indian interest in general, and great patronizer of this infant institution in particular.

Mr. Wheelock also addressed a memorial "To the people of God in England, Scotland, and Ireland," in recommendation of his design, and of the Reverend Mr. Nathaniel Whitaker, pastor of the church at Chelsea in Norwich, who purposed a voyage to Europe, to solicit benefactions in favour of this Indian charity-school in Connecticut; in which memorial Mr. Wheelock says, "It is well known, that there are yet remaining vast numbers of original natives in this land, whose manner of living is savage, almost on a level with the brutal creation, but fierce and terrible in war: their dwellings are eminently habitations of cruelty: they have continued from age to age in the grossest paganism and idolatry; strangers to all the emoluments of science, but subtle and skilful in all the arts of deceit and barbarity: and on every consideration their state is, perhaps, the most wretched and piteous of all the human race. They have, from the first planting of these Colonies, been a scourge and terror to their English neighbours; often ravaging and laying waste their frontiers; butchering, torturing, and captivating their sons; dashing their children against the stones; skilfully devising, and proudly glorying in all possible methods of torture and cruelty within their power." Therefore he undertook this design, which had been liberally supported with-

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out any fund; "but the necessary expences for the support of such a number as were then employed in the wilderness, at the distance of three or four hundred miles, as three missionaries, eight schoolmasters, and two interpreters; together with the necessary supplies for the school, which then consisted of twenty-two, and others expected soon, who were of families of importance in tribes still more remote, were greater than could be reasonably expected from those American Colonies, especially at a time when complaints of debt, and want of money, were so loud and universal." Therefore he had employed Mr. Whitaker, "to bespeak the charitable assistance of the friends of Zion abroad; for the glory of God, and the good of men."

To these were added some attestations relating to the character and abilities of the Reverend Mr. Samson Occom, of the tribe of Mohegan Indians, adjoining to New London in Connecticut, who was educated under Mr. Wheelock, ordained by the Presbytery of Suffolk on Long Island, and was designed to accompany Mr. Whitaker to Europe, where they both arrived in 1766, and established a subscription for the promotion of the charity.

CHAP.

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CHAP. VI.

A Description of the Colony of RHODE ISLAND in
NEW ENGLAND.

SECTION I.

Its original settlements from the Massachusetts: Providence first settled by Mr. Williams of Salem, in 1635: Rhode Island first settled by the settlers from the Massachusetts in 1637 and 1644: their first forms of government; and their letter to the general court of the Massachusetts Bay, concerning the Quakers, in 1657. The charter granted by King Charles II. in 1662, to "The governor and company of the colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations." The charter ordered to be vacated in 1684; and reassumed in 1689. The courts of judicature in the colony: its divisions into counties; taxes and valuations. Number of inhabitants, whites, negroes, and Indians. The proxies, representatives, justices of the peace, and militia companies. The indifference of the Rhode Islanders in regard to religion; with Bishop Berkley's remarks thereon, and of the state of the colony when his lordship was there.

THIS colony is the smallest of the four in extent; being bounded southerly by the sea, and surrounded by the Massachusetts and Connecticut on its other sides.

In the British acts of parliament, this colony is named Rhode Island, Providence Plantations, and the Narraganset country, or King's Province; which originally were distinct associations or plantations, but afterwards became united, and were by charter incorporated into one jurisdiction or colony. These Colonists were not immediately from England; but proceeded from the neighbouring colony of Massachusetts Bay, from whence they departed as emigrants, or were banished as non conformists; so that they were considered as Puritans among Puritans, and made such gradual refinements, that all their religion was almost vanished; after which the province became a receptacle of any people, without regard to religion or social worship; and their modes of civil government have also been very erroneous and defective.

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King Charles I. in 1630, made a grant to the Earl of Warwick from Narraganset Bay westward along shore forty leagues, and in length from sea to sea. His lordship assigned that grant to William Viscount Say and Seal, Lord Brook, Lord Rich, and eight other associates: but the conditions of the grant were never complied with, and the grant became void; as also, for the same reason, did another grant made to the Duke of Hamilton in 1635: but the origin of these several settlements shall be concisely mentioned.

Mr. Roger Williams came over from Old England to New England in 1630, when he was chosen pastor of the church of Salem on the death of Mr. Skelton, who had been persecuted out of England for non-conformity. If some writers are to be credited, Mr. Williams was a rigid Brownist, precise, uncharitable, and of such boisterous and turbulent passions, as had like to have put the whole country into a flame. Being settled in the church, he began to vent his singular notions, as, "That it was not lawful for an unregenerate man to pray, nor for good men to join in family prayer with those they judged unregenerate: that it was not lawful to take an oath to the civil magistrate; and therefore, when the oath of allegiance was tendered him, he refused it, and advised his church to do so too: that the patent which they had for their lands from King Charles was invalid, and an instrument of injustice, which they ought to renounce, being injurious to the natives; the King of England having no power to dispose of their lands to his own subjects: that there should be a general and unlimited toleration for all religions; and to punish men for matters of conscience was persecution." It has been observed, that although Mr. Williams was so large and generous in the principles of toleration; yet he was so precise in his own conduct, as to deny all communion with those that were not exactly of his own standard: He forbid the members of his church at Salem to communicate occasionally with the church at Boston; and because they would not agree to it, he withdrew from them, and set up a separate meeting in his own house, to which many of his zealous admirers resorted. The ministers of the other churches took a great deal of pains to convince him of his errors, but to no purpose; whereupon the magistrates interposed, and banished him the Massachusetts Colony, as a disturber of the peace of the church and commonwealth. Sentence of banishment being read against Mr. Williams, the whole town of Salem was in an uproar; for he was esteemed an honest disinterested man, and of popular talents in the pulpit; so that such was the compassion of the people, occasioned by his followers raising a cry of persecution against him, that he would have carried off the greatest part of the inhabitants of the town,

town, if the ministers of Boston had not interposed. A considerable number of his friends, however, resolved to hazard their lives and fortunes with him. With these he travelled towards the south, and settled, in the spring of the year 1635, without the jurisdiction of the Massachusetts, at Mooshasick, or Moosachick, which they called Providence, where they incorporated into a church. The Narraganset sachem made them several grants of lands; and one of the grants was dated at "Nantigan-sick, the 24th of March, in the second year of their plantation at Moosachick or Providence," where Mr. Williams resided forty years.

The principal persons at first concerned with Mr. Williams as proprietors of the Providence lands, afterward associated several others, until at length they amounted to the number of one hundred proprietors of Providence grants, which contained twenty miles square.

In 1640, about forty persons voluntarily formed a sort of civil government in the new colony, which was then only one county, as is at present the province of New Hampshire; but it was afterward divided into three counties, and the township or plantation of Providence was divided into the four townships of Providence, Smithfield, Scituate, and Gloucester: Providence sends four representatives to the general-assembly; and the other sends two each.

In 1637, the synod at New Town in Massachusetts Bay condemned the opinions of many sectaries, and other persons thought themselves severely treated by the subsequent general court; upon which they, with their friends and adherents, resolved to quit the country, and form a new colony. Mr. Williams entertained them for some time in a friendly manner at Providence, and assisted them in purchasing the Islands of the Indian sachems. Soon after, some of them went to the Island of Aquatneck, which they also purchased from the Indians, and settled there in 1639: the grant of the Island was signed by the sachems on the 24th of March 1637-8; and the planters purchased quit-claims at a considerable expence. The settlement began at the north-east end of the Island, then called Pocasset, and now Portsmouth; but, in 1644, the Island was called the Isle of Rhodes, or more properly Rhode Island, which soon became the garden of New England for pleasure and delight. It lies in the Narraganset Bay; is about fourteen miles in length, and five in breadth. The fertility and agreeableness of the place invited over so many planters, as overstocked the Island in a few years, and obliged some of them to settle in the adjacent continent, where they purchased a tract of

land, and built several towns; for all which they obtained a charter of King Charles II. with ample privileges.

Rhode Island was soon divided into two townships, Newport its easterly part, and Portsmouth its westerly part; but Newport has been since subdivided into Newport and Middletown. Eighteen persons, without a patent, voluntarily associated themselves for the establishment of this colony: but some families returned to the Massachusetts Bay; particularly the Hutchinsons, Dummers, and Savages.

Their government was variable in the beginning, and until 1640, when they agreed to be ruled by a governor, deputy-governor, and four assistants, who held their offices until they obtained patents of incorporation from the crown.

Mr. William Coddington was the first governor; Mr. William Brenton, deputy-governor; and Mr. Easton, Mr. Coggeshal, Mr. Hutchinson, and Mr. Porter, were the first assistants.

In 1643, eleven gentlemen purchased of the Indians a tract of land on the Continent, where they built the town of Warwick, in honour of the Earl of that name, who had a large grant in these parts. This Nobleman was governor and admiral of all the English plantations for the parliament at that time, and granted a kind of charter to these new settlements by the name of "The Incorporation of the Province Plantations in the Narraganset Bay in New England;" whereby they might settle themselves into any form of government the majority of the freemen should agree upon, suitable to their estate and condition; and make proper laws, agreeable to those of England, so far as the nature and constitution of the place would admit. Their first general-assembly was not called until the 19th of May 1647, when they established a good body of laws, and erected a different form of government; whereby their legislature, called "A Court of Commissioners," consisted of six members from each of the four towns of Providence, Newport, Portsmouth, and Warwick; but the supreme power to be in a regular vote of all the freeholders of the colony; so that the votes of the freemen superseded or repealed the acts of the court of commissioners and made them void. A president and four assistants, annually chosen, were judges of the court of trials, assisted by the two wardens or justices of the particular town, in which this court sat from time to time. Every town chose a council of six persons to manage its affairs; and that council had the trial of small cases, with the wardens or justices of the town; but with

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an appeal to the court of president and associates. There was a short interruption of this form of government, by an order of the council of state in England, dated the 2d of October, 1652; but the usual form of legislation was soon resumed, and continued until the present charter took place.

From time to time there were some English trading houses, with small purchases of lands from the Indians in the Narraganset country; and the island of Canonicut was purchased in 1657; at which time a letter was sent from "The Government of the Colony of Rhode Island," concerning the Quakers, to the General Court of the Massachusetts Bay, in which it was observed, "that in those places where these people aforesaid, in this colony, are most of all suffered to declare themselves freely, and are only opposed by arguments in discourse, there they least of all desire to come; and we are informed, that they begin to loath this place, for that they are not opposed by the civil authority, but with all patience and meekness are suffered to say over their pretended revelations and admonitions, nor are they like or able to gain many here to their way; and surely we find, that they delight to be persecuted by civil powers, and when they are so, they are like to gain more adherents by the conceit of their patient sufferings, than by consent to their pernicious sayings."

The Anabaptists of Providence, in 1654, divided into two sects, concerning the essential necessity of laying on of hands in ordination, as a qualification in a person to administer baptism; but the laying on of hands at last generally prevailed; and there is a strict association of the ordination-baptists, by itinerant annual meetings, all over New England, once a year. The Quakers, on their persecution in Massachusetts Bay, came to Rhode Island in 1656, and several of the most enthusiastic among the Anabaptists joined with them. But, in 1659, the new colonists presented an address to the supreme authority in England, wherein they called themselves a poor colony, "an outcast people, formerly from our mother-nation in the bishops days, and since from the New English over zealous colonies."

Such was the state of this colony, until the inhabitants obtained a charter from the crown, which lodged the supreme power in the community, and made it an entire democracy.

As in the majority of voters, there must at least be the governor, deputy-governor, and six of the assistants, it was the same case as if the governor

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and assistants were a separate board or house; therefore they were afterward, by act of assembly, constituted a separate house; and the governor, in case of an equality of votes in the board of assistants, was to have the casting vote, but no negative.

This first assembly met at Newport, on the 1st of March, 1663, and enacted, that on the first Wednesday in May annually, by a majority of the votes of the freemen of the colony, should be elected a recorder or secretary, a sheriff*, an attorney-general, and one treasurer-general. It was likewise enacted, that all purchases of the Indians without consent of the assembly, should be void, and the purchasers finable: and that all the new inhabitants, Roman Catholics only excepted, of competent estates, should be accounted freemen, and have power of choosing and of being chosen deputies and other officers.

This competency of estate has been varied at different periods down to the year 1746, when the assembly enacted, that the qualification for a freeman should be freeholds of 400*l.* currency in value, or to rent 20*l.* a year, or the eldest son of such a freeholder; and to be proposed to their respective town-meetings three months at least before their admission.

Several new townships were established, by purchasing more lands from the Indians. Misquamicut was purchased in 1665, and was constituted a township in 1669, by the name of Westerley, which was afterward divided into the three townships of Westerley, Charles-Town, and Richmond. In Charles-Town was the Narraganset Indian reserve of two miles from east to west, and about six from north to south; which was generally farmed by the friends of the Indian guardians, appointed by the assembly, upon long leases and small rents. Manisses, or Block-Island, in 1672, was constituted the township of New-Shoreham. Some gentlemen of Rhode Island and other parts of New England made a considerable purchase from the Indians of Petaquamsecut, which, with the adjacent lands, were incorporated a township by the name of Kingston in 1674; but since divided into three townships, South Kingston, North Kingston, and Exeter. In 1677, the township of Greenwich was incorporated; which was afterward divided into the two townships of Greenwich and West Greenwich. In 1678, the Island of Canonicut was incorporated and named James Town; by which time, all the colony general lands were reduced to private property, so as to compose twenty-four towns in the whole.

* At present the sheriffs of the several counties are appointed by the general assembly.

Each

Each township is managed by a town-council, consisting of the assistants who reside in the town, the justices of the town, and six freeholders chosen yearly by the freemen of the town; the major part of them is a quorum, with full power to manage the affairs and interest of the town to which they respectively belong; as also to grant licences to public houses; and are a probate office for proving wills and granting administration, with an appeal to the governor and council as supreme ordinary.

At the township meetings annually held in March, the freemen of the town bring in their written votes called proxies, for a governor, a deputy-governor, ten assistants, recorder, treasurer, and attorney-general; which votes are sealed up, and sent to Newport, for the next general election in May. The governor has no negative in elections; nor has he a negative in passing of bills or resolves; but he has a casting vote at the board of assistants. All other officers, civil and military, are appointed by a joint vote of the board of assistants and house of representatives.

There are yearly two general assemblies; they sit on the first Wednesday in May at Newport; but the second assembly meets on the last Wednesday of October at Providence and South Kingston alternately. The assembly adjourn themselves for any time; but in all grand committees and elections of officers, the board of assistants and house of representatives sit and vote together.

The legislative body style themselves "The Governor and Company of the English Colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations in New England in America:" and their enacting style is, "Be it enacted by the general assembly of this colony, and by the authority of the same it is enacted."

The governor has the custody of the royal charter and the provincial seal, with other insignia, and he also appoints the naval officer; but the governor's salary is only 300*l.* currency a year, and all his perquisites seldom exceed 1000*l.* In 1750, the deputy-governor had a yearly salary of 300*l.* currency old tenor, and the treasurer had 200*l.* but no wages are allowed to the assistants and representatives.

As briberies in the elections of assembly-men and general officers were become frequent and notorious, it was enacted in 1746, that no man should be admitted to vote until he had taken oath or affirmation, that he would use his freedom for the good of the government without any other motive; and should not receive nor expect any reward or promise of reward in elections. The same assembly enacted, that no assistant, or member

ber of the house of representatives, should be allowed for their service any wages or pay; and several other laws have been made, at different times, exemplary to the other colonies.

Upon any urgent occasion, the governor, or, in his absence, the deputy-governor, may by warrant call a general assembly. The direction of the militia is in the general assembly of the colony; but the governor and assistants have the power of the militia when the assembly does not sit.

When the court of England resolved to vacate charters of any nature, a writ of *quo warranto* was issued out against this colony on the 6th of October 1685, and was delivered by Mr. Randolph on the 8th of June 1686; notwithstanding the colony had made a full surrender of their charter before*; but upon the revolution in 1688, they reassumed their former government; and as their charter was never vacated in a due course of law, the court of England has permitted them to continue in the possession and use of it to this day.

When the charter first took place in 1663, there were only 18 representatives in the colony; being 6 from Newport, 4 from Providence, 4 from Portsmouth, and 4 from Warwick; but at present, beside these, there are two from each constituted township incorporated from that time, and now amount to 58 members.

As to their courts of judicature, they are

1. The Superior Court of Judicature, or courts of Assize and General Gaol Delivery, held twice a year in each county. Three judges are a quorum, who have cognizance of all pleas, real, personal, or mixed; as also pleas of the crown, causes criminal, and matters relating to the conservation of the peace; punishment of offenders, and generally of all other matters, as amply to all intents and purposes as the courts of King's Bench, Common Pleas, or Exchequer in England have, or ought to have; however, no cause, matter, or thing, except writs of error and capital crimes, are brought into this court by original or process; but by appeals from the inferior courts of Common Pleas.

* This appears from the following advertisement in the London Gazette: "Windfor, Sept. 13, 1684. His Majesty has graciously received the address of the colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations in New England, humbly representing, that upon the signification of a writ of *quo warranto* against their charter, they had resolved in a general assembly not to stand suit with his Majesty, but wholly to submit to his royal pleasure themselves and their charter, whereof his Majesty had thought fit to accept the surrender." The order in council to the attorney-general to bring writs of *quo warranto* against Connecticut and Rhode Island was dated July 15, 1685.

2. Inferior

2. Inferior Courts of Common Pleas are held twice a year in each county, and three justices of the court are a quorum, who have cognizance of all civil actions arising or happening within the county, and tryable at common law, of what nature, kind, or quality soever. But no action not exceeding 5*l.* currency is brought into any of these courts, unless where a freehold is concerned, or by way of appeal from any justices court.

3. Sessions of the Peace, or a Court of General Sessions of the Peace, are held in each county twice in every year, and five justices of the county make a quorum, who have power to hear and determine relative to the conservation of the peace and the punishment of offenders. All pleas of the crown, except capital crimes, are also cognizable before them.

4. Justices of the Peace, whose power extends all over the county. The General Assembly in their May sessions choose for each town so many justices of the peace as they find requisite, to be commissioned by the governor under the provincial seal. A justice may join persons in marriage, take the acknowledgment of a deed or other instrument in writing; as also take depositions out of court, on notification to the adverse party. Two or more justices may try, hear and adjudge all manner of debts, trespasses, and other actions, not exceeding 5*l.* currency; titles of land are excepted, and such other actions as are not allowable by any particular law of the colony; but three or more justices of the peace may try all persons suspected of thieving to the value of 10*l.* currency.

5. Juries are chosen as follows: The town council of each township take a list of all persons liable by law, and whom they shall judge able and well qualified to serve on juries, and lay the same before a town meeting called for that purpose; and the names of all such persons written on separate pieces of paper, are put in a box, and delivered to the town-clerk, to be by him kept under lock and key. When the precept for returning of juries is issued, the box is to be unlocked at a town meeting, and the town-clerk is to draw out so many tickets as there are jurors required, to be returned as such. Those as in the judgment of the town meeting are thought unable to serve at that time, have their names returned into the box, and others are drawn in their stead. The names of the persons returned to serve, are put in another box from time to time, until all the tickets are drawn; then they are returned into the first, to be drawn as aforesaid. The town council once a year lay before a town meeting such other persons as may become qualified, to be put in the box; but if by reason of challenge or otherways there are not a sufficient number of good

and lawful men to make up the jury, the rest are to be filled up by the sheriff or his deputy.

The form of their judicial oath or affirmation does not invoke the judgment of the omnipotent God, who sees in secret; but only upon the peril of the penalty of perjury, which does not seem an oath of proper solemnity.

6. Appeals in civil cases are allowed from the justices of the peace to the inferior court of common pleas; and in criminal cases to the court of the general sessions of the peace; the judgments of which are final on such appeals.

Any person aggrieved at the sentence of the court of sessions of the peace, may appeal to the next superior court of assize.

An appeal is allowed from the inferior courts of common pleas to the next superior court.

And appeals to his Majesty in council are allowed from the superior court, where the matter or thing in controversy is the value of three hundred pounds new tenor; unless from judgment obtained upon a bond, which has no other condition but for payment of the money. They appeal to the King in council not only on personal, but in real actions.

7. A court of chancery was once erected; but was soon discontinued, on account of their dangerous proceedings in dispensing with the laws, whereby no property was safe.

8. The ordinary for probate of wills, and granting administration, is in the respective town councils; with appeals to the court of governor and assistants.

9. The court of vice-admiralty consists of the same individual officers or persons who officiate in Massachusetts Bay, or by deputations from them.

10. The judiciary court of admiralty is much of the same nature as that of Massachusetts Bay, with an addition of the governor and some of the council of that neighbouring colony.

Formerly

Formerly the colony of Rhode Island made only one county, which was afterward divided into the three counties of Newport, Providence, and King's County; to which has been added a fourth county called Bristol.

1. Newport County contains Rhode Island, in which are the towns of Newport, Portsmouth, and Middletown: Block Island, in which is the township of New Shoreham: Canonicut Island, where is James Town: Prudence Island and Patience Island; with the adjudged parts of Tiverton and Little Compton.

2. Providence County comprehends the townships of Providence, Smithfield, Scituate, Gloucester, Warwick, Coventry, Greenwich, West Greenwich, and Cumberland.

3. King's County includes the towns of South Kingston, North Kingston, Exeter, Westerly, Charles Town, and Richmond.

4. Bristol County is composed of the late addition from the Province of Massachusetts.

Their present taxes of all kinds are very inconsiderable; because the interest of their public loans generally defray all charges of government.

The colony has been little concerned in the wars against the Indians and French; which was chiefly owing to the principles of Quakerism among many of the inhabitants, and as not being immediately exposed to the ravages of the enemy. In the expedition against Port Royal in Nova Scotia in 1710, and in the abortive expedition against Canada in 1711, they had some forces; but toward the feigned or intended expedition against Canada in 1746, they had three hundred soldiers ready, and one hundred seamen in a warlike sloop.

By the valuation, or census, made in 1748, the whites were 28,439; the blacks, 3077; and the Indians 1257; in all, 32,773. From these deduct Bristol, Tiverton, Little Compton, Warren, and Cumberland, a late addition taken from the jurisdiction of Massachusetts Bay, and added to Rhode Island colony, 4196 whites, 343 blacks, and 228 Indians; there will remain 24,243 whites. Their late Guinea trade has added considerably to the number of their negroes: and here is also an increase of 44 Indians, whereas they are observed every where else to be upon the decrease.

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The following table represents all the townships; their number of proxies, representatives in the general-assembly, and justices of peace; as also the number of inhabitants, whites, negroes, and Indians; with the companies of militia; as they stood in the year 1748.

Townships.	Proxies.	Represent.	Justices.	Whites.	Negroes.	Indians.	Militia Comp.
Newport,	96	6	9	5335	1105	68	4
Providence,	32	4	13	3177	225	50	5
Portsmouth,	25	4	5	807	134	51	1
Warwick,	21	4	8	1513	176	9	3
Westerley,	23	2	6	1701	59	49	4
* New Shoreham,	23	2	0	260	20	20	1
North Kingston,	30	2	7	1665	184	86	3
South Kingston,	21	2	5	1405	380	193	3
East Greenwich,	17	2	6	956	61	27	2
James Town,	4	2	0	284	110	26	1
* Smithfield,	45	2	5	400	30	0	3
Scituate,	58	2	4	1210	16	6	3
Gloucester,	11	2	4	1194	8		3
Charles Town,	9	2	3	641	58	303	1
West Greenwich,	25	2	4	757	8	1	2
Coventry,	12	2	6	769	16	7	2
Exeter,	24	2	4	1103	63	8	2
Middletown,	20	2	4	586	76	18	1
Bristol,	13	2	5	928	128	13	1
Tiverton,	102	2	4	842	99	99	2
Little Compton,	107	2	5	1004	62	86	1
* Warren,	82	2	4	600	50	30	1
Cumberland,	73	2	2	802	4		1
* Richmond,	11	2	5	500	5	3	1
	888	58	119	28439	3077	1257	51

The numbers of whites, blacks, and Indians in New Shoreham, Smithfield, Warren, and Richmond, are only estimates, and not an actual census.

The fifty-one companies of foot militia are formed into four regiments, each belonging to one of the four counties. There are also one

one troop of horse in the county of Newport, and another troop in the county of Providence; but none in King's County, and Bristol.

In this colony are no township or parish rates for the support of ecclesiastics of any denomination; but the church of England missionaries, ministers, and schoolmasters, have salaries from England by "The Society for propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts;" and the congregationalist minister in Westerley, as a missionary among the Narraganset Indians, has an exhibition from an incorporated society in Scotland, called "a Society for propagating Christian Knowledge."—The reverend Mr. Cotton Mather asserts, that in 1695 "Rhode Island colony was a colluvies of Antinomians, Familists, Anabaptists, Antisabbatarians, Arminians, Socinians, Quakers, Ranters, and every thing but Roman Catholics, and true Christians; *bona terra, mala gens**. He should have added some Brownists, Independents, and Congregationalists, but not formed into societies. Afterward there was a meeting-house or two upon the island, which gave hopes of a farther reformation†.

It has been already observed, in the account of Connecticut colony, that Doctor Berkley, late Bishop of Cloyne, resided some time at Newport in Rhode Island, where he purchased an estate, and gave it as an endowment to the college of Connecticut; as also that, in his "Sermon preached before the Incorporated Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, at their anniversary meeting in the parish church of St. Mary-le-Bow, on the 18th of February 1731," his lordship recommended the service of the missionaries in general throughout all the Colonies of New England: and his lordship, in the same sermon, took particular notice of the low state of religion in Rhode Island during his residence there, in the following terms:

"That having considered the duty in general, he came there to treat of it with reference to America, the peculiar province of that venerable society; which he supposed well informed of the state and progress of religion in that part of the world, by their correspondences with the clergy upon their missions. It might nevertheless be expected, that one who had been engaged to design upon that very view, who had been upon the place, and resided a considerable time in one of those colonies, should have observed somewhat worth reporting. It was to be hoped, therefore, that one part of his audience would pardon, what the other might perhaps expect, while he detained them with the narrative of a few things he had observed, and such reflexions as thereupon suggested

* See Magnalia, book vii. chap. 3. p. 20.

† Neale I. 195.

themselves; some part of which might possibly be found to extend to other colonies.

“ That Rhode Island, with a portion of the adjacent country under the same government, was inhabited by an English colony, consisting chiefly of sectaries of many denominations, who seemed to have worn off part of that prejudice, which they inherited from their ancestors, against the national church of England; though it must be acknowledged, at the same time, that too many of them had worn off a serious sense of all religion. Several, indeed, of the better sort, were accustomed to assemble themselves regularly on the Lord's Day for the performance of divine worship; but most of those who were dispersed throughout that colony seemed to rival some well-bred people of other countries, in a thorough indifference for all that was sacred, being equally careless of outward worship, and of inward principles, whether of faith or practice. Of the bulk of them it might certainly be said, that they lived without the sacraments, not being so much as baptized; and as for their morals, he apprehended there was nothing to be found in them that should tempt others to make an experiment of their principles, either in religion or government.

“ That a church which contained the fundamentals, and nothing subversive of those fundamentals, was not to be set at naught by any particular member; because, it might not, in every point, correspond with his ideas, though he was sure of being in the right. Probably there never was, or would be, an established church in this world, without visible marks of humanity upon it. That the Christian Religion was calculated for the bulk of mankind, and therefore could not reasonably be supposed to consist in subtle and nice notions. From the time that divinity was considered as a science, and human reason enthroned on the sanctuary of God, the hearts of its professors seem to have been less under the influence of grace; and from that time, had grown many unchristian dissensions and controversies of men, knowing nothing, but doating about questions, and strifes of words, whereof cometh envy, strife, railings, evil surmises, perverse disputings of men of corrupt minds and destitute of truth *.” After a noble exhortation, his lordship concludes in the following words: “ Certainly, if a just and rational, a genuine and sincere, a warm and vigorous piety, animated the mother country, the influence thereof would soon reach our foreign Plantations, and extend throughout their borders: then we should soon see religion shine forth with new lustre and force, to the conversion of Infidels, both at home and abroad †.”

* i. Tim. vi. 45.

† Cloyne, p. 234.

SECTION II.

Boundaries of the province; its trade and navigation; paper currencies; religion: general observations; and miscellaneous matters.

IT has been already observed, that as soon as what they called a secondary sprang up in the Massachusetts Colony, it was transplanted to Rhode Island, where both civil and religious liberty were allowed in their utmost extent. When Mr. Williams was banished the jurisdiction of the Massachusetts, he removed to the southward, to look out for a new settlement among the Indians, and fixed upon a place called by them Moshawick, but by him Providence. The sight of a spring which ran from the hill into the river, induced him to stop his canoe and land there. In 1643, he went to England.

In the beginning of these settlements, the country was not sufficiently investigated, and some succeeding grants from the crown interfered with former grants. For instance, Attleborough Gore was plainly included in Plymouth grant; as also in the grant to Rhode Island: And some of the lands of Tiverton and Little Compton seem to be in both these grants. In equity, perhaps, the prior grant should have the preference; but this was not observed in the late determination of Rhode Island easterly bounds; because the validity of the Plymouth grant as to jurisdiction was questioned. Rhode Island colony pretended to the settlements of Tiverton, Little Compton, Dartmouth, Rochester, Sandwich, and Cape Cod townships; because Plymouth grant was not said to be bounded upon the ocean: but this claim was not brought before a late court of commissioners appointed by patent from Great Britain, to settle the eastern boundaries of Rhode Island colony.

King Charles II. received complaints concerning the wrong description of places and grants, which could not be determined at a distance, but by commissioners to be sent expressly on the spot. Accordingly, in 1664, his Majesty sent commissioners, to settle the controverted boundaries of the colonies; any three or two of them to be a quorum. They sat as a court at Providence and Warwick, in the colony of Rhode Island, and spent several months in the colony, examining into purchases and titles of lands from the Indians, and hearing complaints.

They

They found the boundaries of Rhode Island colony, as delineated in its charter, as follows: "Bounded westerly by the middle channel of Pawcatuck or Pakatuk River; and up the said river northerly to the head thereof, and from thence in a strait line due north to Massachusetts south bounds: extending easterly three English miles to the east and north-east of the most eastern and north-eastern parts of Narraganset Bay, as it lies or extends itself from the ocean on the south, into the mouth of the river Seacunk, which runs toward* the town of Providence; and from thence along the easterly bank of that river up to Patucket falls, where was the most westerly line of Plymouth colony; and thence due north to the south line of the Massachusetts.

Three of those commissioners gave the Attleborough Gore to Plymouth colony, whereby Patucket River was to be the dividing line between the two colonies: but as this was never confirmed by the King in council, it had no effect. Ever since the colony of Plymouth has been annexed to the province of Massachusetts Bay those disputes have been continued or revived from time to time: but if Massachusetts Bay had relinquished Attleborough Gore, Rhode Island would have given a general release in all other concerns; which would have prevented the loss of Bristol, with some part of Barrington, Swanze, Little Compton, and Tiverton.

The westerly line dividing Rhode Island from Connecticut was settled by commissioners from both colonies, in 1728, as already mentioned; and the southern parts are bounded by the sea from Watch Point to Seakonnet Point.

It was frequently very difficult, and almost impossible, to reconcile the letter of the boundaries of two old grants; because generally more was granted than had been surveyed, or perhaps more than had been discovered; therefore the lines were ill expressed, in loose general terms, and frequently interfering; which could not be adjusted any better way than by amicable conventions, and agreements of the parties concerned; to be explained and confirmed by the King in council.

Memorials were sent from Rhode Island to his Majesty King George II. respecting the boundary line with the Massachusetts, whose agents concurred in the application, and in consequence thereof a commission was obtained for the eldest counsellors of the neighbouring governments to meet and adjust their boundaries. They accordingly met at the town

* It should have been, "which runs from,"

of Providence, in the summer of 1741, and found that the last determined grant, for Plymouth colony in 1629, specified in this manner: "Between Conohasset* River towards the north, and Narraganset† River towards the south; and between the ocean‡ towards the east, and a strait line extending directly into the main land from the mouth of the said Narraganset River to the utmost bounds of the Packanoket or Sawamsset country to the Nipmug country, which determination was then forgot; and from Conohasset back into the main land westward, to the utmost bounds of the Packanoket country."

The Rhode Island claim was "Three miles east north-east of Assent Creek in Taunton River; thence due south to the ocean east of Seaconnet point; from whence a westerly course to Fox point, being the mouth of the river that comes from Providence town; thence along the east side of Seaconnet River to Patucket falls, and thence due north to Massachusetts south line."

The grant of King Charles II. under his sign manual, of Philip's country, to the Plymouth colony, was in these words: "We having taken into our royal consideration, how that, by your loyalty and good conduct in that war, you have been the happy instruments to enlarge our dominions, and to bring that new territory of Mount Hope into a more immediate dependence upon us; We are therefore graciously pleased to give and grant, and do hereby give and grant unto you, the full and entire property of the said territory or scope of land, commonly called Mount Hope, containing, by common estimation, seven thousand acres, for the sole and proper use and behoof of yourselves and the rest of our said colony of New Plymouth: "To be holden of us, our heirs and successors, as of our castle of Windsor in the county of Berks; yielding and paying seven beaver skins every year." This country of Mount Hope, with several townships and parts of townships, always reputed part of the colony of New Plymouth, was, in the year 1741, by Commissioners from New York and other adjacent provinces, determined to be within the bounds of Rhode Island charter; and this determination, perhaps, for want of proper evidences, which might have been produced on the part of the Massachusetts, was afterward confirmed by his late Majesty in council. This is the remark made by Mr. Hutchinson, lieutenant-governor of the Massachusetts province, who also adds, That "in this and other controversies about boundaries, it has been the misfor-

* Now called Bound Brook. † The mouth of Taunton gut or river, at Seaconnet point. ‡ Or bay of Massachusetts.

tune of the Massachusetts to have been represented as too great and powerful a province; and that his Majesty's small province of New Hampshire, as also the small colony of Rhode Island, were oppressed and borne down *."

The fact was, that upon a hearing at Providence, in 1741, of the committees or agents of both colonies before the commissioners appointed by royal patent to settle this line or boundary, neither the patent of Plymouth colony, or any copy of it, was produced; therefore the recital of those letters patent, in their deed to Bradford and his associates, was not sufficient evidence against the royal charter granted to Rhode Island colony. This commission was not to meddle with property, but only with jurisdiction, which was ascertained to Rhode Island by royal charter, notwithstanding their charter being posterior to the New Plymouth grant; because the council of Plymouth could only delegate property, but not jurisdiction. No evidence was produced, to make it appear, that what is called Taunton Great River in their private deeds, between the main land on the east and Rhode Island on the west, was ever called Narraganset River. The determination of the commissioners was in favour of Rhode Island colony; but the Massachusetts government appealed home against every part of the judgment as grievous and injurious: but the judgment was confirmed as final, in 1746, by the King in council, and was to this effect:

"From the south line of Massachusetts Bay to Patucket falls; and thence down the easterly side of Seacunk River to the south-west corner of Bullock's Neck; from whence north-east three miles in a strait line, until it meets with the termination of this imaginary line; and from this to the bay near Towasset Neck; so that this line touch the north-east extremity of an imaginary line running north-east from Bristol cove. On the east side of Narraganset Bay, it begins at a point about four hundred and forty rods southward of the mouth of Fall River in Tiverton; and thence runs east three miles; from whence it runs southerly parallel with the easternmost parts of Narraganset Bay, or Taunton Great River, to the sea."

The settling of this boundary cost each government about four thousand pounds old tenor. The commissioners had from each government six shillings sterling a day; with all charges in coming to, residing at, and returning from the congress. By their determination, the late co-

* Hutchinson's history of Massachusetts Bay, p. 345.

lony of Plymouth, or rather the present province of Massachusetts Bay, lost, in favour of Rhode Island, a triangular piece of land commonly called the Attleborough Gore, which since has been constituted a township called Cumberland, in honour to his late Royal Highness, uncle of his present Majesty; but this township is annexed to the county of Providence. Bristol is entirely adjudged to Rhode Island, and retains its former name. Some part of Swansey, being forty-seven families, and a great part of Barrington, are constituted a township by the name of Warren, in honour of the late Sir Peter Warren, admiral of the navy, and knight of the Bath. The three mile strips of Tiverton and Little Compton, on the east side of the Bay or Taunton Great River, continue by the name of districts of Rhode Island.

The government of Rhode Island, in 1746, sent to the government of Massachusetts Bay, a copy of his Majesty's order in council, for settling the boundary line between the two governments; and by act of Assembly, the second of December the same year, appointed commissioners to run this late adjudged line with commissioners from Massachusetts Bay: but as the Massachusetts assembly could not be informed of this matter in proper time, the line was run *ex parte* by the Rhode Island colony.

Rhode Island government also claimed an extent of jurisdiction farther north than was then settled, and took off from the jurisdiction of Massachusetts Bay considerable parcels of the townships of Wrentham, Bellingham, Mendon, Uxbridge, and Douglass.

The provincial taxes and township rates were lately thought so oppressively great, that, 1. Upon a dispute between the province of Massachusetts Bay and colony of Connecticut, lately broached concerning some townships of the province indented with the colony; the Massachusetts townships of Woodstock, Somers, Enfield, and Suffield, in a voluntary manner, withdrew from the jurisdiction of Massachusetts, and put themselves under that of Connecticut; and by force, or menace, prevented the civil officers of Massachusetts from gathering of taxes, or exercising any authority. 2. The Massachusetts townships adjoining to the northern line of the Rhode Island colony, allowed the Rhode Island men to run a line, without any opposition; as they chose to be rather under the jurisdiction of Rhode Island, where taxes were small, and no parochial rates.

Commissioners were appointed by the general-assemblies of both colonies to run their divisional line in 1749 respectively: but they did not meet, and the Rhode Island commissioners run the line *ex parte*.



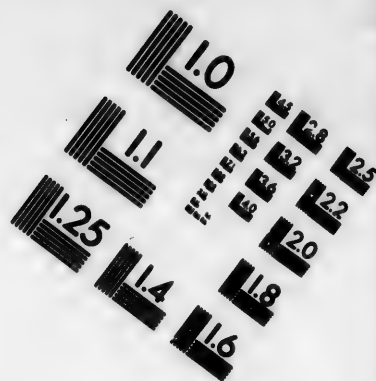
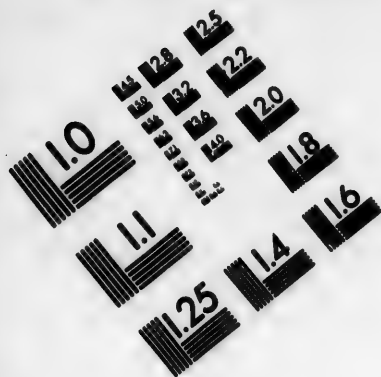
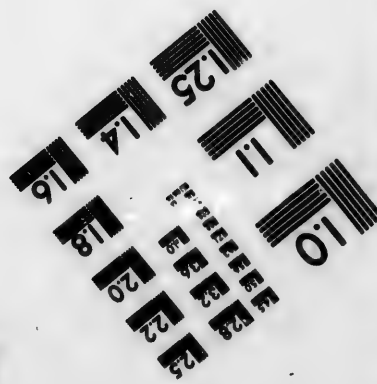
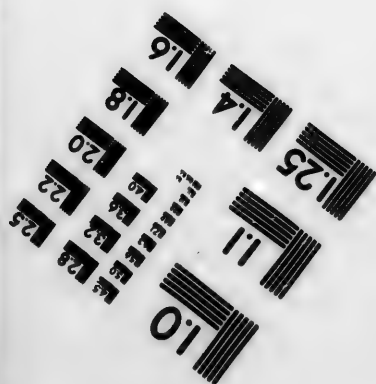
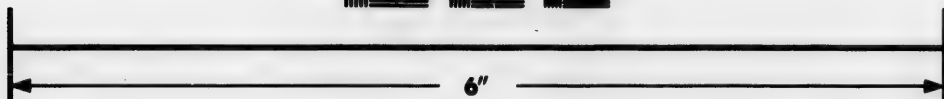
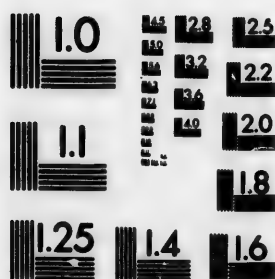


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Mr. Randal, Mr. Lapham, and Mr. Steern, were appointed the Rhode Island commissioners to run the line according to charter: they were assisted by Mr. Harris the provincial surveyor, and two chainmen: their report was made in February 1749-50, and was to this effect: "That, on the 30th of October 1749, no commissioners from Massachusetts Bay appearing, they proceeded: that they could find no stake or monument of Woodward and Saffery; but from the place described in their commission, they found a place where Charles River formed a large crescent southerly; which place was known by the name of Poppolatick Pond, which they took to be the southermost part of the said river. That from thence they measured three miles on a plain in Wrentham, one quarter of a mile north-easterly from the dwelling-house of Thomas Man, and about a quarter of a mile south-easterly from the house of Robert Blake, where they marked a pine tree and erected a monument of stones, and found the same to be in latitude 42 degrees, eight minutes north, which they deemed the north-east bounds of the colony: that from the said pine-tree, they proceeded to run the northern boundary line in a west course of eight and half degree variation, and in this course marked many trees, the said line passing over the southmost part of Manchoag pond *, and terminated about thirty rods eastward of a small pond, called Grassy Pond, at a black oak tree, which they marked with a monument of stones about it, as the north-western bounds of the colony, being about twenty-two miles from the aforesaid pine-tree to the said black oak."

The face of the country, as also its produce and manufactures, are little different from what has been already mentioned in Connecticut colony, and the general branches of the iron manufactures, in the province of Massachusetts Bay.

As to the trade and navigation of this colony, it is to be observed, that their trade in time of war consists much in privateering, as also in smuggling of contraband and uncustomed goods. They have been remarkable for privateering against the French and Spaniards formerly; but of late they had not the same success. They export for the West India Islands, horses, live stock of several kinds, butter, cheese, lumber, and rum of their own distilling; but this trade has been upon the decline. They have not much trade with Europe; but they carry to Boston, sugar, molasses, and other produce of the West Indies; as likewise some negroes from Guinea, and logwood from the Bay of Honduras: and from Boston take their English and East India goods.

* In the northern parts of Douglas.

Newport in Rhode Island is their principal trading town, which lies in 41 degrees and 35 minutes of north latitude: it is of easy and short access, being near the sea; but for that reason not so well situated for home consumption. The town of Providence is about thirty miles farther up Narraganset Bay inland, and therefore may become the chief place of trade.

For the safety and conveniency of sailing into the harbour of Newport, a light-house was erected in 1749, at a public colony charge, in beaver-tail. The diameter of this light-house at the base is 24 feet, and at the top 13 feet. The height from the ground to the top of the cornice is 58 feet, round which is a gallery, and within that stands the lantern, which is about 11 feet high, and 8 feet diameter. The ground the light-house stands upon is about 12 feet above the surface of the sea at high water; and the following are the bearings, by the compass, of several remarkable places from the light-house.

Point Judith, S. W.	Watch-house on Castle-hill, E. N. E.
Block Island, S. W.	Brenton's Point, E. N. E.
Whale Rock, W.	Fort on Goat Island, E. N. E.
Brenton's Reef, E. S. E.	Kettle Bottom Rock, N. E.
Seal Rock, E. S. E.	Anchoring Place, N. E. by E.

There is a small sunken rock lies off due south, and at the distance of about two hundred yards from the light-house. They have built a good fort upon Goat Island, in Newport harbour, which may in future times rival ancient Rhodes.

As the public officers of this colony are annually elected by the majority of votes of the freemen at their township meetings, it would be too tedious to insert the names of all those who have been elected since the charter was obtained in 1663.

Formerly the parties in elections and public transactions were upon sectary footings; but for some years past the opposite parties were, those who were against multiplying a fallacious paper-currency; and those who encouraged it for private ends: but, in 1750, the majority of the house of representatives were of the paper-money side, notwithstanding a growing depreciation. From the first of April 1750, to the first of September, 1750, their paper-currency from *par* suffered a discount with the Massachusetts paper-currency above twenty *per cent.* that is, a Piece of Eight in Boston sold for 45 *s.* old tenor, but it sold for 56 *s.* old tenor in

M m 2

Rhode

Rhode Island: by selling, is meant, it is merchandize, and would continue such until the paper-money was generally annihilated, or arrived at *par* with silver by its small quantity.

From the votes of the general-assembly in this province, it appears, that in February 1749-50, their public bills of credit current were 525,033 *l.* old tenor; of which the sum of 135,335 *l.* was upon funds of taxes, and the rest upon loans not to be finished until the year 1764. These bills were thought sufficient to carry on the trade and business of the colony, even at their depreciated value; yet there was a design of emitting the farther sum of 200,000 *l.* old tenor upon loan.

The generality of the responsible merchants of Rhode Island have always declared against multiplying of a depreciating currency; but in a memorial to the general-assembly, they observed that the act of Massachusetts, in 1748, for drawing in their public bills of credit, was in a too violent and hasty-manner.

The colony of Rhode Island, in 1751, emitted 100,000 *l.* currency, with a greater interest, and to be cancelled after ten years; which was a step toward reformation: though not so good as that taken by Connecticut colony, which, by their act of assembly in 1749, allowed three years to cancel their bills gradually, so as to prevent a sudden confusion; and in their reimbursement money for the reduction of Cape Breton in 1745, they were to draw upon their receiving agent, to save incidental charges, and these bills would readily purchase silver for a currency.

The personal estates in New England have suffered incredible damages by the depreciated denominations from the multiplying of a nominal paper currency. By act of assembly, in the Massachusetts, in 1711, the exchange of the government bills, upon account of the pretended Canada expedition, was fixed at 140 *l.* New England for 100 *l.* sterling; but, in 1748, it was with Merchants 1000 *l.* New England for 100 *l.* sterling.

It has been said, that "all these paper-money making assemblies have been legislatures of debtors, the representatives of people who, from incogitancy, idleness, and profuseness, have been under a necessity of mortgaging their lands, which are real permanent estate; but the debt in paper-currency depreciates more and more by its multiplication. Thus their land estate in nominal value increases, and their debt in nominal value decreases: the large quantity of paper credit is proportionably in favour

favour of the debtors, and to the disadvantage of the creditors, who are the industrious frugal part of the colony. Such is the wicked mystery of this iniquitous paper-currency*."

The following order, dated Whitehall the 21st of August, 1740, was sent by the lords of the regency, to George Thomas, Esq. then governor of Pennsylvania:

"Many inconveniences having arisen from the issuing paper-currency, contrary to the true meaning of an act of Queen Anne; it is his majesty's will and pleasure, and you are hereby required, not to pass any bill, by which bills of credit may be issued in lieu of money, without a clause declaring the same not to take effect till approved by his Majesty."

In an act of the 24th of King George II. for regulating paper money, 1751. after reciting the act of the 6th of Queen Anne, this proviso is inserted:

"Provided, that nothing herein shall restrain the Governor from issuing Paper Bills of Credit, upon sudden and extraordinary Emergencies of Government; so as care be taken to provide a Fund for calling in and discharging them within as short and reasonable a Time as may be, not exceeding five Years."

When there was an immediate public emergency for raising money, the borrowing of public bills, already emitted, from the possessors, would not have increased a paper-currency, but prevented depreciations. Some gentlemen offered to lend these bills at a small interest; and others said, they had better lend them without interest, than that their personal estates, from multiplied emissions, should depreciate at a much greater rate than after the value of an accruing interest.

The legislature of Rhode Island however, in 1766, passed an act, "calling in and sinking all the money bills of that colony emitted in March, April, and May, 1662; and empowering George Hazard, Esq. with the general-treasurer, in lieu of the bills so brought in, to issue their own notes, properly printed and decorated, to the owners of the bills brought in, payable in seven years from the date of the respective bills: And that the notes given in lieu of the said bills should bear interest until limited for their return, at the rate of six *per cent. per ann.* That a tax should be levied for the discharge of the said bills, and that it should be

death to counterfeit them. The form was that of a common promissory note, with interest; none more than 100*l.* nor less than 6*s.*

As to the general article of religion, it may be observed, that the plantations of Rhode Island were originally settled by people whimsical in religious matters, such as Antinomians, rigid Brownists, and other sectaries. Their first societies were Anabaptists, who to this day seem to have the majority in the colony, and differ from the Presbyterians and Independents only in admitting of adults to baptism, and that not by sprinkling, but dipping or immersion. Some have no particular place of meeting or worship; and others differ in particular tenets, such as, it is unlawful to pray with or for any practical unbelievers, and that human learning is no way necessary for a gospel preacher.

The congregational way first took place in 1698, but without any public place of worship until 1720, when a church of that kind was settled in Newport, and another church proceeded from them in 1728. There is a congregational society in Providence; one in South Kingston; another in Westerly, and a few others in different parts; but none after the model of the church of Scotland, Holland, Geneva, and the French Hugonots.

There are many Quaker meetings all over the colony; as also a small congregation of Jews.

The Church of England society for propagating the gospel in foreign parts have four missionary ministers in this colony, at Newport, South Kingston, Providence, and Bristol: also occasional worship at Warwick and Westerly; two schoolmasters with salaries, and a catechist or schoolmaster in Newport, by the donation of Mr. Keys, the late collector of the customs there.

As the charter grants an universal liberty of conscience, civil officers are chosen indifferently out of every religious society; and some time since, Mr. Cranston was continued governor many years, as an impartial good man, though he did not attend any public meeting, and would not associate with any sect.

The missionaries from the Society in London for propagating the Gospel, call all Dissenters the Separation; and Mr. Hobart, a Congregational writer, says, that this Society and their missionaries are Episcopal Separatists; but both sides are in the wrong. Doctor George, late dean of Lin-

coln, in his sermon before the Society for propagating the Gospel says, that "Circumstances in worship, in their nature variable, are left to be determined by the discretion of those whose business it is to see that all things be done decently and in order."

An observation has been already made, that it was one great design of the first planters in New England, particularly in the Massachusetts colony, to obtain for themselves and their posterity, the liberty of worshipping God in such manner as appeared to them to be most agreeable to the sacred scriptures. While they remained in England, they continued in the communion of the Church, except such as were excluded from it for non-conformity to some of the ceremonies; for with some of the ceremonial parts of worship they were all more or less dissatisfied. The canons or laws of the church, and the rigid execution of them, they accounted a grievous burthen; but the form of government in the church was not a general subject of complaint; and they were very careful to distinguish themselves from the Brownists and other separatists. Had they continued in England, and the church been governed with the wisdom and moderation of the present day, they would have remained, to use their own expression, "in the bosom of that church where they had received their hopes of salvation."

The Separatists used to boast, that "if the old Puritans were secure of the magistrate's sword, and might go on with his good licence, they would shake off the prelate's yoke, and draw no longer in spiritual communion with all the profane of the land; and though they then preached and wrote against the Separatists, yet if they were in a place where they might have their liberty, they would do as they did*."

The New England colonists formed themselves into distinct churches, one after another, soon after their arrival; but they seem to have no settled scheme or plan of church government, until Mr. Cotton came over in 1633†, and established the Congregational worship as the middle way between Brownism and Presbyterianism.

An odious sense had been affixed to the name of Independents, which seems to have been the reason why it was avoided, rather than any material distinction in the constitution of the churches, which appears, or can be inferred, from either of those characteristics; but the platform agreed

* Robinson, Bradford.

† Hubbard.

upon and published in 1648, although it did not own that dependence which should subject any one church to any other, or even to the whole united together; yet it professed a relation which one church had to another, and connected them together by certain rules to be observed as the terms or conditions upon which such connexion was to continue; and, upon the irregular walk or demeanor of any one church, they were no longer to remain members of the same body, and the other churches were not to admit them to their fellowship or communion. Although it was the business of a synod, or general council of all the churches, to debate and determine matters of religion, as also to give directions relating to the worship of God and the good government of the church, "which were to be received with reverence and submission;" yet the synod was to exercise no church censures by way of discipline, nor any act of church authority or jurisdiction, further than was done at the first council of the apostles, elders, and whole church, as recorded in the 15th chapter of Acts, which was declared to be a precedent.

All this provision may appear but a weak band of society; but this constitution of church government was adapted to the constitution of civil government, both as popular as can well be conceived; and notwithstanding an acknowledgment or declaration from both, of separate and distinct rights, yet each was aiding and assisting to the other. The elders or ministers were not considered as one of the estates; yet no matters of importance, whether of a religious or civil nature, were determined without their advice, and a formal reference to them. But however defective this constitution may appear in theory, an instance is seldom to be met of so steady and general adherence to the principles upon which it was founded, and so much harmony subsisting, not only in particular churches, but between one church and another, for many years.

From a sacred regard to the religion of the Christian sabbath, a scruple arose of the lawfulness of calling the first day of the week Sunday; and they always, upon any occasion, either in a civil or religious relation to it, styled it either the Lord's Day or Sabbath. As the exception to the word Sunday was founded upon its superstitious idolatrous origin, the same scruple naturally followed with respect to the names of all the other days of the week, and of most of the months, which had the same origin; accordingly, they changed Monday, Tuesday, and the other days, into the second, third, &c. days of the week; and instead of March and April, used the first and second months; instead of the third Tuesday in May, the language was, the third third day of the third month, and so of the rest.

fest*. All their records and other writings were dated in the common forms which they brought with them from England, until the year 1636, when Mr. Vane was governor of the Massachusetts; but after that time, the alteration seems to have been strictly observed, for many years together, in all public writings and private transactions. During the interregnum, it obtained much in Old England; but the scruple there went off at once upon the Restoration: it abated in New England, and continues scarce any where at this day, except among the people called Quakers; and perhaps, the great dislike to some other peculiarities of that people caused the decline of this custom in the New England colonies.

That every thing approaching to an acknowledgment of the authority of the pope, and his power of canonization, might be avoided, they never used the addition of Saint when they spoke of the apostles and the ancient fathers of the Christian church. Even the usual names of places were made to conform: thus the Island of St. Christophers was always wrote Christophets; and, by the same rule, all other places to which the term of Saint had been prefixed: but if any exception was made, it was answered, that the patriarchs had as good right to this appellation as the apostles.

Attempts were made to introduce singularities in some of the churches, particularly Mr. Davenport of New Haven required all his congregation to stand up whilst the text was naming; the principal reason given for it being, that it deserved peculiar honour, as it was the word of God. Mr. Williams of Salem likewise required all the women of his congregation to wear veils; but neither of these customs spread, or were of any long continuance.

The fasts and festivals of the Church of England were generally laid aside, and days of fasting and thanksgiving frequently appointed as occasion required, which custom has continued to the present time.

In former times, before hired missionaries from incorporated societies took place, the volunteer provincial missionaries, such as Mr. Elliot and Mr. Mayhew, who were of exemplary good life, and spared no fatigue, were of great service in civilizing the intermixed Indians, though their faith was not strong enough to carry them among the adjacent tribes in the wilderness. The society missionaries have been censured for neglecting

* As in the letter from the church of Salem to the church of Dorchester the 1st July 1639; "Salem, 1st 5th m^o. 39." But this was a scruple of the Brownists.

this duty, which was originally thought so essential for the interest and security of the Colonies. The Albany Church of England missionary sometimes visits the adjacent tribe of Mohawk Indians of the Iroquois nation; but the Congregationalist missionaries from the New England Society in London, upon the frontiers of Gorges, Richmond, and Fort Dummer, act only as chaplains to these small garrisons.

The practice of the late missionaries was to obtain a mission to the most civilized and opulent towns, where were no Indians, no want of an orthodox ministry, and no Roman Catholics; the three principal intentions of their mission: therefore, it was said, they seemed to value themselves upon the diversion of the Presbyterians and Congregationalists. "All men have a laudable veneration for the religion of their ancestors, and the prejudices of education are difficult to overcome; why then should a person who follows the orthodox allowed or tolerated way of his forefathers, be over-persuaded to relinquish it, considering that, by an interceding wavering, the man may be overset, and sink into infidelity? The missionaries seem to value themselves more upon this, than the conversion of a heathen to our civil national interest, and to Christianity, or the reformation of a Roman Catholic, as is much wanted in Maryland; or preserving the British extract from running into infidelity, as in North Carolina." In the charter, the propagation of the Church of England is not mentioned; the expressions are general; as "an orthodox clergy, propagation of the Christian Religion or Gospel in foreign parts." Therefore the missionaries ought to be men of moderation, that is, of general charity and benevolence; considering also that many dissenters have contributed to this charity, and are worthy members of the society."

To class the various sectaries in religious affairs is an intricate task; for, in the year 1637, the New England synod condemned eighty-two errors; but the religious opinions which have appeared in the British Colonies may be classed under three general heads: 1. The merely speculative: 2. The antiquated or obsolete: 3. The professions or sectaries which at present subsist, and are likely to remain.

I. Speculative private opinions are of little consequence in a state, until the opinionists form themselves into large bodies and separate societies.

1. The Antinomians asserted, that the laws of Moses are vacated, as being only temporal and local; therefore not obligatory with Christian nations: that good works do not forward, nor bad works retard salvation.

2. The Familists, who were of the Anabaptist tribe in Germany, agreed with the Antinomians in many articles; but were suspected to be more inclined

inclined to carnal than spiritual love; they persuaded themselves, that they were the only elect of God, and might deceive all men who were not of their community, magistrates not excepted, even with an oath.

II. 1. The Muggletonians are extinct. 2. The Gortonians of Warwick in Rhode Island were of short duration. 3. The rigid Brownists are relaxed into Independents and Congregationalists. 4. The Independents in all the colonies have suffered some reformation, and are now called Congregationalists. 5. Puritans were for entire reformation and absolute purity; but that appellation is now obsolete. 6. Seekers waited for new apostles to restore Christianity; but these have quite disappeared. 7. Remonstrants and Contra-remonstrants, or Predestinarians and Free-will men; there are some of these remaining among all the sectaries.

III. The Church of England is the established church, although only nominal, in all the British Colonies. There is no established church government; but, by the articles of union in 1707, that of the Church of England is established in perpetuity; yet the Colonists have not felt any episcopal power from the see of London, the office of whose commissaries is only nominal.

The Papists are inconsiderable, except in Pennsylvania and Maryland, where they are tolerated.

1. Lutherans are only to be found in New York and Pennsylvania. They differ from the Papists principally in communion of both kinds, bread and wine; divine worship in the vulgar tongue; and indulging priests with matrimony.

2. Presbyterians, Church of England, and Congregationalists are the same in all essential articles of Christian doctrine, and their laity are all of the same faith; the distinction being only with regard to their different clergy in forms of church government, discipline, modes of public worship, and vestments. The Presbyterians in the British Colonies are of two sorts: the first are those who follow the manner of the Church of Scotland, where they use no liturgy, but are modelled according to a directory first agreed upon by an assembly of divines at Westminster in the time of the civil war, and appointed by the general assembly of the Kirk of Scotland in 1647. The second are properly called Calvinists, as they follow the confession of Heidelberg, like several churches in Germany, the Church of Geneva, the Church of Holland, and the Hugonots of France; they use not only a liturgy or common prayer, but also an established form

of psalmody.—All dissenters from the Church of England, and south of New England, except Anabaptists, Quakers, and Moravians, are called Presbyterians; thus the dissenting congregation in the city of New York, though under a Congregational minister from Boston, is called Presbyterian. A Calvinist French church subsisted many years in Boston, but was lately dropt, there being no French new-comers, and the children of the former generation understand English better than French: but there are several Calvinist churches in the provinces of New York and Pennsylvania.

3. Congregationalists, who may be called Independents reformed. This is the religious mode of New England, where the Presbyterians are only speculative, because by the act of union they can have no ecclesiastical classical jurisdiction in the Colonies, and therefore are only congregational, but less rigid in admission of church members, and in church discipline. In the second session of a synod appointed by the civil legislature at Boston, in May 1680, a platform or confession of faith was agreed upon, much the same with that of the Independents in England, of October 1658, called "The Savoy Confession of Faith;" but the name of Independent is now quite extinct in the British Colonies; and the Independents still existing in England now differ very little from the Presbyterians there.

The general method of the New England Congregationalists is as follows: When a gospel minister is wanted, the devout elderly men of the precinct invite several preachers to officiate, who are called candidates. Then the men who are church members or communicants, even the poorest upon the public charity, and negroes, vote for one of these candidates at an appointed meeting, and by a majority give him a formal call. Afterward there is a general meeting of the congregation-men, who pay ministerial rates, and are qualified as town voters, to approve or disapprove of the choice: if any difficulty happens, a council of delegates from the neighbouring churches is called for advice only, not absolute authority; and this council, when they attend the ordination, are called "The Ordination Council." Upon any occasional difference in a church, a like council of advice is called, which issues in a vote of the Church communicants, or general congregation, but it is not obligatory.

The Congregationalists of Connecticut are regulated by a platform or confession of their own, presented to the general assembly by the ministers and other delegates, on the 9th of September 1707; in consequence of which, it was ordained, that all churches conforming thereto, should be deemed established by law. It scarcely differed from that of Massachusetts Bay, therefore liberty of conscience was allowed. Some Congregational churches
however

however have varied in a few matters of no consequence; as Mr. Colman in 1699*, and Mr. Cutler† in 1722.

4. Anabaptists, a particular sort of devotees, first appeared about the time of the Reformation in Germany. Their great constituent doctrine was, an entire disallowing of Infant-baptism; and, in the baptism of adults, they constantly made use of dipping; from whence is the denomination of Anabaptists, as Baptists by or with immersion; but they call themselves simply Baptists. At first they were moderate and orderly; but they soon ran into many wild and pernicious doctrines, such as maintaining that Christ was not the son of Mary, nor the true God; that we are righteous by our own merits and sufferings; that there is no original sin; and that infants are not to be baptized: they likewise rejected all communion with other churches, magistracy, and oaths; maintained a community of goods, and polygamy; that a man might divorce his wife if of another opinion; that the godly should enjoy a monarchy here upon earth; that men have free will in spiritual things; and that any man may preach or administer the sacraments. Some scrupled the lawfulness of paying tithes, and others observed the Jewish sabbath. These monstrous opinions led them into mad practices; but those who are now called Anabaptists in England, differ from other Protestants in little more than the not baptizing children; as appears by a confession of faith, published by the representatives of above one hundred of their congregations, in 1689.

The Anabaptists at their first appearance in New England were enthusiastically troublesome, and chose among themselves the meanest of the people for their ministers. Their first separation to form a peculiar church was at Rehoboth in 1651; but they were much persecuted all over New England: however, from their church in Swansey proceeded a church in Boston, in 1665, which to this day continues a very peaceable Christian society.

As this was formerly a wild sectary, it run into many subdivisions, and at present there are many different sorts of Anabaptists in the Colonies, particularly in Pennsylvania; the principal of which are as follow: 1. The English, who are a sober and good people in general; and the Germans

* His separation was only in trifles; such as using the Lord's Prayer, reading of lessons in the Bible, the habband and rose of the Church of England clergy, with a freer admission to the sacraments.

† He was president of Yale College in Connecticut, and with some of his former pupils, made a secession from the Congregational mode. They went to England, where they obtained episcopal ordination, and the benefit of missionaries.

remarkably

remarkably so.—2. First-day Baptists, whose weekly holiday is the Sunday, as in use with all other Christians. Seventh-day Baptists, or Sabatarians, who affirmed, that the Jewish Sabbath was never abrogated; nor any other appointed or instituted, and consequently that it ought to be as religiously observed by the Christians as the Jews. Those who follow Judaism observe the seventh day, in commemoration of the creation, and their redemption from the bondage of the Egyptians; but the Christians observe the first day of the week in commemoration of the resurrection of Christ and the universal redemption of mankind. The First-day Baptists are subdivided into those who use singing in their public worship, and those who reject it; the latter alleging, that there must be hypocrisy in promiscuous singing in public worship, as it cannot be imagined that every one of the congregation is in the humour of singing at the same time. There is a congregation of the Seventh-day Baptists at Newport and Westerly in Rhode Island colony, as also several congregations in Pennsylvania of the same kind.

3. Quakers had their first appearance in New England in 1654, and they were severely persecuted there; but as they are not under the confinement of creeds and other religious restrictions, they cannot easily break into sectary subdivisions. They use neither Baptism nor the Lord's Supper; they hold all swearing and paying of tithes unlawful; but they submit to the various forms of civil government. All who have the gift of light within them, men or women, are sufficiently ordained to preach the Gospel, without any commission from a church, or assistance from human learning; unjustly they are said not to regard the Scriptures; and their affirmations, instead of an oath, is equally binding, and accepted even to capital matters in the Colonies. They use the same subterfuge with other illiterate teachers and exhorters; as, "Not many wise after the flesh, not many mighty, not many noble are called; but God hath chosen the foolish things of the world to confound the wise." Their silent waiting upon the Lord in their public places of devotion has been censured; but it is retorted, they have a divine teacher in their own heart. Their tenets seem to be in general Arminian, which may be proved in many instances. They believe a resurrection of the just and unjust, and that God will give a reward to every man according to his works; but as to the nature and manner of the resurrection they are silent; for they only say, it is not safe to be too inquisitive how the dead shall be raised, and with what bodies; alleging, that "there is a natural body, and there is a spiritual body; that flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God; neither doth corruption inherit incorruption*."

* I Corinth. xv.

6. Moravians, who call themselves *Unitas Fratrum*, or United Brethren, as the Quakers with good propriety call themselves Friends; but in an act of the British parliament in 1749, they are called an ancient episcopal Protestant Church, in favour of their affirmation instead of an oath.

In New England, the Congregationalists at first acted with too much severity; which occasioned some inhabitants at Boston, in 169, to petition King Charles II. for a Church of England, modestly called the King's chapel, signifying not an established, but tolerated or privileged place of worship. And indeed the opinion that the Church of England was established in America by the act of union is generally controverted and denied in that country.

As to general things in this province, there are great variety of iron-rock ores, but unprofitable; some copper ore, and slate.

C H A P. V.

An Account of the Province of NEW HAMPSHIRE, in
NEW ENGLAND..

SECTION I.

Boundaries; original lands, and grants. Mr. Mason's claim; and Mr. Allen's Purchase. Legislature, and courts of judicature.

THIS is a small province, bounded by Nova Scotia on the north; by the Atlantic ocean on the east, by the Province of the Massachusetts Bay on the south, and by New York on the west.

Originally the extent of this province from three miles north of Merrimack River to Piscataqua River, was twenty miles sea line, and sixty miles inland. It was under the assumed jurisdiction of the Massachusetts many years; but it is now governed by a governor, council, and house of representatives; the governor and council appointed by the King.

The jurisdiction of this province is indisputably in the crown; and, by the determination of the King in council in 1739, the sea line continues the same; but westward, heading the province of Massachusetts Bay, it extends from Newichawanack River about one hundred and fifteen miles to New York bounds; northward toward Canada it is indefinite, or rather not determined.

The original lands were granted to Captain John Mason of London, by letters patent from the council established at Plymouth, dated the 9th of March 1621; and confirmed to him by charter from King Charles I. dated the 19th of August 1635; but there was no person who had any pretence to the power of government, as Mr. Mason had only a grant of the soil from the council of Plymouth.

Sir Ferdinando Gorges, in 1669, received a royal charter, granting the same privileges, royalties, and franchises as are of right or ought to be enjoyed by the Bishop of Durham, in the county palatine of Durham; with power to constitute a deputy-governor, chancellor, treasurer, marshal, and other officers. By repeatedly nominating such officers, and
9 attempting

attempting to establish a form of government consisting of different persons from those appointed by the Massachusetts; there were always two different parties and interests kept alive; but New Hampshire had been so long united to the Massachusetts, that the people of both colonies were of one heart and mind in civil and religious affairs.

The council of Plymouth, on the 9th of March 1621, granted to John Mason, of London, Esq. their secretary, his heirs and assigns, a tract of land from Neumkeag to Merrimack River: and, in 1629, they granted him a tract of land, between Merrimack River and Piscataqua River, sixty miles up each river, and these to be bounded by a line across from river to river. Both these grants were joined in a new grant, dated the 22d of April 1635, from the council of Plymouth to Mr. Mason; that is, sixty miles up Neumkeag River, and from the entrance thereof round by the sea-shore to the middle entrance of Piscataqua River, up that river, and Newichawennock River to the head thereof, and thence northward until sixty miles be accomplished; and across, from the termination of each of these sixty miles, to be called New Hampshire.

Mr. Mason, in 1634, sent over about seventy servants, with stores and provisions to carry on this settlement of New Hampshire, where his estate amounted to about 20,000*l*. sterling, in 1635, when he died, having by will bequeathed New Hampshire to his grandson John Tufton and his heirs, who were to assume the name of Mason. John died before he was of age, and the estate came to his brother Robert Tufton Mason, who was not of age until 1650; but during his minority the servants in New Hampshire embezzled every thing, and as the civil wars prevented any legal relief, the Massachusetts people, at the desire of the inhabitants of New Hampshire, took all those lands into their own disposal and jurisdiction in 1652.

In 1661, Robert Tufton Mason, petitioned King Charles II. to be relieved as to his property of those lands; and Sir Geoffrey Palmer, then attorney-general, reported that these lands were the undoubted right of the petitioner, as grandson and heir of John Mason. However, as the inhabitants of New Hampshire, and province of Maine, were incapable of protecting themselves against the incursions of the Canada French and their Indians, the Colonists still continued under the protection of the Massachusetts Bay, whose assembly assumed the property of the vacant lands, and jurisdiction of the protected country: and, in 1677, the colony of Massachusetts Bay purchased the property of the province of Maine from the heirs or assigns of Sir Ferdinando Gorge; the property and ju-

jurisdiction of which were confirmed to the province of Massachusetts Bay by their new charter in 1691.

Mr. Mason renewed his petition in 1675 to the King, who referred it to the attorney and solicitor-general: they reported his title good, and the King sent a mandatory letter, dated the 10th of March 1676, to the Massachusetts Bay colony, in favour of the petitioner, and the agents for the Massachusetts disclaimed those lands before the court of King's Bench.

The Lords of the Committee for Trade and Plantations, with the Lords chief Justices Rainsford and North, reported to the King in council, that the Massachusetts Bay colony, by their representatives, disclaimed any title to the lands in controversy; and this report was confirmed by the King in council on the 20th of July 1677.

The assembly of Massachusetts Bay passed an act in 1679, vacating all such grants as they had made of lands beyond the three miles north of Merrimack River.

The same year, the proprietors and inhabitants of New Hampshire desired of the crown to take them under its immediate protection; accordingly the King, on the 18th of September 1679, commissioned a president, with ten counsellors, for the government of the colony, with power to choose three others to constitute the first council; and the president with five other counsellors to be a board. The lands granted there by the Massachusetts colony were directed to pay Mr. Mason's heirs six-pence in the pound quit-rents, as incomes were then valued by way of composition: Mr. Robert Mason was authorized to make out titles to the present possessors at six-pence in the pound value of all rents of real estates, as quit-rents; and the unoccupied lands were to remain to himself. A court of record was also constituted, to try and determine all causes; reserving an appeal home when the value was 50 *l.* sterling and upward.

Before this time there had been no power of government granted for the territory of New Hampshire; for it should be observed, that the old townships of Portsmouth, Hampton, and Dover, were grants of the Massachusetts Bay assembly.

King Charles II. on the 9th of May 1682, appointed Edward Cranfield, Esq. lieutenant-governor; and his Majesty in council farther inhi-

bited the Massachusetts Bay government from any jurisdiction in Mr. Mason's property.

When the crown was endeavouring to reassume all charters and patents, the people of New Hampshire made another formal surrender of jurisdiction to the crown, and Mr. Cranfield was appointed governor in 1684; but he soon went to Barbadoes, and lieutenant-governor Usher had the administration.

The crown recommended the case of Mr. Mason the patentee, who came over to New Hampshire, and brought writs of ejectment against Mr. Waldron, and about thirty others of the principal inhabitants, against whom he recovered judgment; but was opposed in the execution. Mr. Mason also brought an ejectment against William Vaughan, Esq. and recovered judgment: but Mr. Vaughan appealed to the King in council, who dismissed the appeal, and confirmed the former judgment with costs against the appellant.

Mr. Mason despaired of any accommodation with the people, who threatened his life; upon which he returned to England, where he soon after died, leaving two sons John and Robert Tufton Mason, who, on the 27th of April 1691, conveyed all their right to lands in New England to Samuel Allen, Esq. of London.

Colonel Samuel Allen, on the first of March 1692, was appointed governor of New Hampshire, and his commission was from three miles north of Merrimack River to Piscataqua River, and the other recited bounds. In 1700, Colonel Allen came over to New Hampshire to prosecute his claim, and found there were twenty-four leaves torn out of the records, which contained the former judgments of ejectment obtained by Mr. Mason.

Mr. Allen entered new writs of ejectment against Mr. Waldron and others; but the juries brought in their verdicts for the defendants with costs: the King in council dismissed his appeal without costs, because he had not brought proof of Mr. Mason's possession; but he was allowed to begin *de novo*.

Colonel Allen petitioned Queen Anne to be put in possession of the waste lands, and the petition was referred to the board of trade and plantations: their lordships advised with Sir Edward Northey, then attorney-general, who reported, that "Her Majesty might safely put him in

possession of the unimproved land; but where the inhabitants had possession he might bring his writ of ejectment."

Mr. Dudley was then governor of the Massachusetts, and also of New Hampshire, by two distinct commissions; and an order was sent to him to put Colonel Allen in possession of the waste lands; but for land improved, he was to bring writs of ejectment; and when the trials came on, Governor Dudley was desired to go into court and demand a special verdict. Accordingly, upon a trial of ejectment against Waldron, Governor Dudley had notice to attend, which he neglected, and the defendants obtained costs of suit. Colonel Allen appealed to the crown, but died before the appeal was prosecuted, leaving one son and four daughters. His son Thomas succeeded him in these claims, and was cast in his writs of ejectment with costs. A special verdict had been refused; but he made an appeal, and died before it could be heard, leaving two sons and one daughter, all infants.

To cut off the claim of Mr. Allen's heirs to waste lands, the government of the province made a grant thereof, by the name of Kingswood, to about sixty of their principal inhabitants, that there might remain no waste lands in Mr. Mason's grant.

There were also some very large private claims from Indian grants, where both the colonies of Massachusetts Bay and New Hampshire were supposed to be concerned in property as well as in jurisdiction. In 1629, the chiefs of the Indians in Merrimack River sold to John Wheelwright and others of the Massachusetts Bay colony, all that land beginning "at the end of twenty miles north-west from Patucket falls, and thence running a north-east line to intersect Merrimack and Piscataqua Rivers, and these two rivers to be the bounds of it, from that line to the sea." This, together with other lands, included all the late province of New Hampshire; and the claim was revived by Mr. Cook and others in 1720, when some Irish Presbyterians petitioned both the assemblies of Massachusetts Bay and of New Hampshire, for a settlement or township of lands. These emigrants settled upon part of these lands by charter or grant from the governor and council of New Hampshire; and their township, which was formerly Nutfield, is now called Londonderry. This township lies a few miles east of Patucket falls, and is in a flourishing condition; because the inhabitants are remarkable for their industry, and particularly they excel in the manufacture of linen cloth.

In

In 1683, a large tract of land called "the Million Purchase," on both sides of Merrimack, above Souhagen River, was granted by the Sachems of the Weymaet or Lower River Indians, and the Penycook or Upper River Indians, to Jonathan Tyng of Dunstable, for valuable considerations. This land extended upon the west side of Merrimack River, from the mouth of Souhagen River, where it falls into Merrimack River, six miles and a half up the former; thence ten miles north-westward, and in a direct line from the northward as far as the most southerly end of the great pond, commonly called Wenapefioche Lake. These lands were conveyed in several parcels, and at different times, to certain persons, by transfers in 1684, 1685, and 1686; of which transfers some were acknowledged before the magistrates of the old colony of Massachusetts Bay, and some before the commissioners appointed by James II. These conveyances and transfers were confirmed by Mr. Mason in 1686, so far as fell within the royal grant of New Hampshire, at a quit-rent of ten shillings sterling a year; upon which the whole was divided into twenty shares, with no benefit of survivorship; to be divided as soon as might be, and each share to consist of five thousand acres. These grants and regulations were also confirmed in 1686, by the royal commissioners; with an addition of the townships of Concord, Chelmsford, Groton, Lancaster, Stowe, Dunstable, and twelve miles more of land. This claim was revived in 1748.

A dispute arose which continued several years, concerning the south boundary of Massachusetts Bay colony with New Hampshire, but, in 1731, the general-assembly of New Hampshire appointed Mr. Ridge, their agent, to solicit at home for their boundaries with Massachusetts Bay. The petition was presented in 1733; and, on the 5th of January 1734, the board of trade and plantations sent to the attorney and solicitor-general this question; "From what part of Merrimack River, the three miles limitation ought to be taken?" On the 19th of March, the report was, "From three miles north of the mouth of Merrimack River." On the 9th of April 1737, a commission under the great seal was issued, by the consent of both parties, to some gentlemen of the councils in the neighbouring provinces to hear and decide the affair. The commissioners met at Hampton in New Hampshire, on the 1st of August, and gave their determination on the 2d of September. Both parties appealed to the King in council, and the commissioners adjourned themselves to the 1st of August 1738, to receive the royal pleasure. The appeals were heard before a committee of the privy council, on the 5th of March 1739; and afterward their report was heard before the King in council, where the matter was finally determined: conformably to this determination the

lines were run by the province of New Hampshire, *ex parte*; because the Massachusetts Bay government refused to join in the survey. The line between New Hampshire and the province of Main was drawn by Mr. Bryant: the line parallel with, and at three miles distance, on the north side, from the River Merrimack, by Mr. Mitchel: and the line from Patucket falls to New York east line, by Mr. Hagen Hazen. These lines, or surveys, were lodged with the records of both provinces in May 1741.

Mr. Mitchel's line, parallel with Merrimack River, begins at three miles north of a black rock, to Patucket station, by compass twenty-seven miles. This parallel line passes through and cuts off part of the following townships of Massachusetts Bay government; Salisbury, Amesbury, Haverhill, Methuen, Dracut, and Nottingham. The colony of Massachusetts Bay had extended these townships beyond the three miles north of Merrimack, not so much upon account of their having assumed the jurisdiction of that country, at the time of granting these townships, but chiefly because they were Indian grants to Massachusetts people.

Mr. Hazen's line from Patucket station, three miles east of Merrimack River, runs west by compass to cut Connecticut River, one mile and three quarters north of Northfield meeting-house, and about ten miles south of Fort Dummer, about fifty-three miles; thence to New York line twenty miles east from Hudson's River, about thirty-six miles; in all about ninety miles: the line continued falls in with Hudson's River six miles above Albany church, and a little below the mouth of Mohawks River. This line passes through and takes off from the Massachusetts Bay jurisdiction some parts of the following townships and lands; Dunstable, Groton, Townsend, Ipswich new township, Canada to Rowley, some province vacant lands, Canada to Sylvester and others, Canada to Roxbury, Winchester, Northfield, Fall-sight township, Boston New Township, and Province vacant lands, to New York east line.

These lands are now vested in the crown; but by an order of the King in council, in 1744, it was directed, that "if the government of New Hampshire did not provide for Fort Dummer, there would be a necessity for returning that fort, with a proper contiguous district, to the province of Massachusetts Bay," whose governor for many years was also governor of New Hampshire, with a distinct commission. At last, the assembly of New Hampshire entered a complaint to the King in council against the joint governor of that time, in relation to the case of settling the

the boundaries between the two provinces; therefore, in 1740, a separate governor was commissioned for New Hampshire: but it has been said that this is too diminutive for a distinct government, as the numbers of its people, and the value of their commerce, are insignificant.

This province makes only one county or shire; which, in 1742, contained about six thousand rateable whites, and about five hundred negroes or slaves. Mr. Arthur Brown, missionary at Portsmouth in this province, on the 27th of October 1738, wrote to the Society for propagating the Gospel, that "his parish was in a flourishing condition; the number of communicants was fifty-two; and since his last he had baptized seventeen infants in the preceding half year." But, in 1741, he informed the Society, that "there were in New Hampshire about fifty or sixty families of the church of England, and the rest were Independents; for they had no Quakers, Baptists, Separatists, Heathens, or Infidels, among them."

The printed law book of this colony begins the 8th of July 1696.

Mr. Usher, Mr. Partridge, Mr. Vaughan, and Mr. John Wentworth, were successively lieutenant-governors, under the respective governors of the Massachusetts Bay. Mr. Wentworth was appointed lieutenant governor in 1717, and died on the 12th of December 1730. He was succeeded by Colonel Dunbar, who arrived in July 1731, both as lieutenant-governor of New Hampshire, and also surveyor-general of the woods in North America, with four deputy-surveyors, principally to prevent the waste of the masting trees: but, in 1743, he relinquished those posts, and was made governor of St. Helena by the Directors of the East India Company.

In July 1741, Benning Wentworth, Esq. was appointed governor in chief of New Hampshire, where the complement of counsellors is ten; but when much deficient, the governor may appoint *pro tempore*. The new grants of lands or townships are not from the representatives of the collective body of the people, but by the governor and council, pursuant to his commission and instructions, at a certain nominal quit-rent; as Londonderry to pay yearly one bushel of potatoes when required.

The members of the house of representatives are elected for the several townships and districts in the following proportion:

3 from

HISTORY OF BRITISH AMERICA.

3	from Portsmouth,	1	from Newington,
3	Dover,	1	Newmarket,
2	Hampton,	1	Streatham,
2	Exeter,	1	Greenland,
2	Newcastle and Rye,	1	Londonderry,
1	Kingston,	1	Durham,
1	Hampton-falls,		

The juries are returned by the sheriff; and the courts of judicature, beside the authority of a justice of the peace, and a bench of justices, are as following:

The general sessions of the peace held quarterly.

Inferior courts of common-pleas held four times a year: these courts consist of four judges, whereof three make a quorum.

A superior court of judicature or common-pleas held twice a year: it consists of a chief judge and three other judges, of whom three are a quorum. From thence are allowed appeals to the governor and council; or to a court of appeals in cases where the value in dispute exceed one hundred pounds sterling; and to the King in council, where the real value of the thing in difference exceeds three hundred pounds sterling.

Courts of Oyer and Terminer, assizes, or general gaol delivery, are especially appointed by the governor and council.

A court of equity, sustained by the governor and council, by way of appeal from the inferior courts, without any new process; but either party may bring new evidence: and from thence appeal may lie to the King in council.

The officers of the court of probates are appointed by the governor and council, to whom an appeal may lie.

The same judge of vice-admiralty and other officers, serve for Massachusetts Bay, Rhode Island, and New Hampshire.

SECTION

SECTION II.

Produce, trade, and navigation. Miscellaneous observations. Of Sagadahock territory; and of the province of Main. General remarks.

THEIR produce is provisions, but scarcely sufficient for their own consumption; masts, timber, deal-boards, joists, staves, hoops, shingles, and clap-boards; as also some dry cod-fish.

Their manufactures are ship-building, and some men of war have been built there. Some bar-iron has been made in the province; but the noted iron-works on Lamprey River were only bloomeries of bog or swamp-ore; and these works were soon discontinued. They never made any considerable quantity of bar-iron; because they wanted water in the drought of Summer and in the hard frosts of Winter; and their ore became scarce.

In this province there is only one collection or custom-house, kept at Portsmouth.

Their excise upon strong liquors may amount to about a thousand pounds old tenor a year; and this with a thousand pounds old tenor, the interest of loan money *per annum*, was the salary of their governor.

In New Hampshire, as in Massachusetts Bay, there are two sorts of licences for selling strong liquors. 1. A licence to keep an open tavern. 2. A licence to retail liquors out of doors only. This liberty or licence is first to be obtained of the select-men of the township, and afterward to be confirmed in their quarter sessions by the justices of the peace.

Mr. David Thompson, in 1623, attempted a settlement at Piscataqua, now called New Hampshire; but it soon vanished, and the very memory of it is lost.

In New Hampshire, and the province of Main, are much good ship-timber and masting trees; but there are not much of either in the Duke of York's grant, called Sagadahock. The tree of life of New England, is by mistake called Savine; and all the apple-trees here are exotics.

The right merchantable hoops are from the saplins of white oak and of hickory; but white oak is the best. Staves for tight casks are from the white oak; but red oak staves are used for molasses and dry casks. One thousand staves make from thirty to thirty-five hogheads, of one hundred gallons each.

Clearing a new country of wood does not render the Winter more moderate; but conduces to its being more healthful. In middling climates, timber or wood is generally spongy or light by alternate relaxations and bracings from heats and colds, consequently of no long duration or good use; and thus it is from New England to North Carolina, but in the northern provinces the timber is solid and heavy, fit for permanent construction, as in New England, Nova Scotia, and Canada: yet farther north the timber is too small, shrubby, and gnarly. In the hot countries, however, are many species of hard wood, of slow growth, good for wainscoting and other joiners work.

The seasons are uncertain in New England, where in an open Winter the sap rises too soon, and a subsequent hard frost makes the bark split and peel off; thus the fruit trees particularly suffer at times.

There are several good acts of the British parliament, and of the legislatures of the several colonies, relative to the seasons and times of falling of timber; as also concerning the proper seasons of killing those animals that afford furs, skins, and hides; but these acts are little regarded, and seldom put in execution.

Misunderstandings with the Indians are a great hindrance to the colonists in their timber and lumber trade; therefore the Indians ought to be awed by some forts at proper distances upon the interior frontiers; kept in a respectful condition by the appearance of some military force; and enticed by proper assortments of goods to carry on a trade.

The premiums are;

For masts, yards, bowsprits, per ton of forty feet, girt		l.	s.	d.
measure	_____	1	0	0
Merchantable tars eight barrels	_____	2	4	0
Green tar Ditto	_____	4	0	0
Pitch Ditto	_____	1	10	0
Turpentine Ditto	_____	1	10	0

There must be a plantation certificate that they are the growth or produce of

of the colonies; and upon landing, the pre-emption to be offered to the commissioners of the navy: but if the commissioners do not contract for the same twenty days after landing, the owners may dispose of them at pleasure, and receive the premium.

In the woods of New England is a great variety of flowering shrubs; but few of them flower in Winter, the most valuable qualification for a flowering shrub. There is *no* author who has wrote tolerably well concerning the natural history of New England. Mr. Josselyn arrived at Boston in 1663, and continued there some years: he published a book at London in 1672, intitled, "Eight years observations," as a natural history of the country; but it abounds with gross mistakes; for instance, he says, "In New England are no woodcocks, nor any quails;" whereas they are very plenty there.

Of Sagadahock; and the Province of Main.

King Charles II. on the 12th of March 1663-4, granted to his brother the Duke of York, a certain territory or tract of land, thus described: "All that part of the main land of New England, beginning at a certain place called or known by the name of St. Croix, adjoining to New Scotland in America; and from thence extending along the sea-coast, unto a certain place called Pemaquin or Pemaquid, and so up the river thereof, to the farthest head of the same, as it tendeth northward, and extending from thence to the River of Quenebeck, and so up the shortest course to the River of Canada northward." This was called "The Duke of York's property," and annexed to the government of New York; but upon the abdication of King James II. these lands reverted to the crown.

At present the territory of Sagadahock is supposed to extend from the River of St. Croix eastward to the River Kenebeck westward, and from each of these two rivers due north to the River of St. Lawrence: thus St. Lawrence or Canada River is its northern boundary, and the Atlantic Ocean is its southern boundary. When Nova Scotia was in possession of the French, Sagadahock-territory was included in the commission of the French governor of L'Acadie; and thus it was in the time of granting a new royal charter to Massachusetts Bay in 1691; therefore to keep up the English claim to this territory, as well as to Nova Scotia, the jurisdiction of both were included in that charter.

Upon the peace of Utrecht, in 1713, Nova Scotia and Sagadahock were relinquished by France to Great Britain, whose government re-assumed the jurisdiction of Nova Scotia, which became a royal government, with the property in the crown: but this territory of Sagadahock remains in the jurisdiction of Massachusetts Bay, and sends one member to the council. The general-assembly cannot dispose of lands there, without the consent of the King in council: but the property of peculiar grants remain good to the several claimers, until the crown shall purchase the same, as was the case in Nova Scotia.

Colonel Dunbar projected Sagadahock territory to be set off as a separate government for himself; which was introduced by obtaining a royal instruction to set off 300,000 acres of good mast and ship-timber land for the use of the crown or navy. The lands were taken possession of for that purpose, in 1730, by Colonel Phillips governor of Nova Scotia: but upon application at home of the Muscogus company, proprietors in part of Sagadahock, this instruction was revoked in 1732, and at present it is annexed to the county of York or province of Main.

In the reign of King James I. Sir Ferdinando Gorge, president of the council of Plymouth, and Captain Mason, had several grants from Neumkeag River, which divides the present towns of Beverley and Salem, to Sagadahock or Kennebeck River, which were afterward altered into the grants of the province of Main, and of New Hampshire, as at present.

In this territory of Main, whose boundaries have been before described, there are some private purchases from the Indians, which the proprietor-general, the assembly of the province of Massachusetts Bay, appear not to dispute. For instance, in 1683, Mr. Wharton, a merchant in Boston, purchased of six sagamores about 500,000 acres called the Pegepscot purchase, bounded five miles west from Pegepscot River, by a line running at five miles distance parallel with the river, to a certain fall in that river, and thence north-east about forty-four miles in a straight line to Kennebeck River: it includes the eastern divisions of Nahumken purchase, and of Plymouth purchase; which latter extend fifteen miles on each side of Kennebeck River. Mr. Wharton died insolvent, and his administrator sold this purchase, in 1714, for about one hundred pounds New England currency, to eight proprietors, among whom were Mr. Winthrop and Mr. Hutchinson. It is bounded south-westerly by North Yarmouth, which takes in a small part of this grant at Small Point: but George Town, Brunswick, and Jopsham are in this grant.

Prior to the Massachusetts Bay purchases, the settlers in the province of Main never had any other protection, but that of the colony of the Massachusetts. It was ordered by the King in council, in 1679, that the Massachusetts Bay government, upon the reimbursement of one thousand two hundred pounds sterling paid to Gorge's heirs for the province of Main, should surrender it to the crown, as the purchase was made without the permission of his Majesty; but the new charter of Massachusetts Bay put an end to that and all other pretended claims.

The militia which served for the province of Main in 1744, were 2485 men.

The contents of the province of Main are about 9600 square miles.

In the territory of Sagadahock, the soil is not bad: there is not much good ship timber, but some white pine for masts. Most of the grants and conveyances in this territory, are not to be found upon record; which occasions great confusion in claims.

As to the geographical description of this country, it may be observed, that the remarkable mountains and hills in the province of Main are as following. 1. The white-hills, or rather mountains, inland about seventy miles north from the mouth of Piscataqua harbour, about seven miles west by north from the head of the Pigwacket branch of Saco River. They are called white, not from their being continually covered with snow; but because their summits are bald, producing no trees or brush, and covered with a whitish stone. These hills may be observed at a great distance, and are a considerable guide or direction to the Indians in travelling that country. 2. The Pigwacket-hills, at a little distance from the white-hills, to which they are much inferior, and scarce deserve to be mentioned. 3. Aquimanticus-hills, about eight miles inland, and in the township of York, are well known among sailors, as they are a very useful landmark for vessels that fall in northward of Boston or Massachusetts Bay.

Along this coast are many harbours, commodious for small craft in lading of lumber and fire-wood for Boston: but Casco Bay is a large, good, and safe harbour or road for vessels of any burden, as it is sheltered by several islands; and here some of the contract ships take in their lading for masts.

HISTORY OF BRITISH AMERICA.

The principal rivers are, 1. The Kennebeck, or Quenebeck, and its mouth called Sagadahock, which divides the province of Main from the old Bristol purchase of Pemaquid: From the entrance of Sagadahock to Merry-meeting Bay are eighteen miles; thence to Richmond Fort and from the Truck-house, near the mouth of Kennebeck River, are twelve miles: from this place to the first falls, though only a tripling called Cast-nock Falls, are eighteen miles; thence to Taconick Falls are eighteen miles; and thus from the mouth of Sagadahock to Naridgwog are about 106 miles; there Indians go much higher up the river, with their canoes, in travelling to Quebeck; but they are now reduced to an inconsiderable number; though formerly, with their French missionaries, they were very troublesome to the English settlements. 2. Amerascogin River, which is particularly noted for plenty of good sturgeon: up this river was a tribe of Indians, who are now extinct; and near the mouth of it is Brunswick Fort. 3. Saco River, which rises above thirty miles north of Piscataqua Harbour; and its considerable branches are Pigwacket River, whose Indians are now of no consequence. At the mouth of Saco River is Winter Harbour, so called from Mr. Winter, who had a farm there. This river is not navigable any considerable way to the falls for vessels of little burden; but here are truck-houses and a fort. 4. Mansons River comes from some ponds about forty miles above Piscataqua harbour; and falls into the sea at the township of Wells. 5. Piscataqua River, which divides New Hampshire from Main for the space of forty miles: from the mouth of this river or harbour to the inlet of Exeter Bay are about ten miles; thence to the mouth of Catecheco River, which comes from the west north-west, are five miles; and from this upward, the Piscataqua is called Newichawanock River; but higher it is called Salmon Falls River.

The small rivers, or runs of water, and of short course, are many; particularly, Recompence River; Royal's River, running through Cape Anne township and North Yarmouth to the sea; Presumpscot River, which comes from Jabago Pond, and runs through Falmouth, where it falls into the sea; Falmouth River, or Stroud-water of Casco Bay; Kennebeck River dividing Arundel from Wells; and York River in the township of York.

The geographical parts of the Massachusetts Bay have been already described, as also those of Connecticut and Rhode Island, but what relates to the old colony of Plymouth was omitted, and ought to be inserted here. There are no remarkable mountains or high hills; but the most considerable harbours are, 1. Plymouth Bay, of shallow water, but a consequential

consequential trade to the West Indies: it is a branch of Boston collection, at the distance of forty miles. Three small rivulets, called Jons, Herrings, and Eel Rivers, fall into this Bay. 2. Cape Cod Harbour, of safe and deep water; but from the hook or flexure, and consequently different courses, vessels get out to sea with difficulty; nor is it a seaport, or place of trade. This Cape, by its particular form, and the stretching far into the sea, becomes a snare for itinerant or passenger fish; such as Whales, Herrings, Mackarel and others. The tide flows within the Cape about twenty feet; but on the back of it is only five or six feet.

The smaller inlets, or harbours, from the discharge of rivulets, are many; but all the harbours from Scituate to Cape Cod are shallow, because of a sandy slow slope of the shore; and the inland runs are short and small, incapable of making channels. In Sandwich is Mill River: in Barnstable is a small inlet, and another in Yarmouth. In Harwich is the harbour called Point of Rocks, which is not safe. In Eastham is Stage Harbour; as also Billingsgate, the best of these small harbours. 2. Upon the outside of Cape Cod, is the head of Pamet, no proper harbour, as sometimes high tides have passed over the meadows in Truro from sea to sea. Sandy Point, or Monymoy in Chatham, is a good harbour for small vessels, but the bar shifts. Bass River in Yarmouth. Hyanaes in Barnstable, is much used, as it is the best of these harbours. Osler Bay in Barnstable. Falmouth Bay. Woods Hole or Cove, called Soconosset, where is a ferry of about a mile to Elizabeth Great Island, and of about three leagues to Martha's Vineyard. Along this shore is a bar, at about the distance of half a mile, with small inlets; and there is water of some fathoms within the bar. 3. In Buzzard's Bay are several good creeks, as Agawam, Wagwagantit, Sipacan, Matapoisset, Accushnot, Polyganset, and Coaxit.

The Capes, Headlands, or Promontories are, 1. The Gurnet Head, which is the north point of Plymouth Bay; and lies within seven leagues south-west of Cape Cod. 2. Cape Cod, about eighteen leagues south-west from Boston, in $42^{\circ} 10'$ of north latitude: this is a narrow long promontory stretching into the sea; and from the pitch of the Cape to Buzzard's Bay may extend upward of sixty miles, which, with a medium breadth of six miles, makes about 230,000 acres, called the county of Barnstable, containing the townships of Falmouth, Sandwich, Barnstable, Yarmouth, Harwich, Chatham, Eastham, Truro, and Province Town. 3. Sandy Point, about ten leagues north from the Island of Nantucket: but in the charter it is called Cape Malabar.

The

The principal rivers in old Plymouth Colony are, 1. North River, which divides Scituate from Marshfield: it has deep water; but as the entrance is rocky, vessels cannot put in there in stormy weather. The tide flows about ten miles up this river, where ships and other vessels are advantageously built. 2. Taunton River, in which good ships are built. 3. Patucket or Blackstone, formerly Nipmug River, is navigable from Rhode Island boundary, at Bullock's Neck, ten miles to Patucket Falls; and in Rehoboth, or Jaconick, some good vessels are built.

The late Plymouth Colony contained about 1,254,000 acres; but now there are no vacant or colony lands. The old sea line was about 220 miles: the sea-line of the Province of Main is about eighty miles; of New Hampshire, twenty miles; of old Massachusetts, eighty miles; of Rhode Island, sixty miles; and of Connecticut, one hundred and forty miles.

As to the islands near Cape Cod, the principal are, Nantucket, Martha's Vineyard, and Elizabeth Islands.

1. The north side of Nantucket, or the town of Sherborn, is about ten leagues from the main land. The island contains about 23,000 acres, or six miles square. Beach included, it is in twenty-seven proprietorships; but all in common, excepting forty acres of home lots to each proprietorship, and every one of those may keep 560 sheep. It is a county of itself, inhabited by industrious people, who cure dry cod-fish, but whaling is their principal business. In 1744, they had about forty sloops and schooners in the Whale fishery, of thirteen men to a vessel: they made from 7000 to 10,000 barrels of Whale-oil a year. In this Island are about nine hundred Indians, who are of great use in the fishery.

2. Martha's Vineyard is about eight leagues west from Nantucket, and three leagues south from Wood's Hole in Falmouth upon the Main: it is about twenty miles in length, and the east-end is about eight miles in breadth, but tapers away to Gay Head, at the west-end, where it is three miles wide. A great part of the island is very barren, being heaths and pine-land. The townships are, Edgar Town, Tilbury, and Chilmark; which contain about two hundred men capable of bearing arms, and about four hundred and fifty Indians. With the Elizabeth Islands it makes Duke's Country; but before the Massachusetts Bay new charter, all these islands belonged to the government of New York: and the

the receiver of the quit-rents of New York made demands of the old arrears of their quit-rents.

3. Elizabeth's Islands lie in a range, south-west, half way between Martha's Vineyard, and the shore of Buzzard Bay, which bay they form. The largest island is one mile from Wood's Hole on the Main, and is about eight miles in length, but very narrow: it is called Nashawn Island; and the others are, Tinker's Island, Slocum's Island, and the Islands of Cattetrunk.

In general, the nearest estimate that can be made of the people in New England is as follows:

Massachusetts Bay,	—	—	200,000
Connecticut,	—	—	100,000
Rhode Island,	—	—	30,000
New Hampshire,	—	—	24,000
			<hr/>
			354,000
			<hr/>

One-fourth part of these are 90,000 men capable of bearing arms; and one-fifth is 70,000 men fit to march; a force sufficient to protect themselves against all foreign enemies.

The Massachusetts Colony is superior to the rest in opulence, trade and number of inhabitants; its principal town being Boston; that of Connecticut is New London; of Rhode Island, Newport; and of New Hampshire, Portsmouth. They employ five hundred sail of ships, with four thousand seamen, annually, in their trade to Great Britain and the sugar colonies: and the imports from Great Britain and Ireland have been computed at 300,000 *l.* a year.

THE STATE OF NEW YORK
 In SENATE,
 January 10, 1900.

REPORT
 OF THE
 COMMISSIONER OF THE LAND OFFICE
 FOR THE YEAR 1899.

ALBANY:
 J. B. LIPPINCOTT & COMPANY, PRINTERS,
 1899.

1899, 1898	1897, 1896	1895, 1894	1893, 1892	1891, 1890	1889, 1888	1887, 1886	1885, 1884	1883, 1882	1881, 1880	1879, 1878	1877, 1876	1875, 1874	1873, 1872	1871, 1870	1869, 1868	1867, 1866	1865, 1864	1863, 1862	1861, 1860	1859, 1858	1857, 1856	1855, 1854	1853, 1852	1851, 1850	1849, 1848	1847, 1846	1845, 1844	1843, 1842	1841, 1840	1839, 1838	1837, 1836	1835, 1834	1833, 1832	1831, 1830	1829, 1828	1827, 1826	1825, 1824	1823, 1822	1821, 1820	1819, 1818	1817, 1816	1815, 1814	1813, 1812	1811, 1810	1809, 1808	1807, 1806	1805, 1804	1803, 1802	1801, 1800	1799, 1798	1797, 1796	1795, 1794	1793, 1792	1791, 1790	1789, 1788	1787, 1786	1785, 1784	1783, 1782	1781, 1780	1779, 1778	1777, 1776	1775, 1774	1773, 1772	1771, 1770	1769, 1768	1767, 1766	1765, 1764	1763, 1762	1761, 1760	1759, 1758	1757, 1756	1755, 1754	1753, 1752	1751, 1750	1749, 1748	1747, 1746	1745, 1744	1743, 1742	1741, 1740	1739, 1738	1737, 1736	1735, 1734	1733, 1732	1731, 1730	1729, 1728	1727, 1726	1725, 1724	1723, 1722	1721, 1720	1719, 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THE
HISTORY
OF THE
BRITISH EMPIRE
IN
NORTH AMERICA.

BOOK III.

The History of the Province of NEW YORK.

CHAP. I.

Situation of the Colony; its origin and conquest from the Dutch; succession of governors, including a general history of the province.

THE first bounds of New York, when it was called Nova Belgia, were, Maryland on the south; the main land, as far as it could be discovered westward, which would extend to the nations bordering on the Mississippi; the river of St. Lawrence northward; and New England westward: so that in those times, all the country from Maryland to New England was called Nova Belgia or New Netherlands, which included the Jerseys, and part of Pennsylvania; but it was reduced into a much narrower compass when it was conquered and settled by the English in the reign of King Charles II. who made a grant of it to his brother the Duke of York.

The province of New York, at present, contains Long Island, Staten Island, and the lands on the east side of Hudson's River to the bounds of Connecticut. From the division line between that colony and the Massachusetts Bay, northward to the old French line, the province of New York claimed an extent to Connecticut River. On the west side of Hudson's

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son's River, from the sea to the latitude of 41° lies New Jersey; but the line of partition between that province and this, from that latitude to the other station on Delaware, is unsettled. From thence, whosoever it may be fixed, the province of New York claims all the lands on the east side of Delaware to the north line of Pennsylvania; and all the territory on both sides of the Mohawks River, and westward to the Isthmus at Niagara: in short, all the country belonging to the crown of Great Britain, not already granted; for it has been said, "that we are to consider New York among her sister colonies, to borrow a law phrase, as a *residuary legatee*." And "hence," says the same author, "we have from the beginning been exposed to controversies about limits. The New Jersey claim includes several hundred thousand acres, and has not a little impeded the settlement of the colony. The dispute with the Massachusetts Bay is still more important; and, for several years past, occasioned very considerable commotions. The New Hampshire pretensions have, as yet, exposed us to no great trouble. But when all those claims are settled, a new controversy will probably commence with the proprietaries of Pennsylvania *."

The Swedes and Finlanders seem to have been the first occupiers of some parts of that extensive country, afterwards called Nova Belgia by the Dutch. The Swedes established settlements on both sides of Delaware River; built some towns, and erected several forts, particularly Elsenburgh and Cassimir, now called Newcastle. But Captain Henry Hudson, an Englishman, in 1608, discovered Long Island, the adjacent continent, and the river which still retains his name. He afterward communicated the discovery to the Dutch, who made him a compensation for it. The Dutch writers contend, that Hudson was sent out by the East India Company in 1609, to discover a north-west passage to China, and that having first discovered Delaware Bay, he came hither, and penetrated up Hudson's River as far as the latitude of 43° . It is said, however, that there was a sale; and that the English objected to it, though they neglected to oppose the Dutch settlement for some time.

Captain Hudson, in 1610, sailed again from Holland to this country, to which the Dutch had then given the name of Nova Belgia, or New Netherlands; and four years after, the States General granted a patent to some merchants for an exclusive trade on the north river, now Hudson's River; who, in 1614, built a fort on the west side, near Albany, which was first commanded by Henry Christiaens. — Sir Samuel Argol, in the

* See "The History of the Province of New York, from the first Discovery to the Year 1732. By William Smith, M. A." Published at London in 4to in 1757.

same year, was sent out by Sir Thomas Dale, governor of Virginia, to dispossess the French of the towns of Port Royal and St. Croix, lying on each side of the Bay of Fundy in Acadia, then claimed as part of Virginia: and in his return he visited the Dutch on Hudson's River, who, being unable to resist him, prudently submitted to the English government. The next year, however, the Dutch erected a fort on the south-west point of the island Manhattans, and two others in 1623; one called Good Hope, on Connecticut River *, and the other Nassau, on the east-side of Delaware Bay. The Dutch writers pretend, that they purchased the lands on both sides of that river in 1632, before the English were settled in those parts; and that they discovered a little fresh river farther to the east, called Varsche Rivierte, to distinguish it from Connecticut River, known among them by the name of Varsche Rivier, which was also claimed by the Dutch, who were determined upon the settlement of a colony; and therefore the States General, in 1631, made a grant of the country to the West India company.

Wouter Van Twiller arrived at Fort Amsterdam, now New York, and took upon himself the government in June 1629. His stile, in the patents granted by him, was thus; "We, director and council, residing in New Netherland, on the Island Manhattans, under the government of their High Mightinesses the Lords States General of the United Netherlands, and the privileged West India company." In his time, the planters of New England extended their possession westward as far as Connecticut River, which was protested against by the Dutch.

William Kieft appears first as governor in 1638, when a prohibition was issued against the English trade at Fort Good Hope; and shortly after an order of council was made for sending more forces there to maintain the Dutch territories. The Dutch writers, however, are not agreed in the extent of Nova Belgia or New Netherland: some describe it to be from Virginia to Canada; and others say, that the arms of the States General were erected at Cape Cod, Connecticut, and Hudson's Bay, and on the west side of the entrance into Delaware Bay: but one of their ancient authorities gives Canada River for a boundary on the north; and calls that part of the country Terra Incognita, which is north-west from Albany.

The English had overspread the eastern part of Long Island; and, in 1640, advanced to Oyster Bay; but Kieft broke up their settlement in

* The state of "Nieuw Nederland," printed at Amsterdam in 1651. It contains two descriptions of the Dutch possessions; the one is a copy of that published by John de Laet at Leyden, and the other gives a short view of the country in 1649.

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1642, and fitted out two sloops to drive the English out of Schuylkill, of which the Marylanders had lately possessed themselves. The instructions, dated the 22d of May, to Jan Janfen Alpendam, who commanded in that enterprize, are upon record, and strongly assert the right of the Dutch both to the soil and trade. The English from the eastward shortly after sent deputies to New Amsterdam for the accommodation of their disputes about limits, to whom the Dutch offered such conditions as the English deemed inadmissible, and in 1643 formed a design to extirpate the Dutch; but the Massachusetts Bay declined this enterprize.

Peter Stuyvesant was the last Dutch governor; and though he had a commission in 1646, he did not begin his administration until the 27th of May 1647. The claims upon his government kept him continually employed, with a strict attention to New England on the east, and Maryland on the west: but a controversy, which had long subsisted between the English of New Haven and the Dutch at the Manhados was settled by the commissioners of the United Colonies in 1650, in the following manner:

The Dutch, who had built a small trading house at Hudson's River, soon after the English began the settlement of New Plymouth, courted a correspondence and friendship with them; and, as a writer of that day observes, "gave them a mess of pottage for their birth-right," of which they had before craftily deprived them*. The Dutch, undoubtedly, had a design to have possessed themselves of Connecticut River, and to have prevented the English from obtaining any footing there. Those of New Plymouth had pitched upon a place for a house in 1632 †, and erected it in 1633, although they were threatened by a party of Dutch, whom they found there at that time. Those from the Massachusetts in 1635 and 1636, made their principal settlement upon that part of the river at Hartford, where the Dutch had their house; and the English for many years made no attempts to remove them, but allowed them free liberty of trade; the Dutch also admitting any English to settle among them at the Manhados, particularly Mr. Willet, Mr. Baker, and several other families.

When Mr. Eaton and his company began to settle at New Haven, the Dutch were alarmed from the swift increase of the English colonies, whom they charged with encroachments, although they had no pretence themselves to any certain boundary, and would sometimes challenge the coun-

* Hubbard.

† Mr. Winslow's Manuscript Letter to Governor Winthrop, September 1633.

try from Cape Henlopen to Connecticut River, and at other times as far as Cape Cod: but the English, regardless of such a claim, proceeded in extending their settlements to Milford, Stamford, and other places, until they were within a few miles of Hudson's River.

Whether the Dutch had any pretence of title or not, no doubt can be made that they would have extirpated the English if it had been in their power, but they were few in number. Once, indeed, being possessed of a ship of some force, they sent her to New Haven, where they seized a vessel which lay in the harbour, and carried her away. At another time, they set up the arms of the States at or near Stamford, and threatened to do the like at New Haven. The Dutch had always restrained the English, not settled among them, from trading with their Indians upon Hudson's River: but in 1648 the English commissioners passed an order, prohibiting any French or Dutch, or other foreigners, trading with the Indians in the jurisdiction of the United Colonies; and if this law had been carried into execution, the Dutch trade at Hartford must have been totally destroyed.

Altercations subsisted several years between the Dutch governors of New Netherlands and the English governor of New Haven: but in 1650, while the English commissioners were sitting at Hartford, the Dutch governor Stuyvesant came there to treat with them, and presented his proposals in writing, dated "New Netherlands the 23d of September, N. S." being the day they were delivered. He complained "of the encroachments upon Connecticut River, as well as toward Hudson's River; of the reception of fugitives; of the law debarring the Dutch from trade with the Indians; as also of the English selling them goods too cheap, and thereby spoiling the trade." The commissioners took notice, that his proposals were dated at New Netherlands; and refused to treat until he altered the name of the place where they were dated. He offered, if the English would forbear stiling the place Hartford, he would desist from stiling it New Netherlands, and date his proposals at Connecticut. They consented that he should date at Connecticut, but would not give up their own right to date at Hartford.

After several days spent in messages from one to the other, the matters in difference were submitted to Mr. Bradstreet and Mr. Prince, appointed by the commissioners; and to Mr. Willet and Mr. Baxter, appointed by the Dutch governor. Their result was to be binding to both parties.

The line which was thus settled ran northerly only twenty miles, and afterward as the Dutch and New Haven should agree: but this must be

be understood so far as New Haven had jurisdiction. Accordingly, it appears that the Massachusetts in 1659 so understood it, and made a grant of land opposite to Fort Aurania, now Albany, upon Hudson's River; and several of the principal merchants of the colony were enterprizing a settlement and a trade with the Indians, and which probably was laid aside upon the change of affairs in England; for the country itself, a few years after, was recovered from the Dutch, and granted to the duke of York, too powerful a proprietor to contend with as to bounds*.

In 1651 the Dutch built Fort Casimir, now called Newcastle, on Delaware: But the Swedes claimed the country, and Printz, their governor, formally protested against the works; after which he took the place by stratagem, and held it until 1655, when it was retaken by the Dutch, who reduced all the settlements belonging to the Swedes.

Hostilities began between the English and Dutch in Europe in 1651: but the Dutch colony of Manhadoes was in too feeble a state openly to annoy the English colonies, who then carried on an advantageous trade with the Dutch, and considered themselves to be at liberty to continue in peace with them, notwithstanding the European war: but in 1653, information was given by the Indians from several quarters, that the Dutch governor was privately soliciting them to a general confederacy, in order totally to extirpate the English. The massacre at Amboyna was then a recent affair, and a general alarm was spread through the colonies. An extraordinary meeting of the colonies was called at Boston on the 19th of April, to consider of several rumours gathered from the Indians and others, that the Dutch had plotted with the Indians, and stirred them up to cut off the English. The result of this first meeting was, that although the evidence was so strong, as that some of the commissioners looked upon it to be full proof, yet they thought it most expedient the Dutch governor should have opportunity of making answer; but before any message could be sent, letters were received from him, denying all that the Indians or any others had charged him with; wondering the English would give credit to Indian testimonies; and offering to come or send, or to make answer to any deputies which might be sent to him. It was thought proper to send agents to him, who were, Mr. Newman, an assistant of New Haven, Mr. Leveret, afterward governor of the Massachusetts, and Mr. Davis, who carried a letter from the Commissioners to the governor, acquainting him, "that he had made use of Indian testimonies against New Haven, in a case of land; that his predecessor had done it in a case of life; and that a Dutch governor and council at Amboyna had made a

* Hutchinson's History of the Massachusetts Bay, p. 159. and 314.

bloody

bloody use of the Japanese confession, though extorted by torture, against Captain Towerion and the English Christians there:" therefore, the commissioners "demanded satisfaction for past injuries, and security for the time to come."

While their agents were gone, a letter was wrote by Mr. Hook to Oliver Cromwell, complaining of the Dutch, and intrusting his assistance to punish them. The commissioners also determined what number of men should be raised, if war was to be made. The number was to be 500, of whom Captain Leveret was appointed commanding officer.

Notwithstanding the offer made by the Dutch governor in his letter, he refused to submit to any examination into the affair by the agents or commissioners, any farther than a committee of his own council should concur with them. The agents took several depositions, and returned to Boston, where a state of the case was drawn up on both sides*, and referred to the elders, who continued to be consulted in every affair of importance, while the old charter continued†; and their opinion was, "That the proofs and presumptions of the execrable plot, tending to the destruction of so many of the dear saints of God, imputed to the Dutch governor and the fiscal‡, were of such weight as to induce them to believe the reality of it; yet they were not so fully conclusive as to clear up a present proceeding to war before the world, and to bear up their hearts with that fulness of persuasion which was meet, in commending the cause to God in prayer, and to the people in exhortations; and that it would be safest for the colonies to forbear the use of the sword; but advised to be in a posture of defence, and readiness for action, until the mind of God should be more clearly known, either for a settled peace or more manifest grounds of war." And the deputies, by their vote, expressed a concurrence with the elders in their sentiments.

Letters were received at Boston from Hartford and New Haven on the 26th of May 1653, advising, "That the Dutch governor was endeavouring, by presents and other methods, to engage the Mohawks and the Indians between Hudson's River and Delaware to fall upon the English." But the same day a messenger arrived from Manhados, with a long letter from the Dutch governor, complaining of encroachments from the English, and

* By Mr. Eaton for the English, and by Mr. Dennison for the Dutch.

† The share they had in temporal affairs added to the weight they had acquired from their spiritual employments; and they were in high esteem. Hutchison, p. 181. See vol. i.

‡ The principal officer of the public treasury.

exculpating

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exculpating himself from any plots or designs against them, in general terms. The commissioners required farther satisfaction and security from him; and the majority of them were for a war: but their proceedings were interrupted by a declaration from the Massachusetts, implying, "That no determination of the commissioners, though they should all agree, should bind the general court to join in an offensive war which should appear to such general court to be unjust." This declaration occasioned such difficulties between the general court of the Massachusetts, and the commissioners of the three other colonies at the next meeting, as threatened a dissolution of the confederacy, which appears to have been prevented only by the inferiority of the other colonies to the Massachusetts, and their inability to stand alone.

Oliver Cromwell complied with the request from New Haven, but the ships did not arrive at Boston until the latter end of May, when the governor called the assembly, which met the 9th of June, and immediately came into the following resolution: "The general court having received and perused a letter from his Highness the Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, full of great and favourable respect to this colony, which they desire to keep in grateful remembrance; and shall be ready at all times, wherein they may with safety to the liberty of their consciences, public peace and welfare, to their utmost to attend to his Highness's pleasure. This court therefore declares, That though they understand the colony is not in such a capacity as may be apprehended to send forth such numbers of men, as might vigorously assist in that undertaking, yet do freely consent and give liberty to his Highness's commissioners, Major Robert Sedgewick, and John Captain Leveret, to raise within our jurisdiction the number of five hundred volunteers, to assist them in their enterprise against the Dutch."

The ships had so long a passage, that advice of the peace with the Dutch, concluded in April 1654, arrived before they could proceed upon the intended hostilities.

The Massachusetts complied at last to extirpate the Dutch, notwithstanding their former scruples concerning the legality of it: but there must have been some singular reasons which induced them to be so backward in joining with the other colonies. They might not foresee at that time what has happened since, "That the neighbourhood of the colonies of different nations would one time or other engage the powers of Europe in their respective annoyance and defence." Without this, they had nothing to fear from either Dutch or French, because the English were

were ten times as numerous as both, and continually increasing in much greater proportion than either of the other, who could create no formidable apprehensions from their interior force.

The Dutch took Fort Christina from the Swedes in 1655; upon which Stuyvesant issued a proclamation in favour of such of the inhabitants as would submit to the new government; and about thirty Swedes swore allegiance to the Dutch, who sent the rest to Europe. The Swedes being thus almost extirpated, the Dutch became possessed of the west side of Delaware Bay, now called the Three Lower Counties in Pennsylvania; which country was afterwards under the command of lieutenant-governors, subject to the director-general at New Amsterdam. Johan Paul Jaquet was the first vice-director, or lieutenant-governor, of South River. His successors were Alricks, Hinojosa, and William Beckman, whose posterity remains there to this day. These lieutenants had power to grant lands, and their patents make a part of the ancient titles of the present possessors.

Oliver Cromwell died of a fever on the 3d of September 1658*, and was succeeded as protector by his son Richard Cromwell, who ordered instructions to be drawn up, and recommendatory letters to be sent to the English colonies, for the expulsion of the Dutch from New Netherlands; but this work was reserved for King Charles II.

In 1659, fresh troubles arose from the Maryland claim to the lands on South River; and in 1660, proposals were made to open a commerce with Virginia. Governor Stuyvesant was a faithful servant of the West India company, which is sufficiently proved by his letters to them, exciting their care of the colony. In one, dated April 20, 1660, which is very long and pathetic, he writes, "Your honours imagine that the troubles in England will prevent any attempt on these parts; alas! they are ten to one in number to us, and are able, without any assistance, to deprive us of the country when they please."

The Dutch were the first who had felt the arms of England after the death of Charles I. and they were now to feel the power of Charles II. who was jealous of the Dutch commercial acquisitions, and convinced that commerce is the natural support of a maritime state. The king had received the greatest marks of civility from the Dutch during his exile; but he hated the Louvestein or aristocratic faction,

* Rapin, vol. ii. p. 606.

which prevailed in the commonwealth, and deprived the house of Orange of its ancient authority. The Duke of York wanted an opportunity of distinguishing himself in war; and the nation in general, as well as the parliament, were for curbing the insolence of the Dutch.

The king, in 1662, renewed the treaty of 1659 with the States General, who concluded an alliance with France the same year; while the English complained of some depredations committed by the Dutch, and particularly of two ships which had been plundered by them in the East Indies. It was pretended that the damage sustained by these depredations amounted to about 800,000*l.* but that report was only to inflame the nation; while the king sent Sir Robert Holmes, with a squadron of fourteen ships, to the coast of Africa, where he drove the Dutch from their settlements*; and soon after another expedition was set on foot to expel the Dutch from New Netherlands.

Before this expedition, the king granted a patent, on the 12th of March 1664, to his brother the Duke of York and Albany, for sundry tracts of land in America; the boundaries of which, because they have given rise to important and animated debates, it may not be improper to transcribe, as follows:

“All that part of the main land of New England, beginning at a certain place called or known by the name of St. Croix, next adjoining to New Scotland in America, and from thence extending along the sea-coast, unto a certain place called Pemaquie, or Pemequid, and so up the river thereof, to the farthest head of the same as it tendeth northward; and extending from thence to the river of Kimbsquin, and so upward, by the shortest course, to the river Canada northward: and also all that island or islands, commonly called by the several name or names of Meitowacks, or Long Island, situate and being toward the west of Cape Cod, and the Narrow † Higanfetta, abutting upon the main land between the two rivers there, called or known by the several names of Connecticut and Hudson's River; together also with the said river called Hudson's River; and all the land from the west side of Connecticut River to the east side of Delaware Bay; and also all those several islands, called or known by the names of Martin's Vineyard, or Nantuck's, otherwise Nantucket.”

* Rapin, vol. ii. p. 636.

† The Narraganset River or Bay, as described in the Connecticut charter. It is also called the Narraganset Bay in the charter granted to Rhode Island.

Part of this tract was conveyed by his royal highness the Duke, to John Lord Berkley, baron of Stratton, and Sir George Carteret of Saltrum in Devonshire, who were then members of the king's council. The lease was for the consideration of ten shillings, and dated the 23d of June 1664: And the release was dated the next day; but mentions no particular sum of money, as a consideration for the grant of the lands, which have the following description:

"All that tract of land adjacent to New England, and lying and being to the westward of Long Island, and bounded on the East part by the main sea, and partly by Hudson's River; and hath upon the west Delaware Bay or River; and extendeth southward to the main ocean as far as Cape May, at the mouth of Delaware Bay; and to the northward as far as the northernmost branch of the said bay or river of Delaware, which is $41^{\circ} 40'$ of latitude; which said tract of land is hereafter to be called by the name, or names, of Nova Caesarea, or New Jersey."

Thus the New Netherlands became divided into New Jersey, so called after the Isle of Jersey, in compliment to Sir George Carteret, whose family came from thence; and New York, which took its name in honour of the Duke of York.

The Dutch inhabitants, by the vigilance of their governor, were not unapprised of the designs of the English court against them; for their records testify, that, on the 8th of July, "The general received intelligence, from one Thomas Willet an Englishman, that an expedition was preparing in England, against this place, consisting of two frigates of forty and fifty guns, with a fly-boat of forty guns; having on board 300 soldiers, and each frigate 150 men; and that they then lay at Portsmouth waiting for a wind." News arrived also from Boston that they had already set sail: the burgomasters were thereupon called into council; the fortrefs ordered to be put into the best state of defence; and spies sent to Milford for intelligence.

The government at Boston was in the secret of the expedition, and voted a supply of provisions toward refreshing the ships on their arrival. This expedition was entrusted to the command of Sir Robert Carr, who had with him Colonel Richard Nicolls, George Carteret, Esq; and Samuel Maverick, Esq; who were all joined in commission to visit the English plantations, and drive the Dutch out of theirs.

HISTORY OF BRITISH AMERICA.

War was not openly declared by England against Holland until the 2d of March 1665; but Sir Robert Carr arrived with his forces in North America on the 20th of July preceding. The ships rendezvoused in New England, from thence they sailed to Hudson's River, and appeared before New Amsterdam on the 19th of August 1664, when the Dutch governor sent a letter to the English commanders requiring to know the meaning of their visit. This letter was answered by Colonel Nicolls with a summons to surrender the place.

The Dutch governor was a good soldier, and being determined upon defensive measures, though he was opposed by many of the inhabitants, he wrote a long letter in answer to the summons, in which he entered into the merits of the Dutch claims, and the English pretensions.

While the Dutch governor and council were contending with the burgomasters and people in the city, the English commissioners published a proclamation in the country, encouraging the inhabitants to submit, promising them the king's protection: and as soon as they discovered, by Stuyvesant's letter, that he was averse to the surrender, officers were sent to beat up for volunteers in Middleborough, Vlissen, Jamaica, and Hampstead. A warrant was also issued to Hugh Hide, who commanded the squadron, to prosecute the reduction of the fort; and an English ship then trading there was pressed into the service. These preparations induced Stuyvesant to write another letter, on the 25th of August old style, wherein, though he declares that he would stand the storm, yet, to prevent the spilling of blood, he had sent deputies to consult, if possible, an accommodation. Colonel Nicolls, who knew the disposition of the people, answered immediately from Gravesend, that he would treat about nothing but a surrender. The Dutch governor, the next day, agreed to a treaty and surrender; on condition, the English and Dutch limits in America were settled by the Crown and the States General. The commissioners on both sides met at the governor's farm, and there signed the articles of capitulation.

These articles, favourable as they were to the inhabitants, were however very disagreeable to the Dutch governor; and he therefore refused to ratify them till two days after they were signed by the commissioners.

The town of New Amsterdam, upon the reduction of the Island Monhattons, took the name of New York. It consisted of several small streets, laid out in the year 1656; and was not inconsiderable for the number of its houses and inhabitants. The easy terms of the capitulation

tulation promised their peaceable subjection to the new government; and hence we find, that, in two days after the surrender, the Boston aid was dismissed with the thanks of the commissioners to the general court. Hudson's and the South River were however still to be reduced. Sir Robert Carr commanded the expedition on Delaware; and Carteret was commissioned to subdue the Dutch at Fort Orange. The garrison capitulated on the 24th of September, and he called it Albany, in honour of the duke. While Carteret was here he had an interview with the Indians of the Five Nations, and entered into a league of friendship with them, which remarkably continues to this day. Sir Robert Carr was equally successful on South River; for he compelled both the Dutch and Swedes to capitulate, and deliver up their garrisons on the 1st of October 1664, and that was the day on which the whole New Netherlands became subject to the English crown. Very few of the inhabitants thought proper to remove out of the country: Governor Stuyvesant himself held his estate, and died here; his remains were interred in a chapel, which he had erected on his own farm, at a small distance from the city, now or late possessed by his grandson Gerardus Stuyvesant, a man of probity, who was elected into the magistracy above thirty years successively*.

In fact, the descendants of the Dutch planters are perhaps exceeded by none of his majesty's subjects, for a pure attachment to the protestant religion, and for loyalty to the present reigning family.

Colonel Nicolls, being now possessed of the country, took the government upon him, under the stile of deputy-governor under his Royal Highness the Duke of York, of all his territories in America. He passed a great number of grants and confirmations of the ancient Dutch patents, the profits of which must have been very considerable. Besides the chief command of the province, Colonel Nicolls had a joint power with Sir Robert Carr, Carteret, and Maverick, to settle the contested boundaries of certain patents. They had, in particular, a conference with several gentlemen from Connecticut respecting the limits of both colonies, wherein Long Island was adjudged to be under the government of New York.

At the time of this determination about two-thirds of Long Island were possessed by people from New England, who had gradually en-

* S. Smith's History of New Jersey, p. 46. W. Smith's History of New York, p. 24.

croached upon the Dutch : but as to the settlement between New York and Connecticut on the main, it has always been considered by the former as founded upon ignorance and fraud. A great dispute between the inhabitants of Jamaica on Long Island, which was adjusted by Colonel Nicolls on the 2d of January 1665, occasioned a salutary institution, which has in part obtained ever since.

The controversy respected Indian deeds, and thenceforth it was ordained, that no purchase from the Indians should be valid without a licence from the governor, and executed in his presence. The strength and number of the natives made it necessary to purchase their rights ; and it was expedient, to prevent their frequent selling the same tract, that the bargain should be attended with some solemnity. In March following, there was a convention at Hempstead, before the governor, of two deputies from every town on Long Island, impowered to bind their constituents : but the design of this meeting was to adjust the limits of their townships, for the preservation of the public peace. Colonel Nicolls was also attentive to a gradual introduction of the English methods of government ; yet it was not until the 12th of June 1665 that he incorporated the inhabitants of New York under the care of a mayor, five aldermen, and a sheriff. The city had been hitherto governed by a scout, burgomasters, and scheizens, in the Dutch manner ; but now it became regulated according to the English way.

The Dutch left the English in quiet possession of New York during the war, which was ended by the treaty of peace concluded at Breda on the 21st July 1667. The Dutch having been expelled from New York by the English, who had also been driven out of Surinam by the Dutch ; New York was now ceded to his Britannic Majesty, and Surinam to the States ; which was the only advantage that England acquired by the war ; nor was it inconsiderable, as New York has since proved of the utmost utility to Great Britain*.

Colonel Nicolls returned to England after an administration of three years ; and the time during his government was principally taken up in confirming the ancient grants to the Dutch. He erected no courts of justice, but took upon himself the sole decision of all controversies. Complaints came before him by petition ; upon which he gave a day to the parties, and, after a summary hearing, pronounced judgment. His

* Rapin, vol. ii. p. 646. The Case of Jeronamy Clifford, p. 3-10.

determinations were called edicts, and executed by the sheriffs he had appointed. It is much to his honour, that, notwithstanding all this plenitude of power, he governed the province with moderation and integrity.

The Duke of York appointed Colonel Lovelace to succeed Colonel Nicolls in the government of New York; but the war was renewed between England and Holland in 1672†, and, on the 30th of July 1673, a squadron of Dutch ships arrived under Staten Island, near the city of New York. John Manning, captain of an independent company, had then the command of the fort, which he treacherously surrendered to the enemy, who entered the garrison without opposition, and held a council of war at the stadt-houfe. All the magistrates and constables from East Jersey, Long Island, Esopus, and Albany, were immediately summoned to New York, where the major part of them swore allegiance to the States General; and Colonel Lovelace was ordered to depart the province, but afterward obtained permission to return to England with Commodore Benkes. It has frequently been insisted on, that this conquest did not extend to the whole province of New Jersey; but it appears from the Dutch records, that deputies were sent by the people inhabiting the country, even so far westward as Delaware River, who made a declaration of their submission in the name of their principals; in return for which, certain privileges were granted to them, and three judicatories erected at Niewer, Amstel, Upland, and Hoer Kill.

The Dutch governor enjoyed his office but for a little time; for, on the 9th of February 1674, the treaty of peace between England and Holland was signed at Westminster; by the sixth article of which this province was restored to the English in the following general terms: "That whatsoever countries, islands, towns, ports, castles, or forts, have or shall be taken on both sides, either in Europe or elsewhere, shall be restored to the former lord and proprietor, in the same condition they shall be in when the peace shall be proclaimed ‡."

† Rapin, p. 662. "The Dutch neglected to perform the capitulation for Surinam; and this occasioned another war between England and Holland in 1672; which was followed by a treaty of peace between both nations, signed at Westminster the 19th of February 1674; whereby the treaty of Breda was confirmed." Clifford's Cases, p. 10.

‡ Rapin, vol. ii. p. 675. Collection of Treaties, vol. iii. p. 280.

After this, the Duke of York obtained a patent from his brother for the lands granted in 1664; and then appointed Sir Edmond Andros Governor, who immediately called a court-martial to try Captain John Manning for his treacherous and cowardly surrender of the fort in the city of New York. The charge was fully proved in six articles exhibited against the delinquent, yet his punishment was not suitable to his crime. This is no proof, however, that Sir Edmond was a man of a merciful disposition; for the historians of New England, where he was afterwards governor, justly transmit him to posterity under the odious character of a sycophantic tool to the duke, and an arbitrary tyrant over the people committed to his care*.

The province, however, increased with its trade, of which he had not intirely the government. The principal course of his public proceedings was spent in the ordinary acts of government, which then chiefly consisted in passing grants to the subjects, and presiding in the court of assize.

In the year 1675, Nicholas Renslaer, a Dutch clergyman, arrived at New York, where he claimed the manor of Renslaerwick, an extensive tract, by the Dutch called a colony; "for it is an oblong, extending twenty-four miles upon Hudson's River, and as many on each side." Mr. Renslaer was recommended by the Duke to Sir Edmond, for a living in one of the churches at New York in Albany, probably to serve the popish cause; although another reason has been assigned for the favour he met with from the crown. It is said, that while Charles II. was an exile, this Dutchman predicted the day of his restoration: the people of Albany had a high opinion of his prophetic spirit, and many strange tales about him still prevail there. The minister was opposed because he had received an episcopal ordination; and the governor was attached to him in this controversy, which became provincially general, until the governor referred the matter to the determination of the consistory of the Dutch court at Albany.

Sir Edmond, near the close of his administration, thought proper to quarrel with Mr. Philip Carteret, who, in 1680, exercised the government of New Jersey under a commission from Sir George Carteret, dated the 31st of July 1675. Andros disputed his right, seized his person,

* W. Smith, p. 33. S. Smith, p. 77.

and brought him prisoner to New York; "for which, it is said, he lost his own government: but whoever considers that Sir Edmond was immediately preferred to be governor of Boston, will rather believe that the Duke superseded him for some other reasons."

The Duke of York preferred Colonel Thomas Dongan to the government of this province on the 30th of September 1682; but he did not arrive there until the 27th of August following. "He was a man of integrity, moderation, and genteel manners; and, though a professed papist, may be classed among the best of our governors *." The people had been formerly ruled at the despotic will of deputies under the Duke, who was petitioned, in 1681, by the council, the aldermen of New York, and the justices of peace, at the court of assize, against such proceedings. In consequence thereof, they began their first participation in the legislative power under Colonel Dongan, shortly after whose arrival, orders were issued to the sheriffs to summon freeholders for choosing representatives, to meet him in assembly on the 17th of October 1683. Nothing could be more agreeable to the Colonists, whether Dutch or English, who were born the subjects of a free state; nor was the change of less advantage to the Duke than to the inhabitants, who transmitted a dutiful and grateful address to his Royal Highness upon so interesting an affair.

Colonel Dongan surpassed his predecessors in a due attention to the colony affairs with the Indians, by whom he was highly esteemed. It should also be remembered to his honour, that though he was ordered by the Duke to encourage the French priests, who were come to reside among the natives under pretence of advancing the popish cause, but in reality to gain them over to the French interest, yet he forbade the Five Nations to entertain them. The Jesuits, however, had no small success. Their proselytes were called Praying Indians, or Caghnuagacs, and took up their residence at the fall of St. Lewis, opposite to Montreal. It was also owing to the instigation of these priests that the Five Nations committed hostilities on the back parts of Maryland and Virginia, which occasioned a grand convention at Albany in the year 1684. Francis Lord Howard of Effingham, the governor-general of Virginia, was present, and concluded a treaty with them for preventing further depredations; toward the accomplishment of which, Colonel Dongan was very instrumental, and Doctor Colden has published this treaty at large.

While Lord Howard was at Albany, a messenger from M. De la Barre, then governor of Canada, arrived there, to complain of the

* Smith's History of New York, p. 34.

Senneca Indians, for interrupting the French in their trade with the Indians of the Five Nations; by whom were meant all those numerous tribes inhabiting the countries on both sides of the Lakes Huron and Erie, westward, as far as the Mississippi, and the southern country along the banks of the Ohio and its branches. Colonel Dongan, to whom the message was sent, communicated it to the Sennecas, who admitted the charge, but justified their conduct; alleging, that the French supplied arms and ammunition to the Twightwiea, with whom they were then at war.

The French governor, at the same time, made great preparations to invade the Five Nations, and totally extirpate them: but governor Dongan apprised the Indians of the French designs, which proved abortive by that intelligence, and De la Barre found it necessary to conclude the campaign with a treaty, for which purpose he crossed Lake Ontario to meet the Indian chiefs.

De la Barre was succeeded by the Marquis De Nonville, colonel of the dragoons, who arrived, in 1685, with a reinforcement of troops. The marquis was a man of courage, and an enterprising spirit; therefore he made a potent invasion upon the Five Nations, who repulsed him with considerable loss.

Soon after this expedition, Colonel Dongan met the Five Nations at Albany; and, in his negotiation with them, shewed his vigilance and zeal for the interest of his master, and the common weal of the province committed to his care. He reprimanded them for their breach of faith with Virginia; ordered them to restore the prisoners they had taken; and recommended to them not to suffer their people to be drunk during the war.

Not long after this interview, a considerable party of Mohawks and Mahikanders, or River Indians, beset Fort Chambly, burnt several houses, and returned with many captives to Albany. Forty Onondagas, about the same time, surprized a few soldiers near Fort Frontenac, whom they confined, instead of some Indians sent home to the galleys by the French, notwithstanding the utmost address was used to regain them by Lamberville, a French priest, who delivered them two belts to engage their kindness to the prisoners, and prevent their joining the quarrel with the Sennecas. The belts being sent to Colonel Dongan, he wrote to De Nonville to demand the reason of their being delivered. Pere le

Vaillant

Vaillant was sent to New York about the beginning of the year 1688, under colour of bringing an answer, but in reality as a spy. Colonel Dongan told him, that no peace could be made with the Five Nations, unless the Indians sent to the galleys, and the Caghnuaga proselytes, were returned to their respective cantons, the forts at Niagara and Frontenac razed, and the Sennecas had satisfaction made them for the damage they had sustained. The Jesuit, in his return, was ordered not to visit the Mohawks.

Dongan, who was fully sensible of the importance of the Indian interest to the English colonies, was for compelling the French to apply to him in all their affairs with the Five Nations; while they, on the other hand, were for treating with them independent of the English. For this reason, among others, he refused them the assistance they frequently required, till they acknowledged the dependence of the confederates on the English crown.

An indignity upon the rights of ambassadors, the truth of which they did not in the least doubt, animated the confederates to the keenest thirst after revenge; and accordingly 1200 of their men, on the 26th of July 1688, landed on the south side of the Island of Montreal, while the French appeared in perfect security, burnt their houses, sacked their plantations, and put to the sword all the men, women, and children, without the skirts of the town. A thousand French were slain in this invasion, and twenty-six carried into captivity and burnt alive. Many more were made prisoners in another attack in October, and the lower part of the island wholly destroyed. Only three of the confederates were lost in all this scene of misery and desolation *.

Never before did Canada sustain such a heavy blow. The news of this attack on Montreal no sooner reached the garrison at the Lake Ontario, than they set fire to the two barks which they had built there, and abandoned the fort, leaving a match to twenty-eight barrels of powder, designed to blow up the works. The soldiers went down the river in such precipitation that one of the battoes and her crew were lost in shooting a fall. The Confederates, in the mean time, seized the fort, the powder, and the stores; and of all the French allies, who were vastly numerous, only the Nepicirinians and Kikabous adhered to them in their calamities. The Utawawas and several other nations instantly made peace with the

* Colden, l. 91.

W. Smith, p. 57.

English; and, but for the uncommon sagacity and address of the Sieur Perot, the western Indians would have murdered every Frenchman among them. Nor did the distresses of the Canadians end here; for numerous scouts from the Five Nations continually infested their borders. The frequent depredations that were made, prevented them from the cultivation of their fields, and a distressing famine raged through the whole country. Nothing but the ignorance of the Indians in the art of attacking fortified places saved Canada from being now utterly cut off. It was therefore very fortunate to the French that the Indians had no assistance from the English, and as unfortunate to the English that their colonies were then incapable of affording succours to the Confederates.

While these things were transacting in Canada, a scene of the greatest importance was opening at New York, where a general disaffection to the government prevailed among the people. Papists began to settle in the colony under the smiles of the governor. The collector of the revenues, and several principal officers, threw off the mask, and openly avowed their attachment to the doctrines of Rome. A Latin school was set up, and the teacher strongly suspected for a Jesuit. The people of Long Island, who were disappointed in their expectation of large privileges promised by the governor on his arrival, were become his personal enemies; and the whole body of the people trembled for the protestant cause. Here the leaven of opposition first began to work. Their intelligence from England of the designs there in favour of the Prince of Orange blew up the coals of discontent, and elevated the hopes of the disaffected: But no man dared to spring in action, till after the rupture in Boston, where governor Andros was imprisoned and sent to England. Upon the news of this event, several captains of the New York militia convened themselves to concert measures in favour of the prince of Orange; and, among these, Jacob Leisler was the most active. He was a man in tolerable esteem among the people, and of a moderate fortune, but destitute of every qualification necessary for the enterprize. Milborne, his son-in-law, an Englishman, directed all his councils, while Leisler as absolutely influenced the other officers.

The first thing they contrived was to seize the garrison in New York; and the custom at that time of guarding it every night by the militia gave Leisler a fine opportunity of executing the design. He entered it with forty-nine men, and determined to hold it till the whole militia should join him. Colonel Dongan, who was about to leave the province, then lay embarked in the bay, having a little before resigned the government

government to Francis Nicholson the lieutenant-governor. The council, civil officers, and magistrates of the city, were against Leisler, and therefore many of his friends were at first fearful of openly espousing a cause disapproved by the gentlemen of figure. For this reason, Leisler's first declaration in favour of the Prince of Orange was subscribed only by a few among several companies of the trained bands. While the people, for four days successively, were in the utmost perplexity to determine what part to choose, being solicited by Leisler on the one hand, and threatened by the lieutenant-governor on the other, the town was alarmed with a report that three ships were coming up with orders from the Prince of Orange. This falsehood was very seasonably propagated to serve the interest of Leisler, for, on that day, the 3d of June 1689, his party was increased by the addition of six captains and 400 men in New York, and a company of 70 men from East Chester, who all subscribed a second declaration, mutually covenanting to hold the fort for the prince. Colonel Dongan continued till this time in the harbour, waiting the issue of these commotions; and Nicholson's party, being now unable to contend with their opponents, were totally dispersed, the lieutenant-governor himself absconding the very night after the last declaration was signed.

Leisler being now in complete possession of the fort, sent home an address to King William and Queen Mary as soon as he received the news of their accession to the throne. It is a tedious, incorrect, ill-drawn narrative of the grievances which the people had endured, and the methods lately taken to secure themselves, ending with a recognition of the sovereignty of the king and queen over the whole English dominions. This address was soon followed by a private letter from Leisler to King William, which, in very broken English, informs his Majesty of the state of the garrison, the repairs he had made to it, and the temper of the people; concluding with strong protestations of his sincerity, loyalty, and zeal. Jost Stoll, an ensign, on the delivery of this letter to the king, had the honour to kiss his Majesty's hand; but Nicholson the lieutenant-governor, and one Ennis, an episcopal clergyman, arrived in England before him; and, by falsely representing the late measures in New York, as proceeding rather from their aversion to the church of England, than zeal for the Prince of Orange, Leisler and his party missed the rewards and notice which their activity for the Revolution justly deserved. For, though the king made Stoll the bearer of his thanks to the people for their fidelity, he so little regarded Leisler's complaints against Nicholson, that he was soon after preferred

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to the government of Virginia. Dongan returned to Ireland, and it is said succeeded to the earldom of Limerick.

Leisler's sudden investiture with supreme power over the province, and the probable prospects of King William's approbation of his conduct, could not but excite the envy and jealousy of the late council and magistrates, who had refused to join in the glorious work of the Revolution; and hence the spring of all their aversions both to the man and his measures. He continued however to exercise the administration of the colony until a packet arrived with a letter from the Lords Carmarthen, Halifax, and others, directed to Francis Nicholson, Esq; or, in his absence, to such as for the time being take care for preserving the peace and administering the laws in their Majesties province of New York in America. This letter was dated the 29th of July, and was accompanied with another from Lord Nottingham, dated the next day, which, after empowering Nicholson to take upon him the chief command, and to appoint for his assistants as many of the principal freeholders and inhabitants as he should think fit, required him also "to do every thing appertaining to the office of lieutenant-governor, according to the laws and customs of New York, until further orders."

Nicholson being absconded when this packet came to hand, Leisler considered the letter as directed to himself, and from this time issued all kinds of commissions in his own name, assumed the title, as well as authority, of lieutenant-governor, and formed a council.

The people of Albany, in the mean time, were determined to hold the garrison and city for King William, independent of Leisler; and, on the 26th of October, which was before the packet arrived from Lord Nottingham, formed themselves into a convention for that purpose.

Taking it for granted that Leisler at New York, and the Convention at Albany, were equally affected to the Revolution, nothing could be more egregiously foolish than the conduct of both parties, who, by their intestine divisions, threw the province into convulsions, and sowed the seeds of mutual hatred and animosity; which, for a long time after, greatly embarrassed the publick affairs of the colony. When Albany declared for the Prince of Orange, there was nothing else that Leisler could properly require: and rather than sacrifice the publick peace of the province to the trifling honour of resisting a man who had no evil designs, Albany ought in prudence to have delivered the garrison into his

his hands till the king's definitive orders should arrive. But while Leister, on the one hand, was inebriated with his new-gotten power; so, on the other, Mr Schuyler and the rest could not submit to the authority of a man, as mean in his abilities, as inferior in his degree.

Jacob Milborne was commissioned for the reduction of Albany, where the fort was commanded by Mr. Schuyler, who intimidated Milborne from making any attempt at that time: but in the spring he commanded another party, and got possession of the garrison. The principal members of the Convention absconded, and their effects were arbitrarily seized and confiscated; which so highly exasperated the sufferers, that their posterity, to this day, cannot speak of these troubles without the bitterest invectives against Leister and all his adherents.

In the midst of those intestine confusions at New York, the inhabitants of New England were engaged in a war with the Eastern Indians; which gave rise to a conference between several commissioners from Boston, Plymouth, and Connecticut, and the Five Nations, at Albany, in September 1689*, the former endeavouring to engage the latter against those Eastern Indians, who were then at war with the New England colonies, and were supported by the French.

The Five Nations had received four messengers from the Eastern Indians, which gave the people of New England such disagreeable apprehensions, that they were desirous to know what reception was given to these messengers.

The Five Nations answered by Tahajadoris, a Mohawk Sachem, who made a long oration; and, however improbable it may seem to Europeans, repeated all that had been said the preceding day. The art they have in assisting their memories is as follows:

"The Sachem, who presides at these conferences, has a bundle of small sticks in his hand; and as soon as the speaker has finished any one article of his speech, this Sachem gives a stick to another Sachem, who is particularly to remember that article; and so, when another article is finished, he gives a stick to another, to take care of that other, and so on. In like manner, when the speaker answers, each of these has the particular care of the answer resolved on to each article, and prompts the orator, when his memory fails him, in the article com-

* Colden, I. 101. 106.

mitted to his charge. By this means the orator, after a previous conference with the Indians, is prepared to repeat every part of the message, and give it a proper reply †.

This conference did not answer the expectation of the New England agents, as the Five Nations were unwilling to join in hostilities against the Eastern Indians; but they were ready to distress the French, against whom the English lately had declared war.

Tahajadoris told the commissioners, that "the Indians had patiently suffered many injuries from the French, before they took up the hatchet against them: That the patience of the Indians made the governor of Canada think they were afraid of him, and durst not resent those injuries; but he was deceived: for the Indians were resolved never to drop the hatchet, and would never be reconciled while one Frenchman was alive."

That part of the speech intended to ratify their friendship with the English colonies, was singularly expressed as follows:

"We have spoken what we had to say of the war; we now come to the affairs of peace. We promise to preserve the chain inviolably, and wish that the sun may always shine in peace over all our heads that are comprehended in this chain †. We give two belts; one for the sun, the other for its beams. We make fast the roots of the tree of peace and tranquillity, which is planted in this place. Its root extends as far as the utmost of your colonies. If the French should come to shake this tree, we should feel it by the motion of its roots, which extend into our country: But we trust it will not be in the governor of Canada's power to shake this tree, which has been so firmly and so long planted with us §.

The magistrates of Albany had a private conference with the Sachems of the Five Nations, and desired to know their resolutions as to the war

• Colden, I. 107.

† W. Smith, p. 64.

‡ "The Indians conception of the league between them and us is couched under the idea of a chain extended from a ship to a tree; and every renewal of this league they call brightening the chain." Smith, p. 64.

§ Colden, I. 109.

with Canada, and the measures they resolved to pursue. In this conference the Indians saw that the people of Albany were so much afraid of the French that their spirits were sunk under the apprehensions of the approaching war; and for this reason made the following answer:

"We have 140 men out skulking about Canada; and it is impossible for the French to attempt any thing without being discovered and harassed by these parties. If the French shall attempt any thing this way, all the Five Nations shall come to your assistance, for our brethren and we are but one, and we will live and die together. We have desired a hundred men of our brethren of Boston to assist us here, because this place is most exposed: But if the governor of Canada is so strong as to overcome us all united together, then he must be our master, and is not to be resisted; yet we have confidence in a good and just cause; for the Great God of Heaven knows how deceitfully the French have dealt with us: their arms can have no success. The Great God hath sent us signs in the sky to confirm this. We have heard uncommon noises, and have seen heads fall down upon earth, which we look upon as a certain preface of the destruction of the French. Take courage!" On this they all immediately joined in singing, and crying out, "Courage! Courage!"

Nothing could have been more advantageous to the British Colonies, and especially New York, than the late success of the Five Nations against Canada. The miseries, to which the French were reduced, rendered the British Colonists secure against their inroads, till the work of the Revolution was almost accomplished; and to their distressed condition must be principally ascribed a defeat of the French design, about that time, to conquer this province.

Among other measures to detach the Five Nations from the British interest, and raise the depressed spirit of the Canadians, the Count de Frontenac thought proper to send out several parties against the English Colonies. D'Aillebout, De Mantel, and Le Moyne, commanded that against New York, consisting of about 200 French, and some Caghnuaga Indians. Their orders were, in general, to attack New York; but, pursuing the advice of the Indians, they resolved, instead of Albany, to surprise Schenectady, a village seventeen miles north-west from it, and about the same distance from the Mohawks. The people of Schenectady, though they had been informed of the designs of the

• Colden, 2. 118.

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enemy, were in the greatest security; judging it impracticable for any men to march several hundred miles, in the depth of the winter, through the snow, bearing their provisions on their backs. Beside, the village was in as much confusion as the rest of the province; the officers, who were posted there, being unable to preserve a regular watch, or any kind of military order. Such was the state of Schenectady, as represented by Colonel Schuyler, who was at that time mayor of the city of Albany, and at the head of the Convention. A copy of his letter to the neighbouring colonies, concerning this descent upon Schenectady, dated the 15th of February 1689-90, is now extant under his own hand. After two and twenty days march, the enemy fell in with Schenectady, on the 8th of February; and were reduced to such straits, that they had thoughts of surrendering themselves prisoners of war. But their scouts, who were a day or two in the village intirely unsuspected, returned with such encouraging accounts of the absolute security of the people, that the enemy determined on the attack. They entered on Saturday night, about eleven o'clock, at the gates, which were found unshut; and, that every house might be invested at the same time, divided into small parties of six or seven men. The inhabitants were in a profound sleep, and unalarmed till their doors were broke open. Never were people in a more wretched consternation. Before they were risen from their beds the enemy entered their houses, and began the perpetration of the most inhuman barbarities. No tongue, says Colonel Schuyler, can express the cruelties that were committed. The whole village was instantly in a blaze. Women with child ripped open, and their infants cast into the flames, or dashed against the posts of the doors. Sixty persons perished in the massacre, and twenty-seven were carried into captivity. The rest fled naked toward Albany, through a deep snow which fell that very night in a terrible storm; and twenty-five of these fugitives lost their limbs in the flight through the severity of the frost. The news of this dreadful tragedy reached Albany about break of day; and universal dread seized the inhabitants of that city, the enemy being reported to be 1400 strong. A party of horse was immediately dispatched to Schenectady, and a few Mohawks then in town, fearful of being intercepted, were with difficulty sent to apprise their own castles.

The Mohawks were unacquainted with this bloody scene till two days after it happened; the English messengers being scarce able to travel through the great depth of snow. The enemy, in the mean time, pillaged the town of Schenectady till noon the next day; and then went off with their plunder, and about forty of their best horses. The rest, with all the cattle they could find, lay slaughtered in the streets.

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The design of the French, in this attack, was to alarm the fears of the English Indian allies, by shewing that the English were incapable of defending them. Every art also was used to conciliate their friendship; for they not only spared those Mohawks who were found in Schenectady, but several other particular persons, in compliment to the Indians, who requested that favour. Several women and children were also released at the desire of Captain Glen, to whom the French offered no violence; the officer declaring he had strict orders against it, on the score of his wife's civilities to certain French captives in the time of Colonel Dongan.

The Mohawks, considering the cajoling acts of the French, and that the Caghnuagas, who were with them, were once a part of their own body, behaved as well as could be reasonably expected. They joined a party of young men from Albany, fell upon the rear of the enemy, and either killed or captivated five and twenty. Several Sachems, in the mean time, came to Albany, and very affectingly addressed the inhabitants, who were just ready to abandon the country, urging their stay, and exciting an union of all the English Colonies against Canada.

The Indians soon after treated the Chevalier D'Eau, and the rest of the French messengers, who came to conclude the peace proposed by Taweraket, with the utmost indignity; and afterwards delivered them up to the English. Beside this, their scouts harassed the borders of the enemy; but what rendered this year most remarkable was the expedition of Sir William Phipps, which has already been mentioned.

Anterior to the Revolution in England, many controversies arose in New York relating to public townships and private rights. It had been a subject of animated debate, whether the people in this colony had a right to be represented in assembly; or whether it was a privilege enjoyed through the grace of the crown? but it was generally understood in the former light, and so virtually declared upon that and several other of the principal and distinguishing liberties of Englishmen.

Colonel Henry Sloughter arrived as governor on the 19th of March 1691, though his commission was dated the 4th of January 1689.

The new governor compelled Leisler to surrender the fort, imprisoned him and Milborne, whom he tried, convicted, and executed as traitors. Leisler's son afterward carried home a complaint to King William against the governor. His petition was referred, according to the common course of plantation affairs, to the lords commissioners of trade,

who reported, on the 11th of March 1692, "That they were of opinion, that Jacob Leisler and Jacob Milborne deceased, were condemned and had suffered according to law." Their lordships, however, interceded for their families, as fit objects of mercy; which induced Queen Mary, who approved the report, to declare*, "That, upon the humble application of the relations of the said Jacob Leisler and Jacob Milborne deceased, her Majesty would order their estates to be restored to their families, as objects of her Majesty's mercy." The bodies of these unhappy sufferers were afterward taken up, and pompously interred in the old Dutch church in the city of New York. Their estates were restored to their families; and Leisler's children, in the public estimation, are rather dignified, than disgraced, by the fall of their ancestor. These violent measures drove several of the inhabitants into the adjacent colonies; which soon after occasioned the passing an act of general indemnity.

From the surrender of the province to the year 1683, the inhabitants were ruled by the Duke's governors, who made rules and orders, which were esteemed to be binding as laws. These were regularly collected under alphabetical titles in 1674; a fair copy of them remains to this day among the records; and are commonly known by the name of "The Duke's laws."

Those acts which were made in 1683, and after the Duke's accession to the throne, when the people were admitted to a part of the legislative power, are for the most part defaced or lost. Few minutes relating to them remain on the council-books, and none in the journals of the house.

The assembly convened in 1691, was the first after the Revolution, and it may not be improper to take some particular notice of its transactions; because all laws made here, antecedent to this period, are disregarded both by the legislature and the courts of law †.

Before this house proceeded to pass any acts, they unanimously resolved, "That all the laws consented to by the general assembly, under James Duke of York, and the liberties and privileges therein contained,

* On the 17th of March.

† In the collection of their acts, published in 1752, the compilers were directed to begin at this assembly. "The validity of the old grants of the powers of government, in several American colonies, is very much doubted in this province." W. Smith, p. 73.

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granted to the people, and declared to be their rights, not being observed; nor ratified and approved by his royal highness, nor the late king, are null and void, and of none effect: and also the several ordinances, made by the late governors and councils, being contrary to the constitution of England, and the practice of the government of their Majesties other plantations in America, are likewise null and void, and of no effect nor force within this province."

Among the principal laws enacted at this session, it may be proper to mention that for establishing the revenue, which was drawn into precedent. The sums raised by it were made payable into the hands of the receiver-general, and issued by warrant from the governor; by which means his excellency became independent of the people for a time; and hence may be found frequent instances of the assemblies contending with him for the discharge of debts to private persons, contracted on the public faith of the government.

Those distractions which happened in the provinces, so intirely engrossed the public attention, that the Five Nations, who had been left solely to contend with the common enemy, grew disaffected. The Mohawks, in particular, highly resented this conduct; and, at the instance of the Caghnuagae, sent a messenger to Canada to confer with Count Frontenac about a peace. To prevent this, Colonel Sloughter had an interview at Albany, in June, with the other Four Nations, who expressed their joy at seeing a governor again at that place. All the Indians, except the Mohawks, assured the governor, at this meeting, of their resolution to prosecute the war. The Mohawks confessed their negociation with the French, that they had received a belt from Canada, prayed the advice of the governor, and afterward renewed their league with all the English Colonies.

Sloughter soon after returned to New York, and ended a short, weak, and turbulent administration; for he died suddenly on the 23d day of July 1691. Some were not without suspicions that he came unfairly to his end; but the certificate of the physician and surgeons who opened his body, by an order of council, confuted these conjectures, and his remains were interred in Stuyvesant's vault, next to those of the old Dutch governor.

At the time of Sloughter's decease, the government devolved, according to the late act for declaring the rights of the people of this province, on the council, in which Joseph Dudley had a right to preside: but

but they committed the chief command to Richard Ingolsby, a captain of an independent company, who was sworn into the office of president on the 26th of July 1688. Dudley, soon afterward returned to this province from Boston, but did not think proper to dispute Ingolsby's authority, though the latter had no title, nor the greatest abilities for government, and was beside obnoxious to the party who had joined Leisler.

This summer Major Schuyler, with a party of Mohawks, passed through the Lake Champlain, and made a bold irruption upon the French settlements, at the north end of it. De Callieres, the governor of Montreal, to oppose him, collected a small army of 800 men, and encamped at La Prairie. Schuyler had several conflicts with the enemy, and slew about 300 of them, which exceeded in number his whole party. The French, ashamed at their ill success, attributed it to the want of order, too many desiring to have the command. But the true cause was, the ignorance of their officers in the Indian manner of fighting. They kept their men in a body, while the English posted themselves behind trees, hidden from the enemy. Major Schuyler's design, in this descent, was to animate the Indians, and preserve their enmity with the French. They accordingly continued their hostilities against them; and, by frequent incursions, kept the country in constant alarm.

In the midst of these distresses, the French governor preserved his sprightliness and vigour, animating every body about him. After he had served himself of the Utawawas, who came to trade at Montreal, he sent them home under the care of a captain and 110 men; and, to secure their attachment to the French interest, gave them two Indian prisoners; and, beside, sent very considerable presents to the western Indians, in their alliance. The captives were afterwards burnt. The Five Nations, in the mean time, grew more and more incensed, and continually harassed the French borders. An Indian, called Black Kettle, commanded in the incursions of the Five Nations, and his successes, which continued the whole summer, so exasperated the Count, that he ordered an Indian prisoner to be burnt alive. The bravery of this savage was as extraordinary as the torments inflicted on him were cruel.

Colonel Benjamin Fletcher arrived, with a commission to be governor, on the 29th of August 1692, which was published the next day, before the members in council.

Colonel

Colonel Fletcher brought over with him a present to the colony, of arms, ammunition, and warlike stores; in gratitude for which, he exhorted the council and assembly, who were sitting at his arrival, to send home an address of thanks to the king. It consists principally of a representation of the great expence the province was continually at to defend the frontiers, and praying his Majesty's direction, that the neighbouring colonies might be compelled to join their aid for the support of Albany.

Fletcher was by profession a soldier, a man of strong passions, and inconsiderable talents; very active, and equally avaricious. Nothing could be more fortunate to him than his early acquaintance with Major Schuyler, at Albany, at the treaty for confirmation of the Indian alliance, the fall after his arrival. No man, then in this province, understood the state of its affairs with the Five Nations better than Major Schuyler. He had so great an influence over them, that whatever Quider, as they called him, recommended or disapproved, had the force of a law. This power over them was supported, as it had been obtained, by repeated offices of kindness, and his singular bravery and activity in the defence of his country. These qualifications rendered him singularly serviceable and necessary both to the province and the governor. For this reason, Fletcher took him into his confidence, and, on the 25th of October, raised him to the council-board. Under the tutelage of Major Schuyler, the governor became daily more and more acquainted with Indian affairs; his constant application to which procured and preserved him a reputation and influence in the colony.

The old French governor, who found that all his measures for accomplishing a peace with the Five Nations proved abortive, was now meditating a blow on the Mohawks. He accordingly collected an army of 600 or 700 French and Indians, and supplied them with every thing necessary for a winter campaign. They set out from Montreal on the 15th of January 1693, and had a laborious march until the 6th of February, when they passed by Schenectady, and surprized the Mohawk castles, and took about 300 prisoners.

Colonel Schuyler went out against the enemy at the head of 200 militia, who were joined by 300 Indians: but the latter were fearful to engage, and suffered the enemy to depart with little molestation.

Governor Fletcher embarked from New York with 300 volunteers, and arrived at Schenectady on the 17th, which was too late to be of any

any other use than to strengthen the ancient alliance*. But the Indians, in commendation of his activity on this occasion, gave him the name of Cayenquirago, or "The great swift arrow †."

The governor returned to New York, where he met the assembly in the month of March, when he received the thanks of the house for his late vigilance. He met the Five Nations at Albany, in July 1693, with a valuable present of clothing, ammunition, hatchets, and knives, which had been sent over for that purpose by the crown. The Indians consented to a renewal of the ancient league, and expressed their gratitude for the royal donation in the most respectful terms ‡.

His excellency returned to New York, and met a new assembly in September, when James Graham was chosen speaker. The governor endeavoured to procure the establishment of a ministry throughout the colony, a revenue to his Majesty for life, the repairing the fort in New York, and the erection of a chapel. The zeal with which this affair was recommended, induced the house to appoint a committee of eight members, to agree upon a scheme for settling a ministry in each respective precinct throughout the province. It was so warmly contested, that the governor broke up the session with a very angry speech.

Certainly they deserved better usage at his hands; for the revenue was continued five years longer than was originally intended; which was rendering the governor independent of the people for that time; because the assembly had then no treasurer, and the amount of all taxes went of course into the hands of the receiver-general, who was appointed by the crown. Out of this fund monies were only issuable by the governor's warrant; so that every officer in the government became intirely dependent on the governor.

Governor Fletcher and his assembly having come to an open rupture in the spring, he called another in June, of which James Graham was chosen speaker. The Count Frontenac was then repairing the old fort at Cadaraqui, and the intelligence of this, and the king's assignment of the quotas of the several colonies, for an united force, against the French, were the principal matters which the governor laid before the assembly.

* Colden, I. p. 150. 152. † Ibid. ‡ Ibid. p. 161.

As a number of forces were now arrived, the assembly were in hopes the province would be relieved from raising any more men for the defence of the frontiers; and, to obtain this favour of the governor, ordered 1000*l.* to be levied, one half to be presented to him, and the rest he had leave to distribute among the English officers and soldiers. A bill for this purpose was drawn; but though his Excellency thanked them for their favourable intention, he thought it not for his honour to consent to it. After passing several laws, the session broke up in perfect harmony; the governor, in his great grace, recommending it to the house to appoint a committee to examine the public accounts against the next sessions.

In September, Fletcher went up to Albany, with very considerable presents to the Indians; whom he blamed for suffering the French to rebuild the fort at Cadaraqui, or Frontenac, which commanded the entrance from Canada into the great Lake Ontario.

While these works were carrying on, the Dionandadies, who were then poorly supplied by the French, made overtures of a peace with the Five Nations, which the latter readily embraced, because it was owing to their fears of these Indians, who lived near the Lake Michilimakinac, that they never dared to march with their whole strength against Canada. The French commandant was fully sensible of the importance of preventing this alliance. The civilities of the Dionandadies to the prisoners, by whom the treaty, to prevent a discovery, was negotiated, gave the officer the first suspicion of it. One of these wretches had the unhappiness to fall into the hands of the French, who put him to the most exquisite torments, that all future intercourse with the Dionandadies might be cut off.

From the time Colonel Fletcher received his instructions respecting the quotas of these colonies, for the defence of the frontiers, he repeatedly, but in vain, urged their compliance with the king's direction: he then carried his complaints against them home to his Majesty; but all his applications were defeated by the agents of those colonies who resided in England, and there demonstrated the inequality and impropriety of the demand. As soon therefore as he had laid this matter before the assembly, in autumn 1695, the house appointed William Nicol to go home in the quality of an agent for this province, for which they

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allowed him 2000*l*. But his solicitations proved unsuccessful, and the instruction relating to these quotas, which is still continued, remains unnoticed to this day.

The Count de Frontenac invaded the country of the Five Nations with a great army in 1696; and the continual incursions of the Five Nations spread a famine again through all Canada, and scalping parties were sent out on each side until the treaty of peace signed at Ryswick in 1697.

Richard, Earl of Bellamont in Ireland, succeeded Colonel Fletcher in the government of New York, where he arrived on the 2d of April 1698. His lordship was also appointed to the chief command of the Massachusetts Bay and New Hampshire, as well as this province, where he was sent principally to stop the growth of piracy; and he appointed John Nanfan, who was his kinsman, lieutenant-governor. His lordship's commission was published in council on the day of his arrival; Colonel Fletcher, who still remained governor under the proprietors of Pennsylvania, and lieutenant-governor Nanfan, being present.

In 1700, a law was ordained for hanging every Popish priest that came voluntarily into the province; which was occasioned by the great number of French Jesuits who were continually attempting to make Indian proselytes; and it continues in full force to this day.

The Earl of Bellamont died on the 5th of March 1701; and his death was the source of new troubles, concerning the powers of government, until the arrival of Lieutenant-Governor Nanfan, who settled the controversy by assuming the supreme command.

The assembly met on the 19th of August 1701, when Abraham Gouverneur was elected speaker; and Mr. Nanfan, in his speech to the house, informed them "of the memorable grant to the crown, on the 19th of July, by the Five Nations, of a vast tract of land, to prevent the necessity of their submitting to the French in case of a war: that his Majesty had given out of his exchequer 800*l*. to be laid out in presents to the Indians; and 250*l*. for erecting forts."

* Colles, vol. i.

Edward,

Edward, Lord Viscount Cornbury †, was appointed governor of this province, where he arrived, with his lady and family, in 1701. His commission was renewed by Queen Anne, who also appointed him to the command of New Jersey, the government of which the proprietors had lately surrendered into her hands *.

The following summer was remarkable for an uncommon mortality, which prevailed in the city of New York, and makes a grand epoch among its inhabitants, distinguished by the "Time of the great sickness." This was a fever brought from the island of St. Thomas in the West Indies; and many died of it.

On this occasion, Lord Cornbury had his residence at Jamaica, a pleasant village on Long Island, inhabited partly by original Dutch planters, but chiefly by New England emigrants. His Excellency was met here by the assembly.

Lord Cornbury shewed evident marks of a persecuting spirit during the whole of his administration ‡, particularly in prosecuting two presbyterian ministers, on a pretence that they unlawfully preached without his licence first obtained, in derogation of the royal authority and prerogative.

Lord Cornbury was no less obnoxious to the people of New Jersey than to those of New York. They drew up a complaint against him, which they transmitted to the Queen, who declared she would not suffer her nearest relations to oppress her subjects; in consequence of which, she divested his lordship of all his authority, and appointed Lord Lovelace in his stead.

As soon as Lord Cornbury was superseded, his creditors threw him into the custody of the sheriff of New York, where he remained until the death of his father, when he succeeded to the earldom of Clarendon, and returned to England with an infamous character ||.

† He was son of the Earl of Clarendon, who refused the oaths to King William and Queen Anne; and grandson to the great Chancellor Clarendon, who was also grandfather to Queen Mary and Queen Anne.

* Samuel Smith's History of New Jersey, p. 208.—336.

‡ Smith, p. 111.—113.

|| W. Smith's History of New York, p. 116. S. Smith's History of New Jersey, p. 336.

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John Lord Lovelace, Baron of Hurley, was appointed to this government in March 1708, but did not arrive until the 18th of December following, when he was received with universal joy. Having dissolved the general assembly soon after his accession to the government, he convened a new one on the 5th of April 1709.

The principal matter which engaged the attention of the assembly was the affair of the revenue: but, on the 5th of May, they agreed to raise 2500*l.* to defray the charges of government to the 1st of May ensuing; of which 1600*l.* was voted to his Excellency; and the remaining sums toward a supply of firewood and candles to the different forts; as also for payment of small salaries to the printer, clerk of the council, and Indian interpreter.

This new project, of providing annually for the support of government, was contrived to prevent the mischiefs to which the long revenues had formerly exposed the Colonists: But, as it rendered the governor, and all the other servants of the crown, dependent upon the assembly, a rupture must have ensued; which was prevented by the death of his lordship, occasioned by a disaster in crossing the ferry at his first arrival in the city of New-York, where his lady continued long after his death, soliciting for the sum voted to her husband; and though the Queen interposed, by a letter in her behalf, nothing was allowed till several years afterwards.

Lord Lovelace being dead, the chief command devolved upon Richard Ingoldsbey the lieutenant-governor, the same who had exercised the government several years before, upon the decease of Colonel Sloughter. His short administration is remarkable, not for his extraordinary talents, for he was a heavy man, but for a second fruitless attempt against Canada. Colonel Vetch, who had been several years before at Quebec, and founded the river of St. Lawrence, was first projector of this enterprize. The ministry approved of it, and Vetch arrived in Boston, and prevailed upon the New England Colonies to join in the scheme. After that he came to New York, and concerted the plan of operations. It was at this juncture the first act of assembly for issuing bills of credit was passed; an expedient without which they could not have contributed to the expedition, the treasury being then totally exhausted. Universal joy brightened every man's countenance, because all expected the complete reduction of Canada before the ensuing fall. Big with the pleasing prospect of an event which would put a period to all the ravages of an encroaching merciless enemy, extend the British empire, and
augment

augment their trade, they exerted themselves to the utmost for the success of the expedition.

Having thus put themselves to the expence of above 20,000*l.* toward this enterprize, the delay of the arrival of the fleet spread a general discontent through the country; and, early in the fall, the assembly addressed the lieutenant-governor to recall their forces from the camp: and Vetch and Nicholson soon after broke up the campaign.

Had this expedition been vigorously carried on, doubtless it would have succeeded. The public affairs at home were conducted by a wise ministry: the allied army triumphed in repeated successes in Flanders; and the court of France was in no condition to give assistance to so distant a colony as Canada. The Indians of the Five Nations were engaged, through the indefatigable solicitations of Colonel Schuyler, to join heartily in the attempt; and in America every thing was ripe for the attack. At home, Lord Sunderland, the secretary of state, had proceeded so far, as to dispatch orders to the Queen's ships at Boston to hold themselves in readiness, and the British troops were upon the point of their embarkation. At this juncture the news arrived of the defeat of the Portuguese, which reducing their allies to great straits, the forces intended for the American adventure were then ordered to their assistance, and the thoughts of the ministry intirely diverted from the Canada expedition.

Impressed with a strong sense of the necessity of some vigorous measures against the French, Colonel Schuyler was extremely discontented at the late disappointment; and resolved to make a voyage to England, at his private expence, the better to inculcate on the ministry the necessity of reducing Canada to the crown of Great Britain; for which purpose he proposed to carry home with him five Indian chiefs.

The arrival of the five Sachems in England made a great noise through the whole kingdom. The mob followed wherever they went, and small prints of them were sold among the people. The court was at that time in mourning for the death of the Prince of Denmark; these American Kings were therefore dressed in black under-clothes after the English manner; but, instead of a blanket, they had each a scarlet-grain cloth mantle, edged with gold, thrown over all their other garments. This dress was directed by the dressers of the playhouse, and given by the Queen, who was advised to make a shew of them. A more than ordinary solemnity attended the audience they had of her Majesty. Sir Charles Cotterel conducted them in two coaches to St.

Jame's;

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James's; and the lord chamberlain introduced them into the royal presence.

While Colonel Schuyler was at the British court, Captain Ingoldby was displaced, and Gerardus Beekman exercised the powers of governor, from the 10th of April 1710, until the arrival of Brigadier Hunter, on the 14th of June following.

Hunter was a native of Scotland, and, when a boy, put apprentice to an apothecary. He left his master, and went into the army; and being a man of wit and personal beauty, recommended himself to Lady Hay, whom he afterward married. In the year 1707 he was appointed lieutenant-governor of Virginia; but, being taken by the French in his voyage to that colony, he was carried into France; and, upon his return to England, appointed to succeed Lord Lovelace in the government of this and the province of New Jersey. Dean Swift's letter to him, during his captivity, shews that he had the honour of an intimacy with Mr. Addison and others, who were distinguished for their good sense and learning; and perhaps it was by their interest he was advanced to this profitable place.

Governor Hunter brought over with him near three thousand Palatines, who the year before fled to England from the rage of persecution in Germany.

The late attempt to attack Canada proving abortive, exposed this colony to consequences equally calamitous, dreaded and foreseen. While the preparations were making to invade it, the French exerted themselves in cajoling their Indian allies to assist in the repulse; and as soon as the scheme dropped, numerous parties were sent out to harass the English frontiers, which induced Governor Hunter, soon after his arrival, to make a voyage to Albany, where he met the confederate chiefs, and renewed the old covenant. While there, he was strongly solicited by the New England governments to engage their Indians in a war with those who were daily ravaging their borders; but he prudently declined a measure which might have exposed his own province to a general devastation. A treaty of neutrality subsisted at that time between the confederates and the Canada French and their Indians, which, depending upon the faith of lawless savages, was at best but precarious, and yet the only security they had for the peace of their borders. A rupture between them would have involved the colonists of New York in a scene of misery, at a time, of all others, most unreasonable. However, the people of New England might censure the governor, it was a proof of his wisdom to refuse their request: for, beside the want of men and arms to defend the province, its forts were fallen down, and the treasury exhausted.

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The new assembly met at New York on the first of September. The address of the house was perfectly agreeable to the governor. They promised to provide for the support of government, and to restore the public credit, as well as to protect the frontiers. In answer to the close of his speech, they declared their hope, that such as excited party contentions might meet with as little credit and as much disgrace as they deserved. This unanimity, however, was soon interrupted: Colonel Morris, for some warm words dropped in a debate, was expelled the house; and soon after, a dispute arose between the council and assembly, concerning some amendments made by the former to a bill for the treasurer's paying sundry sums of money.

The five Indian chieftains, carried to England by Colonel Schuyler, having seen all the curiosities in London, and been much entertained by many persons of distinction, returned to Boston with Commodore Martin and Colonel Nicholson; the latter of whom commanded the forces designed against Port Royal and the coast of Nova Scotia. In this enterprise, the New England colonies, agreeable to their wonted courage and loyalty, lent their assistance; and the reduction of the garrison, which was then called Annapolis Royal, was happily completed on the 2d of October 1710. Animated by this and some other successes in Newfoundland, Nicholson again urged the prosecution of the scheme for the reduction of Canada; which, having been strongly recommended by the Indian chiefs, as the only effectual means to secure the northern colonies, was now again resumed.

Toward the execution of this project, five thousand troops from England and Flanders were sent over, under the command of Brigadier Hill, the brother of Mr. Masham, the Queen's new confident, on the disgrace of the Dutchess of Marlborough. The fleet of transports, under the convoy of Sir Hovenden Walker, arrived, after a month's passage, at Boston, on the 4th of June 1711. The provisions, with which they expected to be supplied there, being not provided, the troops landed. Nicholson, who was to command the land forces, came immediately to New York, where Mr. Hunter convened the assembly, on the 2d of July.

The house was so well pleased with the design upon Canada, that they voted an address of thanks to the Queen, and sent a committee to Nicholson, to congratulate his arrival. In a few day's time, an act was passed for raising forces; and the assembly, by a resolution, according to the governor's advice, restricted the price of provisions to certain particular sums. Bills of credit, for forwarding the expedition, were now also struck, to the amount of 10,000 l.

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The French in Canada were not unapprised of these designs. Vaudreuil, the governor general, sent his orders from Montreal to the Sieur De Beaucourt, to hasten the works he was about at Quebec; and commanded that all the regulars and militia should be held in readiness to march on the first warning.

As soon as the Marquis De Vaudreuil, by the accounts of the fishermen, and two other ships, had reason to suspect that our fleet was returned, he went to Chambly, and formed a camp of three thousand men to oppose Nicholson's army, intended to penetrate Canada at that end. But he was soon informed that our troops were returned, upon the news of the disaster which had befallen the fleet; and that the people of Albany were in the utmost consternation.

The public debts, by this unfortunate expedition, were greatly increased, which occasioned a controversy between the council and assembly, concerning the application of the public money. Both houses adhered to their respective opinions; in consequence of which, the public debts remained unpaid.

About this time, Colonel Hunter, by the advice of his council, began to exercise the office of chancellor; having, on the 4th of October, appointed two masters, a register, an examiner, and two clerks. A proclamation was then issued, to signify the sitting of the court on Thursday in every week; which gave rise to these two resolutions of the house:

“Resolved, That the erecting a court of chancery, without consent in general assembly, is contrary to law, without precedent, and of dangerous consequence to the liberty and property of the subjects.

“That the establishing fees, without consent in general assembly, was contrary to law.”

The council made these votes the subject of part of a long representation, which they transmitted to the Lords of Trade, who approved of what the governor had done, and blamed the assembly; adding, “That her Majesty had an undoubted right of appointing such, and so many courts of judicature in the plantations as she should think necessary for the distribution of justice.”

Colonel Hunter, at the next meeting in May 1712, recommended the public debts to the consideration of the assembly, who neglected the matters
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laid before them; and the governor broke up the session by a short prorogation of three days, after which the assembly was dissolved.

Before the meeting of the next assembly, the peace of Utrecht was concluded on the 31st of March 1713; by this treaty, the British crown became intitled to the sovereignty over the country of the Five Nations, at least for any claim that could be alleged by the French.

The new assembly met on the 27th of May 1713, when the governor acquainted them, that "he was resolved to pass no law until provision was made for the government." A bill was accordingly passed; as also an excise bill on spirituous liquors, which now exists, and produces about 1000*l.* a year into the treasury: but the debts of the government remained unnoticed until the summer of the year 1714, when it appeared that they amounted to 28,000*l.* for the payment of which, recourse was had to the public bills of credit, to be deposited in the hands of the provincial treasurer, and issued by him only pursuant to the directions of the act.

Upon the death of Queen Anne, a dissolution ensued of course, and a new house met in May 1715, which was soon dissolved by the governor, who was determined to subdue those whom he could not allure. In the new house, June 1716, the governor obtained a majority, which he retained until 1718.

The governor returned to England, where he succeeded William Burnet, Esq; as comptroller-general of the customs at London, and Mr. Burnet succeeded him as governor of New York, where he took upon him the government, on the 17th of September 1720.

Mr. Burnet was a son of that well-known Dr. Gilbert Burnet, bishop of Salisbury, who died in March 1714. This son was of a more elevated genius than his father: he was a sensible and polite gentleman, a good scholar, and of a social disposition.

Governor Hunter recommended all his old friends to the favour of his successor; so that few changes were made by him, except that Colonel Schuyler, who had presided at the council-board in the absence of Colonel Hunter, and Mr. Philips, were both removed from that board, on account of the opposition they made to the continuance of the assembly.

The new governor made chief-justice Morris his principal confidant; Cadwallader Colden, and James Alexander, Esqrs. two Scotch gentlemen,

men, had the next place in his esteem; in which choice he shewed his wisdom, as they were both gentlemen of great learning, good morals, and solid parts. The former was well acquainted with the provincial affairs, and particularly those relating to the Indian allies, as appears by his "History of the Five Indian Nations of Canada," which he very justly dedicated to the honourable General Oglethorpe, who was certainly the best judge in the world of Indian affairs. Mr. Alexander was bred to the law, and had a great character in his profession; nor was he unacquainted with the affairs of the public, because he had served in the secretary's office, the best school in the province for instruction in matters of government.

Of all the governors of this province, not one had such perfect and extensive views of Indian affairs, and the dangerous neighbourhood of the French, as Mr. Burnet, in which Mr. Livingston was his principal assistant. His excellency's attention to these matters appeared at the very commencement of his administration; for, in his first speech to the assembly, he endeavoured to implant the same sentiments in the breasts of the members; trying to alarm their fears by the daily advances of the French, their possessing the principal passes, seducing the Indian allies, and increasing their new settlements in Louisiana.

Among the most remarkable acts passed at this session, may be reckoned that for prohibiting the sale of Indian goods to the French. The last was a law very advantageous to the province; yet it became the source of an unreasonable opposition against the governor, which continued through his whole administration.

Mr. Burnet's scheme was, to draw the Indian trade into English hands; to obstruct the communication of the French with the Five Nations, which gave them frequent opportunities of seducing them from their fidelity; and to regain the Caghnagas, who became interested in their disaffection, by being the carriers between Albany and Montreal.

Among those who were more immediately prejudiced by this new regulation, the importers of those goods from Europe were the chief; and hence the spring of their opposition to the governor: but this was not the only stratagem of those who were disaffected by the prohibition of the French trade.

The London merchants were also induced to petition the King for an order to his governor, prohibiting the revival of the act made against it, or

for the passing any new law of that tendency. The petition was referred to the Board of Trade, and backed before their lordships, with suggestions of the most notorious falsehoods. The Lords of Trade prudently advised, that no such directions should be sent to Mr. Burnet till he had an opportunity of answering the objections against the act. They were accordingly sent over to him, and he laid them before his council. Dr. Colden and Mr. Alexander exerted themselves in a memorable report in answer to those objections, which drew upon them the resentment of several merchants in New York, who had first excited the London petition, and laid the foundation for a long variance between their families.

Governor Burnet transmitted this report to the Board of Trade, and it had the intended effect.

Nothing could more naturally excite the jealousy of the French than the erection of the new trading house at the mouth of the river Onondaga: fearful therefore of losing a profitable trade, which they had almost intirely engrossed, and the command of the Lake Ontario, they launched two vessels in it in the year 1726; as also transported materials for building a large storehouse, and repairing the fort at Niagara. The scheme was not only to secure to themselves the entrance into the west end of the Lake, as they already had the east, by the fraudulent erection of Fort Frontenac, many years before, but likewise to carry their trade more westerly, and thus render Oswego useless, by shortening the travels of the Western Indians near two hundred Miles.

Mr. Burnet laid the matter before the house, remonstrated against the proceedings to Longueil in Canada, wrote to the ministry in England, who complained of them to the French court, and met the confederates at Albany, where he prevailed on them to disavow any connections with the French: he also embraced this opportunity to procure from the Indians a deed, whereby they surrendered their country to his Britannic Majesty, to be protected for their use, and confirming their grant in 1701, concerning which there was no entry in the books of the secretary for Indian affairs.

The new assembly met in September 1727, and consisted of members ill-affected to the governor, who revived the discontents concerning the new court of chancery.

The governor dissolved the assembly, quitted the government, and was appointed to the chief command of the Massachusetts Bay.

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John Montgomery, Esq; received the great seal of this province from Mr. Burnet, on the 15th of April 1728, having a commission to supersede him here and in New Jersey *.

The governor was a Scotch gentleman; had been bred a soldier; had served as groom of the bed-chamber to the King; obtained a seat in parliament; and thus paved his way to preferment in America: "but in talents for government, he was much inferior to his predecessor; for he had neither strength nor acuteness of parts, and was little acquainted with any kind of literature †."

After his excellency had obtained a five year's support, and passed some salutary laws, he went to Albany, and held a treaty with the Six Nations, for a renewal of the ancient covenant, which greatly circumvented the insidious French in their aspiring views.

The trade between Albany and Montreal was still encouraged, which was very prejudicial to the national interest: and the year 1731 was distinguished by the complete settlement of the disputed boundary between this province and the colony of Connecticut.

1731. Governor Montgomery died on the 31st of July 1731; and his death was much lamented, as he was remarkable for a kind and generous man.

The chief command then devolved upon Rip Van Dam, Esq; as senior counsellor. He was an eminent merchant, and of a fair estate.

This administration is unfortunately signalized by the memorable encroachment at Crown Point. "The passiveness we discovered on this impudent and dangerous invasion of his Majesty's rights, is truly astonishing; and the more so, as the crown had at that time four independent companies, which had long been posted here for our protection, at the annual expence of about 7500l. sterling ‡."

Mr. Van Dam finished his administration upon the 31st of August 1732, when William Cosby, Esq; arrived, with a commission to govern this and the province of New Jersey.

The new governor, Cosby, and the late president, Rip Van Dam, had a spirited contest relative to salary and perquisites, which was attended

* Smith, p. 173.

† Ibid.

‡ Ibid. p. 179.

with bad circumstances. The chief justice was Lewis Morris, Esq; who delivered his opinion of the illegality of the proceedings in the supreme court, as in a court of equity, and refused to sit on the bench; when the two other judges, James De Lancey, Esq; and Frederick Philipse, Esq; determined in favour of the governor, that their court was a court of chancery, as well as common law. The governor then dismissed the chief justice from the bench; and Mr. De Lancey filled his seat, which was an infringement of the constitution, as it was a compliment to the governor to give up the rights of the people, who were to be deprived of the benefit of trials by juries.

The late president made a noble remonstrance against these violent proceedings of the governor; and the late chief justice published his "Opinion and Arguments concerning the Jurisdiction of the supreme Court of New York, to determine Causes in a Court of Equity;" wherein he set the governor's unlawful transforming the supreme court into a court of chancery in its true light; and in his letter to the governor, upon that occasion, told him as follows: "I am heartily sorry, Sir, for your own sake, as well as that of the public, that the King's representative should be moved to so great a degree of warmth, which I trust could proceed from no other reason but my giving my opinion in a court of which I was a judge, in a point of law that came before me. If judges are to be intimidated, so as not to dare to give any opinion but what is pleasing to a governor, and agreeable to his private views, the people of this province, who are very much concerned, both with respect to their lives and fortunes, and independency of those who are to judge of them, may possibly not think themselves so secure in either of them as the laws and his Majesty intend they should be."

This behaviour of the governor to the late president and chief justice prepared the public, without surprize, to meet with the extraordinary proceedings arbitrarily carried on against Mr. Zenger, who printed the cases of the injured gentlemen, by their desire, and at their expence; which brought upon him the resentment of the governor, and the chief justice being displaced, there were only the two judges left in court to try the printer for a libel against his excellency, wherein no worse was said of him than what the chief judge had declared to be against law.

Zenger's first news-paper was printed on the 5th of November 1733, and he continued printing and publishing them until January following, when the new chief justice animadverted upon the doctrine of libels, in a long

a long charge given in that term to the grand jury, of which Zenger's paper was the principal object: but the grand jury was not thereby prevailed upon to indict Zenger as expected; therefore the gentlemen of the council proceeded to take his papers into consideration, and sent a message to the general assembly, to desire a conference between a committee of both houses about the proceedings to be carried on against Zenger.

The general assembly refused their concurrence with the council, who proceeded by themselves in this extraordinary business; and when the quarter sessions for the city of New York began, on the 5th of November 1734, the sheriff delivered to the court an order, which was read, in these words:

"At a council held at Fort George in New York, the 2d of November 1734:

P R E S E N T,

"His Excellency WILLIAM COSBY, captain-general and governor in chief, &c.

Mr. Clarke,
Mr. Livingston,
Mr. Cortland,

Mr. Harrison,
Mr. Kennedy,
Mr. Lane,

Mr. Colden *
Mr. Ch. Justice,
Mr. Horsmanden.

"Whereas by an order of this board, of this day, some of John Peter Zenger's journals, intitled, *The New York Weekly Journal, containing the freshest Advices foreign and domestic*, N^o 7. 47, 48, 49. were ordered to be burnt by the hands of the common hangman or whipper, near the pillory in this city, on Wednesday the 6th instant, between the hours of eleven and twelve in the forenoon, as containing in them many things tending to sedition and faction, to bring his Majesty's government into contempt, and to disturb the peace thereof; and containing in them likewise, not only reflections upon his excellency the governor in particular, the legislature in general, but also upon the most considerable persons in the most distinguished stations in this province. It is therefore ordered, That the mayor and magistrates of this city do attend at the burning of the several papers or journals aforesaid, numbered as above-mentioned †."

* Dr. Colden was that day at Esopus, ninety miles from New York, though mentioned as present in council.

† Signed, "Frederic Morris, D. Cl. Con." — It was directed, "To Robert Lutting, Esq; mayor of the city of New York, and the rest of the magistrates of the said city and county."

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The court refused to obey this order, "as they conceived it to be no mandatory writ warranted by law, nor knew of any law that authorized the making of the order aforesaid; so they thought themselves under no obligation to obey it: which obedience, they thought, would be in them the opening a door for arbitrary commands; which, when once opened, they knew not what dangerous consequences might attend it. Therefore the court conceived itself bound in duty, for the preservation of the rights of the corporation, and, as much as they could, of the liberty of the press, and the people of the province, since an assembly of the province, and several grand juries, had refused to meddle with the papers when applied to by the council, to protest against the order aforesaid, and to forbid all the members of the corporation to pay any obedience to it, until it was shewn to the court that the same was authorized by some known law, which they neither knew nor believed that it was."

The sheriff then moved, "That the court would direct their whipper to perform the said order:" to which it was answered, "That, as he was an officer of the corporation, they would give no such order." Soon after which the court adjourned, and did not attend the burning of the papers: but the sheriff, about noon, after reading the numbers of the several papers, which were ordered to be burnt, delivered them into the hands of his own negro, and ordered him to put them in the fire, which he did; at which Mr. Recorder, Jeremiah Dunbar, Esq., attended, with several officers of the garrison.

The governor and his council issued an order to the sheriff for seizing Mr. Zenger, and "to commit him to the prison or common jail," where he was arbitrarily used, but speedily bailed, after a warm contest at the city hall. The counsel * for Mr. Zenger exhibited exceptions against the legality of the court, which were taken in contempt, and those gentlemen were "excluded from any farther practice in that court."

Mr. Bradley, the attorney-general, laid an information against Zenger for publishing those papers, which he called libels. The court allowed John Chambers, Esq. to be counsel for Mr. Zenger; and Andrew Hamilton, Esq. of Philadelphia, being informed of the importance, as well as the great expectation, of the issue of the matter in dispute, came from that city, in a voluntary manner, to defend the cause of liberty.

* On Tuesday the 29th of July 1735, the supreme court of judicature opened, and on motion of Mr. Chambers for a struck jury, pursuant

* James Alexander and William Smith, Esqrs.

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to a rule of the preceding term, the court were of opinion, that Zenger was intitled to have a struck jury;" which he with great difficulty obtained, according to his legal right, and the common method of proceeding in law; for many pretended freeholders were illegally returned: at last, however, an honest jury was impannelled, and consisted of the following persons:

Hermanus Rutgers,	Samuel Weaver,	Ben. Hildreth, foreman,
Stanley Holmes,	Andries Marichalk,	Abraham Keteltas,
Edward Man,	Egbert Van Borstara,	John Goslet,
John Bell,	Thomas Hunt,	Hercules Wendover,

The trial began on the 4th of August 1735, which was thirty-five weeks after Mr. Zenger was confined in the common jail. The honourable James De Lancey, Esq. sat as chief justice, and the honourable Frederic Philipse, Esq. as second justice. When the court was seated, the defendant appeared, and his counsel came prepared to oppose the information of Mr. Attorney General, who opened it as follows:

"That the information then before the court, and to which the defendant Zenger had pleaded not guilty, was an information for printing and publishing a false, scandalous, and seditious libel, in which his excellency the governor was greatly and unjustly scandalized, as a person that had no regard to law or justice; with much more, as would appear upon reading the information;" which was fortified only by innuendoes, quirked, serewed, and strained upon the vilest principles, and sharpest tenter-hooks of the law.

Mr. Hamilton pleaded Zenger's cause, a cause in which the whole body of the people were materially interested, in a most masterly manner, from the principles both of law and reason, and obviated all the arbitrary principles and sophistry urged on behalf of the prosecution, to universal satisfaction.

The jury withdrew, and soon returned, when they brought in their verdict, not guilty; upon which there were three loud huzzas in the hall, then crowded with people; and the next day Mr. Zenger was discharged from his imprisonment.

The citizens of New York were so well pleased with the conduct of Mr. Hamilton upon this occasion, that "at a common council held at the city hall, on the 16th of September 1735, it was ordered, That Andrew Hamilton, Esq. of Philadelphia, barrister at law, be presented with the freedom

'freedom of this corporation; and that Alderman Bayard, Alderman Johnson, and Alderman Fell, be a committee to bring in a draught thereof."

Accordingly, on the 29th of September, those gentlemen, at a common council, produced the grant of the freedom; and sundry of the corporation having raised a subscription for a gold box to put it in, of five ounces and a half weight, on which were engraven the arms of the city; the freedom and box were carried to Philadelphia by Alderman Bayard, and there gratefully accepted by Mr. Hamilton.

George Clarke, Esq; succeeded Governor Cosby in 1736; and Admiral George Clinton, brother to the Earl of Lincoln, was appointed governor in 1741, in which capacity he continued until 1751 *.

* Mr. Colden; vol. II. p. 119.

C H A P. II.

Boundaries, mountains, rivers, lakes, and Indians; counties, towns, and inhabitants.

KING Charles II. in 1664 appointed commissioners to settle the boundaries of the several colonies: but from misinformation they settled the line between New York and Connecticut by a north-west line, which they were made to believe would leave twenty miles to New York on the east-side of Hudson's river; whereas it soon crossed that river, and left several of the Dutch settlements there to the colonies of Massachusetts Bay and Connecticut. This line is upon record in those provinces, though they never took possession thereof, as they might have done.

The partition line of New York with Connecticut was run by commissioners of both colonies, and signed at the town of Milford in Connecticut, by Colonel Thomas Dongan, governor of New York, and by Robert Treat, Esq; governor of Connecticut. It was confirmed by the King in council on the 28th of March 1700; but as the line was not properly marked and distinguished, especially as to the equivalent lands, it was afterward finally run by both parties, and reconfirmed by the King in council, as related in the Account of Connecticut.

As to the eastern boundary of the province of New York, it has been claimed so far east as Connecticut River; though this extension has been contested, and the eastern limit referred to a line parallel to, and at twenty miles distant east of Hudson's River, opposite the falls, and thence in a due north line to the south boundary of Canada.

The north boundary of the province of New York is the south line of Canada; and probably it should begin at a point in a meridian twenty miles east of the crook or great falls of Hudson's River, which running west will cross Lake Champlain, and terminate in Cataraqui River.

Its west line runs up Cataraqui River and Lake Ontario, but terminates on Lake Erie, in north lat. 42 deg. complete. From Oswego upon Lake Ontario may be reckoned the breadth of the government of New York, about 220 miles; that is, due west from the Lake 200 miles to Albany or Hudson's River, and from Albany twenty miles due west to the west line of the province of Massachusetts Bay.

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The southern line of the province of New York is in several directions or flexures; 1. From Lake Erie, along the north head-line of Pennsylvania, in lat. 42. to Delaware River. 2. Thence twenty miles down that river to the north divisional point of New York and New Jerseys, in lat. 41. deg. 40 m. 3. Thence in a straight line east 42 deg. to 41 deg. lat. of Hudson's River. 4. Thence twelve miles down Hudson's River to the north end of the Island of New York: then down Hudson's River on the west side of New York Island to Sandy Point, the entrance of New York road and harbour, about thirty miles. 5. Thence along the southern shore of Long Island round the east, including Fisher's Island and Gardener's Island, which lie near the entrance of New London harbour in Thames River of Connecticut Colony: then along the northern shore of Long Island sound, to over-against the mouth of Byram River, where the western divisional line between New York and Connecticut begins.

Beside the main land country of New York, there are some islands belonging to it; 1. Long Island, called by the Indians Matawacks, and by the Dutch Nassau; it lies in length from east to west about 120 miles, and at a medium is about ten miles broad: its east shore is a sandy flat, as is all the east shore of North America from Cape Cod of New England, in north lat. 42 deg. 10 m. to Cape Florida, in about 25 deg. north lat. Upon the shore of Long Island are very few inlets, and these very shallow: its north side is good water, there being a sound between it and the main land of Connecticut: the widest part of this near New Haven of Connecticut does not exceed eight leagues. Two-thirds of this island is a barren sandy soil. The eastern parts were settled from New England, and retain their customs: the western parts were settled by the Dutch, where many families to this day understand no other language but the Dutch. It is divided into three counties; Queen's County, King's County, and Suffolk County; which pay considerably above one-fourth of the taxes or charges of the government of the province. Hell Gate, where is the confluence of meeting of the east and west tide in Long Island sound, is about twelve miles from the city of New York. 2. Staten Island at its east end has a ferry of three miles to the west end of Long Island: at its west end is a ferry of one mile to Perth Amboy of East Jerseys: it is divided from East Jerseys by a creek, in length about twelve miles, and about six miles broad: it makes one county, called Richmond, which scarce pays one in one and twenty of the provincial tax: it is all in one parish, but several congregations, as an English, Dutch and French congregation. The inhabitants are mostly English, only one considerable village, called Cuckold's Town. 3. Nantucket, Martha's Vineyard,

and Elizabeth Islands, formerly under the jurisdiction of New York, but upon the revolution they were annexed by the new charter of Massachusetts Bay to the jurisdiction of that colony. Not many years since, some of the freeholders of these islands, when occasionally in New York, were arrested for the arrears of the general quit-rents of these islands. 4. Manhatans, the Indian name, New Amsterdam, the Dutch name, or New York, the English name, may be called an island, though it has a communication with the main land by King's Bridge: the whole island being about fourteen miles long, but very narrow, is all in the jurisdiction of the city of New York, and lies on the mouth of Hudson's River.

The most considerable high lands are the Catkill Mountains, west of Hudson's River, and about ninety miles north from New York. On the east and south-east sides of the Catkill Mountains, several streams run, and fall into Hudson's River below Albany. On their north-west side proceeds Schoraie River, which falls into the Mohawks River, a branch of Hudson's River, at Fort Hunter, about thirty miles above Albany. This Schoraie River in its course comes within three or four miles of the main branch of the Delaware River; and from the south-west side flows a considerable branch of the Delaware. Conasoharie River falls into the Mohawks River about ten miles above Fort Hunter, and comes very near to a branch of Sasquehanna River; which branch is so large, that, at eighteen miles from the Mohawks River, the Indians go down in canoes to all the Indian settlements upon Sasquehanna River. From this situation of these rivers, no runs of water from the Catkill Mountains can fall into Lake Ontario, the River Ohio, or into the Sasquehanna River. Excepting Long Island and Staten Island, the main land sea-line from Byram River to New York Island, is very short.

The source of Hudson's River has not been properly discovered; but in general it is known to be in the mountainous country between the Lakes Ontario and Champlain. In its course southward it approaches the Mohawks River within a few miles at Saucondauga. From thence it runs north and north-easterly toward Lake Saint Sacrament, now called Lake George, and is not above eight or ten miles distant from it. The course then to New York is very uniform, being in the main south 12° or 15° west. The distance from Albany to Lake George is computed at sixty-five miles; but the river in that interval is navigable only to Batteaus, and interrupted by rifts, which occasion two portages of half a mile each; and in the passage from Albany to Fort Edward, the whole land-carriage is about thirteen miles. There are three routs from Crown Point to Hudson's River in the way to Albany; one through Lake George; another through

through a branch of Lake Champlain, bearing a southern course, and terminating in a basin, several miles east of Lake George, called the South Bay. The third is by ascending the Wood Creek, a shallow stream, about one hundred feet broad, which comes from the south-east, and empties itself into the south branch of the Lake Champlain. The place where these routs meet on the banks of Hudson's River, is called the Carrying Place. Here Fort Lyman, since called Fort Edward, is built: but Fort William Henry, a much stronger garrison, was erected at the south end of Lake George, after the repulse of the French forces, under the command of the Baron Dieskau, on the 8th of September 1755. The banks of Hudson's River are generally rocky cliffs, especially on the western shore. The passage through the high lands affords a wild romantic scene for sixteen miles, through steep and lofty mountains. The tide flows a few miles above Albany: the navigation is safe, and performed in sloops of about forty or fifty tons burden, extremely well accommodated to the river. About sixty miles above the city of New York, the water is fresh, and much lower in wet seasons.

The river is stored with a variety of fish, which renders a summer's passage to Albany exceeding amusing to such as are fond of angling. The tides, that is, the floods and ebbs, are about twelve hours later at Albany than at New York*.

At about one hundred miles comes in on the west side, Esopus, or Soaper's River, which is noted for the manufactures of iron pigs and bars, flour and malt. A little farther, on the east side of the Great River, is the Camp or Palatine Town, in the manor of Livingston, about forty miles below Albany. At 125 miles on the east side falls in Kinderhook River, after receiving Claverock River. At 157 miles on the west side is Cohoes, or the mouth of the Mohawks River. At 162 miles is the mouth of Houfuck River, where are a small tribe of Indians, called Scatacocks. This Houfuck River is on the east side of Hudson's River, and comes from the north-west parts of New England. At 200 miles from New York is the elbow or flexure of this Great River at the Great Falls†.

The singular conveniency of Hudson's River to this province in particular is very remarkable. The whole province is contained in two narrow oblongs, extending from the capital east and north, having water carriage from the extremity of one, and from the distance of 160 miles of the other.

* W. Smith's History of New York, p. 201.

† Douglas, vol. iii. p. 261.

By the most accurate calculation, it has not, at a medium, above twelve miles of land carriage throughout its whole extent. This was one of the strongest motives to the settlement of a new country, as it afforded the easiest and most speedy conveyance from the remotest distances, and at the lowest expence: but the effects of this advantage are greater than have been usually observed, and therefore were not sufficiently admired *.

The circumference of the five great lakes or inland seas of North America are conjectured to be as follows: Ontario, 200 leagues; Erie, 200 leagues; Hurons, 300 leagues; Michagan, 300 leagues; and the Upper Lake, 500 leagues: but all the adjacent lands are reserved for the Indians.

It is necessary to know something of the form of government among the Five Nations in alliance with New York, because it still remains under its original simplicity, and free from those complicated contrivances, which have become necessary to the nations where deceit and cunning have increased as much as their knowledge and wisdom.

The Five Nations consist of so many tribes or nations, joined together by a league or confederacy like the Dutch United Provinces, and without any superiority of the one over the other. This union has subsisted so long, that Europeans know nothing of its original: but these Indians are known to the English by the names of Mohawks, Oneydoes, Onondagas, Cayugas, and Sennekas.

Each of these nations is again divided into three tribes or families, who distinguish themselves by three different arms or ensigns; the Tortoise, the Bear, and the Wolf; and the Sachems, or Old Men of these families, put this ensign or mark of their family to every public paper when they sign it.

Every nation is an absolute republic by itself; and each castle in the nation makes an independent republic, governed in all public affairs by its own Sachems or Elders. The authority of these rulers is gained by, and consists wholly in the opinion the rest of the nation have of their wisdom and integrity. They never execute their resolutions by force upon any of their people; for honour and esteem are their principal rewards, as shame and dishonour are their punishments. They have certain customs which they observe in their public transactions with other nations, and in their private affairs among themselves, which it is scandalous for any one

* Independent Reflector, published in 1753.

among them not to observe; and these always draw after them either public or private resentment whenever they are broken.

Their leaders and captains, in like manner, obtain their authority by the general opinion of their courage and conduct, and lose it by a failure in those virtues.

Their great men, both Sachems and captains, are generally poorer than the common people; for they affect to give away and distribute all the presents or plunder they get in their treaties or in war, so as to leave nothing to themselves. There is not a man in the ministry of the Five Nations who has gained his office otherwise than by merit: there is not the least salary, or any sort of profit annexed to any office, to tempt the covetous or fordid; but, on the contrary, every unworthy action is unavoidably attended with the forfeiture of their commission; for their authority is only the esteem of the people, and ceases the moment that esteem is lost. Here may be seen the natural origin of all power and authority among a free people; and whatever artificial power or sovereignty any man may have acquired by the laws and constitution of a country, his real power will be ever much greater or less in proportion to the esteem the people have of him.

The Five Nations think themselves by nature superior to the rest of mankind, and call themselves Ongue-bonwe; that is, men surpassing all others. This opinion, which they take care to cultivate into their children, gives them that courage which has been so terrible to all the nations of North America; and they have taken such care to impress the same opinion of their people on all their neighbours, that they, on all occasions, yield the most submissive obedience to them. Mr. Colden says, he has been told by old men in New England, who remembered the time when the Mohawks made war on their Indians, that as soon as a single Mohawk was discovered in the country, their Indians raised a cry from hill to hill, "A Mohawk! A Mohawk!" upon which they all fled like sheep before wolves, without attempting to make the least resistance, whatever odds were on their side: The poor New England Indians immediately ran to the Christian houses, and the Mohawks often pursued them so closely, that they entered along with them, and knocked their brains out in the presence of the people of the house: but if the people had time to shut the door they never attempted to force it; and on no occasion did any injury to the Christians. All the nations round them have for many years intirely submitted to them, and pay a yearly tribute to them in wampum. They dare neither make war nor peace without the consent of the

Mohawks. Two old men commonly go about every year or two to receive this tribute; and Mr. Colden had often opportunity to observe what anxiety the poor Indians were under, while these two old men remained in that part of the country where he was. An old Mohawk Sachem, in a poor blanket and dirty shirt, may be seen issuing his orders with as arbitrary an authority as a Roman dictator. It is not for the sake of tribute, however, that they make war, but from the notions of glory, which they have ever most strongly imprinted on their minds; and the farther they go to seek an enemy, the greater glory they think they gain. The Five Nations, in their love of liberty and of their country, in their bravery in battle, and their constancy in enduring torments, equal the fortitude of the most renowned Romans. Here may be finished their general character, by what an enemy says of them, Monsieur de la Poterie, in his History of North America.

"When we speak," says he, "of the Five Nations in France, they are thought, by a common mistake, to be mere barbarians, always thirsting after human blood; but their true character is very different. They are indeed the fiercest and most formidable people in North America; and, at the same time, are as politic and judicious, as well can be conceived, which appears from the management of all the affairs they transact, not only with the French and English, but likewise with almost all the Indian nations of this vast continent."

Their matters of consequence, which concern all the nations, are transacted in a general meeting of the Sachems of each nation. These conventions are commonly held at Onnondaga, which is nearly the center of their country; but they have fixed on Albany for the place of treating with the British colonies.

They strictly follow one maxim formerly used by the Romans to increase their strength; that is, they encourage the people of other nations to incorporate with them: and when they have subdued any people, after they have satiated their revenge by some cruel examples, they adopt the rest of their captives; who, if they behave well, become equally esteemed with their own people, so that some of their captives have afterward become their greatest Sachems and captains. The Tuskaroras, after the war they had with the people of Carolina, fled to the Five Nations, and are now incorporated with them, so that they now properly indeed consist of Six Nations, though they still retain the old name of the Five Nations among the English. The Cowetas also, or Creek Indians, are in the same friendship with them.

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The Tuskaroras, since they came under the province of New York, behaved themselves well, and remain peaceably and quiet; by which may be seen the advantages of using the Indians well: and if they were still better used, as there is room enough to do it, they would be proportionably more useful to the British Colonists.

The cruelty the Indians use in their wars toward those that do not or cannot resist, such as women and children, and to their prisoners, after they have them in their power, is deservedly held in abhorrence. But this cruelty is not peculiar to the Five Nations, as it is equally practised by all other Indians. It is wonderful how custom and education are able to soften the most horrid actions, even among a polite and learned people; witness the Carthaginians and Phœnicians burning their own children alive in sacrifice; and several passages in the Jewish history; and witness, in later times, the Christians burning one another alive "for the sake of God."

When any of the young men of these nations have a mind to signalize themselves, and to gain a reputation among their countrymen, by some notable enterprize against their enemy, they at first communicate their design to two or three of their most intimate friends; and if they come into it, an invitation is made, in their names, to all the young men of the castle, to feast on dog's flesh. When the company is met, the promoters of the enterprize set forth the undertaking in the best colours they can: they boast of what they intend to do, and incite others to join, from the glory there is to be obtained; and all who eat of the dog's flesh thereby enlist themselves.

The night before they set out they make a grand feast, to which all the noted warriors of the nation are invited; and here they have their war dance to the beat of a kind of kettle drum. The warriors are seated in two rows in the house; each rises up in his turn, and sings the great acts he has himself performed, or the deeds of his ancestors; and this is always accompanied with a kind of a dance, or rather action, representing the manner in which they were performed; and, from time to time, all present join in a chorus, applauding every notable act. They exaggerate and extol the glory which any of their ancestors have gained by their bravery and courage; so that they work up their spirits to a high degree of warlike enthusiasm.

They come to these dances with their faces painted in a frightful manner, as they always are when they go to war, to make themselves terrible to their enemies; and in this manner the night is spent.

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Next day they march out with much formality, dressed in their finest apparel, and in their march observe a profound silence. The women on these occasions always follow them with their old clothes, and they send back by them their finery, in which they marched from the castle: But before they go from this place where they exchanged their clothes, they always peel a large piece of the bark off some great tree: they commonly chuse an oak, as most lasting: upon the smooth side of this wood, they, with their red paint, draw one or more canoes going from home, with the number of men in them paddling which go upon the expedition; and some animal, as a doe or fox, an emblem of the nation against which the expedition is designed, is painted at the head of the canoes; for they always travel in canoes along the rivers, that lead to the country against which the expedition is designed, as far as they can.

After the expedition is over they stop at the same places in their return, and send to their castle to inform their friends of their arrival, that they may be prepared to give them a solemn reception, suited to their success. In the mean time, they represent on the same or some tree near it, the event of the enterprize; and now the canoes are painted with their heads turned toward the castle; the number of the enemy killed is represented by scalps painted black, and the number of prisoners by as many withs, in their painting not unlike pothooks, with which they usually pinion their captives. These trees are the annals, or rather trophies of the Five Nations; and by them and their war songs they preserve the history of their great achievements. The solemn reception of these warriors, and the acclamations of applause which they receive at their return, cannot but have in the hearers the same effect, in raising an emulation for glory, that a triumph had on the old Romans.

After their prisoners are secured, they never offer them the least violence; but, on the contrary, will rather starve themselves than suffer them to want. Notwithstanding this, the poor prisoners afterward undergo severe punishments before they receive the last doom of life or death. The warriors think it for their glory to lead them through all the villages of the nations subject to them, which lie near the road; and these, to shew their affection to the Five Nations, and abhorrence of their enemies, draw up in two lines, through which the poor prisoners, stark naked, must run the gauntlet; and on this occasion it is always observed the women are much more cruel than the men. The prisoners meet with the same sad reception when they reach their journey's end; and, after this, they are presented to those that have lost any relation in that or any former enterprize. If the captives be accepted, there is an end to their sorrow from that moment: they are dressed as
fine

fine as they can make them; they are absolutely free, except to return to their own country, and enjoy all the privileges the person had in whose place they are accepted: but, if otherwise, they die in torments to satiate the revenge of those that refuse them.

If a young man or boy be received in place of a husband that was killed, all the children of the deceased call that boy, father; so that one may sometimes hear a man of thirty say, that such a boy of fifteen or twenty is his father.

Their castles are generally a square, surrounded with palisadoes, without any bastions or outworks; for, since the general peace, their villages lie all open.

Their only instruments of war are musquets, hatchets, and long sharp-pointed knives; which they always carry about with them. Their hatchet, in war time, is stuck in their girdle behind them; and beside what use they make of this weapon in their hand, they have a dexterous way of throwing it. They have in this the art of directing and regulating the motion; so that, though the hatchet turns round as it flies, the edge always sticks in the tree, and near the place at which they aim at. The use of bows and arrows are now intirely laid aside, except among the boys, who are still very dexterous in killing fowls and other animals with them.

They use neither drum nor trumpet, nor any kind of musical instrument, in their wars. Their throats serve them on all occasions where such are necessary. Many of them have a surprising faculty of raising their voice not only in inarticulate sounds, but likewise to make their words understood at a great distance.

They never make any prisoner a slave, but it is customary among them to make a compliment of naturalization into the Five Nations; and, considering how highly they value themselves above all others, this must be no small compliment: nor is it done by any general act of the nation, but every single person has a right to do it by a kind of adoption.

The hospitality of these Indians is no less remarkable than their other virtues; as soon as any stranger comes, they are sure to offer him victuals: but if there are several in company, and come from afar, one of their best houses is cleaned and given up for their entertainment. Their complaisance, on these occasions, goes even farther than Christian civility permits; as they have no other rule for it, than the furnishing their

guest with every thing they think agreeable to him; for which reason some of their prettiest girls are always ordered to wash themselves, and dress in their best apparel, in order to be presented to the stranger for his choice, and the female who is preferred on these occasions performs all the duties of a fond wife during the stranger's stay: But this last piece of hospitality is now either laid aside by the Mohawks, or at least they never offer it to any Christian. This nation, indeed, has laid aside many of its ancient customs; so likewise have the other nations; and have adopted European manners: therefore it is not easy now to distinguish their original and genuine manners from those which they have lately acquired; and for this reason it is that they now seldom offer victuals to persons of any distinction, because they know that their cookery is not agreeable to the palates of Englishmen.

Polygamy is not usual among them; and indeed, in any nation, where all are on a par as to riches and power, plurality of wives cannot well be introduced. As all kind of slavery is banished from the countries of the Five Nations, so they keep themselves free also from the bondage of wedlock; and when either of the parties becomes disgusted, they separate without formality or ignominy to either, unless it be occasioned by some scandalous offence in one of them: And in case of divorce, the children, according to the natural course of all animals, follow the mother. The women here bring forth their children with as much ease as other animals, without the help of a midwife, and soon after their delivery return to their usual employment. They alone also perform all the drudgery about their houses; they plant their corn, and labour it in every respect until it is brought to the table: they likewise cut all their firewood, and bring it home on their backs, and in their marches bear the burdens. The men disdain all kind of labour, and employ themselves alone in hunting, as the only proper business for soldiers. At times, when it is not proper to hunt, a stranger will find the old men in companies, in conversation; the young men at their exercises, shooting at marks, throwing the hatchet, wrestling or running, and the women all busy at labour in the fields.

Theft is very scandalous among them, and it is necessary it should be so among all Indians, since they have no locks but those of their honesty to preserve their goods.

There is one vice which the Indians have fallen into since their acquaintance with the Christians, and of which they could not be guilty before that time, that is, drunkenness. It is strange how all the Indian

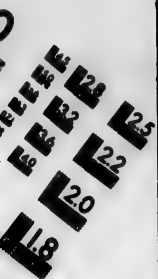
Indian nations, and almost every person among them, male and female, are infatuated with the love of strong drink: they know no bounds to their desire while they can swallow it down, and then indeed the greatest man among them scarcely deserves the name of a brute.

They never have been taught to conquer any passion, but by some contrary passion; and the traders, with whom they chiefly converse, are so far from giving them any abhorrence of this vice, that they encourage it all they can, not only for the profit of the liquor they sell, but that they may have an opportunity to impose upon them: And this, as they chiefly drink spirits, has destroyed greater numbers than all their wars and diseases put together.

The people of the Five Nations are much given to speech-making, ever the natural consequence of a perfect republican government. Where no single person has a power to compel, the arts of persuasion alone must prevail. As their best speakers distinguish themselves in their public councils and treaties with other nations, and thereby gain the esteem and applause of their countrymen, the only superiority which any one of them has over the others, it is probable they apply themselves to this art by some kind of study and exercise, in a great measure. "It is impossible, says Mr. Colden, for me to judge how far they excel, as I am ignorant of their language; but the speakers whom I have heard had all a great fluency of words, and much more grace in their manner than any man could expect among a people intirely ignorant of all the liberal arts and sciences."

As to what religious notions they have, it is difficult to judge of them; because the Indians that speak any English, and live near the Colonists, have learned many things of them; and it is not easy to distinguish the notions they had originally among themselves, from those they have learned of the Christians. It is certain they have no kind of public worship, and it is said they have no radical word to express God, but use a compound word signifying the preserver, sustainer, or master, of the universe; neither is it known what sentiments they have of a future existence. Their funeral rites seem to be formed upon a notion of some kind of existence after death. They make a large round hole, in which the body can be placed upright, or upon its haunches; which, after the body is placed in it, is covered with timber to support the earth which they lay over, and thereby keep the body free from being pressed; and then they raise the earth in a round hill over it. They always dress the corpse in all its finery, and put wampum and other things into the grave.





grave with it: the relations suffer not grass or any weed to grow on the grave, and frequently visit it with lamentations: but whether these things are done only as marks of respect to the deceased, or from a notion of some kind of existence after death, must be left to the judgment of the reader. They are very superstitious in observing omens and dreams; and are observed to shew a superstitious awe of the owl, and be highly displeased with some that mimicked the cry of that bird in the night. An officer of the regular troops reported, that while he had the command of the garrison at Oswego, a boy of one of the far westward nations died there. The parents made a regular pile of split wood, laid the corpse upon it, and burnt it. While the pile was burning, they stood gravely looking on, without any lamentation; but when it was burnt down, they gathered up the bones with many tears, put them into a box, and carried them away.

Queen Anne sent over a missionary to reside among the Mohawks, and allowed him a sufficient subsistence from the privy purse. She sent furniture for a chapel, and a valuable set of plate for the communion table; and the like furniture and plate for each of the other nations; though that of the Mohawks only was applied to the use designed.

The common prayer, or at least a considerable part of it, was translated also into their language, and printed. Some other pieces were likewise translated for the minister's use, particularly, an exposition of the creed, decalogue, lord's prayer, and church catechism, and a discourse on the sacraments.

But as that minister was never able to attain any tolerable knowledge of their language, and was naturally a heavy man, he had little success, and his allowance failing, by the queen's death, he left them. These nations had no teacher from that time until within these few years, that a young gentleman, out of pious zeal, went voluntarily among the Mohawks. He was at first intirely ignorant of their language, and had no interpreter, except one of the Indians, who understood a little English, and had in the late missionary's time learned to read and write in his own language. He learned from him how to pronounce the words in the translations, which had been made for the late missionary's use. He set up a school to teach their children to read and write their own language; and they made surprising proficiency, considering their master did not understand their language. "I happened to be in the Mohawk country, says Mr. Colden, and saw several of their performances: I was present at their worship, where they went through some
part

part of the common prayer with great decency. I was likewise present several times at their private devotions, which some of them performed morning and evening."

There is one custom their men constantly observe, which I must not forget to mention: That if they be sent with any message, though it demand the greatest dispatch; or though they bring intelligence of any imminent danger, they never tell it at the first approach; but sit down for a minute or two at least in silence, to recollect themselves before they speak, that they may not shew any degree of fear or surprize by an indecent expression. Every sudden repartee, in a public treaty, leaves with them an impression of a light inconsiderate mind: but in private conversation they use and are as delighted with brisk witty answers as we can be. By this they shew the great difference they place between the conversations of man and man, and of nation and nation; in which, and a thousand other things, they might well be an example to the European nations*.

A subsequent writer† has also given us a summary view of the history and character of the Five Nations; by the Dutch called Maquaas; by the French Iroquois; and by us Five Nations, or Six Nations, and lately the confederates; who are greatly diminished, and consist now only of about 1200 fighting men. This author observes, "That the manners of these savages are as simple as their government. Their houses are a few crotched stakes thrust into the ground, and overlaid with bark. A fire is kindled in the middle, and an aperture left at the top for the conveyance of the smoke. Whenever a considerable number of those huts are collected, they have a castle, as it is called, consisting of a square without bastions, surrounded with pallisadoes. They have no other fortification; and this is only designed as an asylum for their old men, their wives and children, while the rest are gone out to war. They live almost intirely without care. While the women or squaws cultivate a little spot of ground for corn, the men supply themselves in hunting. As to clothes, they use a blanket girt at the waist, and thrown loosely over their shoulders. Some of their women, besides this, have a sort of a petticoat, and a few of their men have shirts; but the greater part of them are generally half naked. In winter their legs are

* "The History of the Five Indian Nations of Canada which are dependent upon the province of New York, by the honourable Cadwallader Colden, Esq. one of his Majesty's council, and surveyor general of New York, vol. i. p. 1.—20."

† W. Smith's History of New York, p. 34.

covered with stockings of blanket, and their feet with socks of deer skin. Many of them are fond of ornaments, and their taste is very singular. I have seen rings affixed, not only to their ears, but to their noses. Bracelets of silver and brass round their wrists are very common: the women also plait their hair and tie it up in a bag, perhaps in imitation of the French beaus in Canada. Though the Indians are capable of sustaining great hardships, yet they cannot endure much labour; being rather fleet than strong. Their men are generally taller than the Europeans, rarely corpulent, always beardless, straight limbed, of a tawny complexion, and black uncurled hair. In their food they have no manner of delicacy; for though venison is their ordinary diet, yet sometimes they eat dogs, bears, and even snakes. Their cookery is of two kinds, boiled or roasted; to perform the latter, the meat is penetrated by a short sharp stick set in the ground, inclining towards the fire, and turned as occasion requires †."

The same author says, "As to the language of the Five Nations, the best account he had of it was contained in a letter from the Reverend Mr. Spencer, who resided among them in the year 1748, being then a missionary from the Scotch Society for promoting Christian Knowledge:" And he wrote as follows:

That "though he was very desirous of learning the Indian tongue, yet through his short residence at Ononghquage, and the surly disposition of his interpreter, he confessed his proficiency was not great. That, except the Tuscaroras, all the Six Nations spoke a language radically the same. It is very masculine and sonorous, abounding with gutturals and strong aspirations, but without labials. Its solemn grave tone is owing to the generosity of its feet, as may be observed in the following translation of the Lord's Prayer, in which he had distinguished the time of every syllable by the common marks used in prosody:"

Soungwäusähä, cäuröunkyäwgä, tēhsētārōan, saühsöneyōustä,
Esä, säwänēyōu, Okättäühsälä, ētmēäüwoüng, nā, cäuröunkyäwgä,
Nüghwönshäügä, nēättewehnēsäläügä, täügwäunäutörönoäntöughēik,
Tōäntäügwēlcēwhēyoustaüng, chēnēyōüt,
Chäquätaütälēwhēyōustaunnä, töüghfaw, täügwäüfsärēnēh,
Täwäutöttēnäügaloughtöünggä, nāfawnē, sächéäütaügwäfs,
Coänlēhsälöhaünzaickāw, ēsä, säwäunēyōu, ēsä, sälbäutztä, ēsä,
Soungwäfoüng, chēnnēäühäüngwä, aüwēn.

† W. Smith's History of New York, p. 36.

"That

"That the extraordinary length of Indian words, and the guttural aspirations necessary in pronouncing them, render the speech extremely rough and difficult. The verbs never change in their terminations, as in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew; but all their variations are prefixed. Besides the singular and plural, they have also the dual number. A strange transposition of syllables of different words, *Euphonia grãtia*, is very common in the Indian tongue, of which this is an instance. *Ögillã* signifies fire, and *Cãwãunnã* great; but instead of joining the adjective and substantive to say great fire, *Cãwãunnã Ögillã*, both words would be blended into this one, *Cö-gillã-wãunna*. The dialect of the Oneydas is softer than that of the other nations; and the reason is, because they have more vowels, and often supply the place of harsh letters with liquids. Instead of R they always use L: Rebecca would be pronounced Lequecca."

Another writer*, still of more eminence, has very accurately treated of Indian affairs, politics, and grants; as also of the European encroachments, unfair trading, and unjust claim of dominion over the Indians; the danger of Indian hostilities, and the necessity of a faithful alliance with them: in which hope, and with this view, he has endeavoured to state the Indian rights, and our duty toward them; and to point out that line of conduct which leads to it.

The consideration of this country, so far as it is connected with, or has any effect upon, the interests and politics of the British settlements, presents itself to view divided into two ideas. 1st, The country between the sea and the mountains: 2dly, The mountains themselves. The first part is, almost throughout the whole, capable of culture, and is intirely settled: The second, a wilderness, in which is found here and there, in small portions in comparison of the whole, solitary detached spots of ground fit for settlements. The rest is nothing but a cover for vermin and rapine, a den for wild beasts, and the wilder savages who wander in it.

Mr. Pownall tells us that the Indians themselves describing, under confidence, to a friend of his at Onondaga, this their situation, said, "That it had many advantages superior to any other part of America."

* "The Administration of the Colonies, by Thomas Pownall, late governor and commander in chief of his Majesty's provinces, Massachusetts Bay and South Carolina, and lieutenant-governor of New Jersey." Published in 1768.

The endless mountains separate them from the English all the way from Albany to Georgia. If they should have any design against the English, they could suddenly come down the Mohawks river, the Delaware, Susquehanna, and Potomack, and shoot with the stream. They had the same advantage of invading the French by the waters of the rivers St. Lawrence, Sarcel, and others. If the French should prevail against that country, they could, with their old men, wives, and children, come down the streams to the English. If the English should prevail in attacking their country, they had the same conveyance down to the French; and if both should join against them, they could retire across the lakes."

Hunting being but the amusement, the diversion of a nation of settlers, the rights and laws of it may not appear as national points; but to a nation of hunters, these become the national interests and the law of nations; a violation of which was the cause of the war between the Five Nation confederacy, and the Ojilnois. The Ohio-hunt to the south east of Lake Erie was common to these nations: the laws of the hunt required, that at each beaver pond the Indians should leave a certain number of males and females: but the Ojilnois, on some occasion of plague, destroyed all; therefore the Five Nations declared war against the Ojilnois. The Indian war ends not but in the total reduction of the one or the other, and the Ojilnois were totally conquered; after which, the conquered country, as well as the hunt, became the right of the Five Nations, and were, among the rest of their lands, put by them into the hands of the English in trust.

The right of the Five Nation confederacy to their dwelling lands and the hunting ground of Coughsabrags, and even down to the bottom of Lake Champlain, was never disputed. The lands to the northward of Regiochbe and la Galette have long since been ceded to the Canada Indians as an hunting ground.

In the year 1684, the Five Nations, finding themselves hard pressed by the French and their Indians, did, by a treaty at Albany, put the lands and castles of the Mohawks and Oneidas under the protection of the English government; and the English accordingly undertook the trust to guarantee them to these Indians: and, as the external mark by which this act and deed should be announced, the Indians desired that the Duke of York's arms might be affixed to their castles.

• Ibid. p. 260.

The

The right of the Five Nation confederacy to the hunting lands of Ohio, Tiouckfouchrondite and Scaniaderiada, by the conquest they had made in subduing the Shaoanaes or Delawares, Twictwes, and Oilinois, may be fairly proved, as they stood possessed thereof, at the peace of Ryfwick in 1697*.

The Five Nations had several years carried on a destructive war against the French of Canada: but soon after the news of the peace of Ryfwick arrived at New York, the governor sent an exprefs to Canada, to inform the governor there of it, that hostilities might cease. The Five Nations having an account of the peace earlier than they had it in Canada, took advantage of it, in hunting beaver near Cadaraekui fort; which occasioned some disputes in 1699†.

These Indians, in 1701, put all their hunting lands under the protection of the English, as appears by the records, and by the recital and confirmation thereof in a formal deed.

In the year 1726, the Senecas, Cayougacs, and Ononda-agacs, acceded to the same terms of alliance in which the Mohawks and Onidas were already engaged: so that the whole of the dwelling and hunting lands of the Five Nation confederacy were put under the protection of the English, and held by them in trust, for and to the use of these Indians and their posterity‡.

The European landworkers, when they came to settle in America, began trading with Indians, and obtained leave of them to cultivate small tracts as settlements or dwellings. The Indians, having no other idea of property than what was conformable to their transient temporary dwelling places, easily granted this. When they came to perceive the very different effect of settlements of landworkers creating a permanent property always extending itself, they became very uneasy; yet, in the true spirit of justice and honour, abided by the effects of concessions which they had made, but which they would not have made had they understood the force of them before-hand.

From this moment the politics of the Indians were fixed on, and confined to two points: 1st, The guarding their dwelling lands and their hunts from the encroachments of the European settlers: 2d, The

* Ibid. p. 169.

† Colden, vol. i. p. 205.

‡ Mr. Fowall, p. 270.

perpetually labouring to establish some equitable and fixed regulations in the trade carried on between them and the Europeans.

The European encroachments, not only by the extent of their settlements, but by their presuming to build forts in the Indian dwelling lands, and in the territories of their hunts, without leave, or by collusion; and the impositions and frauds committed against the Indians in trading with them, have been the occasion of constant complaint from the Indians, and the invariable sources of Indian hostilities: yet even these might have been surmounted, were it not that we have constantly added an aggravation to this injustice, by claiming a dominion in consequence of a landed possession. Against this the free spirit of an Indian will revolt to the last drop of his blood. This will be a perpetual, unremitted cause of war against us. Against it, they have at all times, and upon all occasions, protested, and they will never give it up. The European power may perhaps finally extirpate them, but can never conquer them. The perpetual increasing generations of Europeans in America may supply numbers, that must, in the end, wear out these poor Indian inhabitants from their own country; but we shall pay dear, both in blood and treasure, in the mean while, for our injustice. Our frontiers, from the nature of advancing settlements, dispersed along the branchings of the upper parts of our rivers, and scattered in the disunited valleys amidst the mountains, must be always unguarded and defenceless against the incursions of Indians. A settler, wholly intent on labouring on the soil, cannot stand to his arms, defend himself against, nor seek his enemy; environed with woods and swamps, he knows nothing of the country beyond his farm: the Indian knows every spot for ambush or defence. The farmer, driven from his little cultured lot into the woods, is lost: the Indian in the woods is every where at home; every bush, every thicket, is a camp to the Indian, from whence, at the very moment when he is sure of his blow, he can rush upon his prey. The farmer's cow, or his horse, cannot go into the woods, where alone they must subsist: his wife and children, if they shut themselves up in their poor wretched loghouse, will be burned in it; and the husbandman in the field will be shot down while his hand holds the plough. An European settler can make but momentary efforts of war, in hopes to gain some point, that he may by it obtain a series of security, under which to work his lands in peace: The Indian's whole life is a warfare, and his operations never discontinued. In short, our frontier settlements must ever lie at the mercy of the savages; and a settler is the natural prey to an Indian, whose sole occupation is war and hunting. To countries circumstanced as our colonies are, an Indian is the most dreadful of enemies:

For,

For, in a war with Indians, no force whatever can defend our frontiers from being a constant wretched scene of conflagrations, and of the most shocking murders. Whereas, on the contrary, our temporary expeditions against the Indians, even if successful, can do them little harm. Every article of their property is portable, which they always carry with them: and it is no great matter of distress to an Indian to be driven from his dwelling ground, who finds a home in the first place he sits down upon*.

This province was, by an act of assembly in 1691, divided into twelve counties as following:

I. The City and County of New York.

The city of New York, at first included only the Island, called by the Indians, Manhatans: Manning's Island, the two Barn Islands, and the three Oyster Islands, were in the county; but the limits of the city have been since augmented by charter.

The Island is very narrow; not a mile wide at a medium, and about fourteen miles in length. The south-west point projects into a fine spacious bay, nine miles long, and about four in breadth, at the confluence of Hudson's River and the Streight between Long Island and the northern shore. The Narrows at the south end of the Bay is scarcely two miles in breadth, and opens the ocean to full view. The passage up to New York from Sandyhook, a point that extends farthest into the sea, is safe, and not above twenty-five miles in length. The common navigation is between the east and west banks, in about twenty-three feet water: but it is said, that an eighty gun ship may be brought up, through a narrow channel, between the north end of the east bank and Coney Island.

The city, in reality, has no natural bason or harbour: therefore the ships lie off in the road on the east side of the town, which is docked out, and better built than the west side; because the freshets in Hudson's River fill it in some winters with ice.

This city consists of about 2500 buildings. It is a mile in length, and about half that in breadth: but such is its figure, its center of business, and the situation of the houses, that the mean cartage from

* Mr. Powaall, p. 261.—265.

one part to another does not exceed above one quarter of a mile, which is very advantageous to a commercial capital.

It is thought to be as healthy a spot as any in the world. The east and south parts, in general, are low; but the rest is situated on a dry elevated soil. The streets are irregular; but, being paved with round pebbles, are clean, and lined with well built brick houses, many of which are covered with tiled roofs.

No part of America is supplied with markets abounding with greater plenty and variety. They have beef, pork, mutton, poultry, butter, wild fowl, venison, fish, roots, and herbs, of all kinds, in their seasons. Their oysters are a considerable article in the support of the poor; and the oyster beds are within view of the town: a fleet of 200 small craft are often seen there, at a time, when the weather is mild in winter; and this single article is computed to be worth annually 10,000 or 12,000 £.

This city is the metropolis and grand mart of the province; and, by its commodious situation, commands also all the trade of the western part of Connecticut and that of East Jersey. No season prevents their ships from launching out into the ocean. During the greatest severity of winter an equal unrestrained activity runs through all ranks, orders, and employments.

Upon the south west point of the city stands the fort, which is a square with four bastions. Within the walls is the house in which the governor usually resides; and opposite to it are brick barracks, built formerly for the independent companies. According to Governor Burnet's observations this fort stands in the latitude of $40^{\circ} 42' N$.

The inhabitants of New York are a mixed people, but mostly descended from the original Dutch planters. There are still two churches in which religious worship is performed in that language. The old building is of stone, and ill built, ornamented within by a small organ loft and brass branches. The new church is a high heavy edifice, has a very extensive area, and was completed in 1729. It has no galleries, and yet will perhaps contain 1000 or 1200 auditors. The steeple of this church affords a most beautiful prospect both of the city beneath and the surrounding country. The Dutch congregation is more numerous than any other; but, as the language becomes disused, it is much diminished; and, unless they change their worship into the English tongue, must soon suffer a total dissipation.

Beside

Beside the Dutch, there are two English episcopal churches in this city, upon the plan of the established church in South Britain. There are also two presbyterian churches upon the plan of the established church in North Britain.

The French church, by the contentions in 1724, and the disuse of the language, is now reduced to an inconsiderable number. The building is of stone, and nearly a square: the area seventy feet in length, and fifty in breadth. It is plain both within and without; fenced from the street; has a steeple and a bell.

The German Lutheran churches are two: both are small; but one of them has a cupola and bell.

The Quakers have a meeting-house: The anabaptists have no settled congregation: The Jews have a synagogue; and the Moravians a church; which will be particularly mentioned in our account of Pennsylvania.

The city-hall, or town-house, is a strong brick building, two stories in height, in the shape of an oblong, winged at each end. The floor below is an open walk, except two jails and the jailor's apartments. The cellar underneath is a dungeon; and the garret above a common prison. This edifice is erected in a place where four streets meet; and fronts, to the south west, one of the most spacious streets in the city.

This city is divided into seven wards, and is under the government of a mayor, recorder, seven aldermen, and as many assistants or common-council men. The mayor, sheriff, and coroner, are annually appointed by the governor. The recorder has a patent during pleasure. The aldermen, assistants, assessors, and collectors, are annually elected by the freemen and freeholders of the respective wards. The annual revenue of the corporation is near 2000 *l*. The standing militia of the island consists of about 2300 men; and the city has in reserve a thousand stand of arms for seamen, the poor, and others, in case of an invasion.

The north-eastern part of New York Island is inhabited principally by Dutch farmers, who have a small village there called Harlem; pleasantly situated on a flat, cultivated for the city markets.

II. *West Chester.*

This county is large, and includes all the land beyond the Island of Manhatans along the Sound, to the Connecticut line, which is its eastern boundary. It extends northward to the middle of the Highlands, and westward to Hudson's River. A great part of this county is contained in the manors of Philipsburg, Pelham, Fordham, and Courtlandt; the last of which has the privilege of sending a representative to the general assembly. The country is tolerably settled; The lands are in general rough, but fertile, and therefore the farmers run principally on grazing.

III. *Dutchess.*

This county adjoins to West Chester, which bounds it on the south, the Connecticut line on the east, Hudson's River on the west, and the county of Albany on the north. The south part of this county is mountainous, and fit only for iron works; but the rest contains a great quantity of good upland well watered. The inhabitants on the banks of the river are Dutch; but those more easterly Englishmen, and for the most part emigrants from Connecticut and Long Island. There is no episcopal church in the county, the growth of which has been very sudden, and commenced but a few years ago. Within the memory of persons now living, it did not contain above twelve families; and according to the late returns of the militia it will furnish at present 2500 men capable of bearing arms.

IV. *Albany.*

This county extends from the southern bounds of the manor of Livingston on the east side, and Ulster on the west side of Hudson's River; but its limits are not yet ascertained on the north. It contains a vast quantity of fine low land; and its principal commodities are wheat, pease, and pine boards.

The city of Albany, which is near 150 miles from New York, is situated on the west side of the river. There the governors usually treat with the Indians dependent upon the British crown. The houses are built of brick in the Dutch taste, and are in number about 350. There are two churches in it: That of the Episcopalians, the only one in this large county, is a stone building: the congregation is but small, almost all

all the inhabitants resorting to the Dutch church, which is a plain square stone edifice. Beside these, they have no other public buildings, except the city hall, and the fort; the latter of which is a stone square with four bastions, situated on an eminence which overlooks the town; but is itself commanded by higher ground. The greatest part of the city is fortified only by palisades, and in some places there are small cannon planted in block-houses. Albany was incorporated by Colonel Dongan in 1686, and is under the government of a mayor, recorder, six aldermen, and as many assistants.

Sixteen or eighteen miles north-west from Albany lies Schenectady, on the banks of the Mohawks branch, which falls into Hudson's River, 12 miles to the north of Albany. This village is compact and regular, built principally of brick, on a rich flat of low land, surrounded with hills. It has a large Dutch church, with a steeple, and town-clock near the center. The windings of the river through the town and the fields, which are often overflowed in the spring, form about harvest a most beautiful prospect. The lands in the vale of Schenectady are so fertile, that they are commonly sold at 45 *l.* per acre. Though the farmers use no kind of manure, they till the fields every year, and they always produce full crops of wheat or pease. Their church was incorporated by governor Cosby, and the town has the privilege of sending a member to the assembly.

From this village the Indian traders set out in battoes for Oswego. The Mohawks river from hence to Fort Hunter abounds with rifts and shoals, which in the spring give but little obstruction to the navigation. From thence to its head, or rather to the portage into the wood creek, the conveyance is easy, and the current less rapid. The fur trade at Oswego is one of the principal advantages of this country. The Indians resort thither in May, and the trade continues till the latter end of July. A good road might be made from Schenectady to Oswego; and in the summer 1755, fat cattle were easily driven thither for the army under the command of general Shirley.

In the southern part of the county of Albany, on both sides of Hudson's River, the settlements are very scattered; except within twelve miles of the city, when the banks become low and accessible. The islands here, which are many, contain perhaps the finest soil in the world. The winters in this country are commonly severe, and Hud-

son's River freezes so hard 100 miles to the southward of Albany as to bear sledges loaded with great burthens. Much snow is very serviceable to the farmers here, not only in protecting their grain from the frost, but in facilitating the transportation of their boards and other produce to the banks of the river against the ensuing spring.

V. Ulster.

This county joins to that of Albany on the west side of Hudson's River. Its northern extent is fixed at Sawyers Kill: the Rivers Delaware and Hudson bound it east and west; and a west line from the mouth of Murderer's Creek is its limit. The inhabitants are Dutch, French, English, Scotch, and Irish: but the first and the last are most numerous. The Episcopalians in this county are so inconsiderable, that their church is only a mean log-house. The most considerable town is Kingston, situated about two miles from Hudson's River. The people of Ulster, having long enjoyed an undisturbed tranquility, are some of the most opulent farmers in the whole colony. This county is most noted for fine flour, beer, and a good breed of draught horses. At the commencement of the range of the Apalachian Hills, about ten miles from Hudson's River, is an inexhaustible quarry of mill-stones, which far exceed those from Cologne in Europe.

VI. Orange.

This county is divided by a range of mountains, stretching westward from Hudson's River, called the Highlands. On the north side the lands are very broken, but fertile, and inhabited by Scotch, Irish, and English presbyterians. Their villages are Goshen, Bethlehem, and Little Britain, all remarkable for producing in general the best made butter in the colony.

The mountains in this county are clothed thick with timber; and abound with ore, ponds, and fine streams for iron works. Goshen is well supplied with white cedar; and there is great plenty of black walnut in some parts of the woods.

VII. Richmond.

VII. *Richmond.*

This county consists of Staten Island, which lies nine miles south-west from the city of New York. It is about eighteen miles long, and at a medium six or seven broad. On the south side is a considerable tract of good level land; but the island in general is rough, and the hills high. The inhabitants are principally Dutch and French.

Southward of the main coast of this and the colony of Connecticut lies Long Island, called by the Indians Matowas, and named Nassau, according to an act of assembly in the reign of King William III.

This island is now divided into three counties, as following:

VIII. 1. *King's County.*

Which lies opposite to New York on the north side of Long Island. The inhabitants are all Dutch, and enjoying a good soil, near the principal markets, are generally in easy circumstances. The county is small, but settled in every part.

IX. 2. *Queen's County.*

This county is more extensive, and equally well settled.

X. 3. *Suffolk.*

This county includes all the eastern parts of Long Island, Shelter Island, Fisher's Island, Plumb Island, and the Isle of Wight. This large county has been long settled, and, except one small episcopal congregation, consists intirely of English presbyterians. The farmers are generally graziers, and, living very remote from New York, a great part of their produce is carried to the markets in Boston and Rhode Island. The Indians, who were formerly numerous on these islands, are now become very inconsiderable; and those that remain generally bind themselves servants to the English. The whale fishery on the south side of Long Island, has declined of late years, through the scarcity of whales, and is now almost intirely neglected.

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The Elizabeth Islands, Nantucket, Martha's Vineyard, and Pemyquid, which anciently formed Duke's, and the county of Cornwall, are now under the jurisdiction of Massachusetts Bay, as before observed.

As to the inhabitants, this province is not so populous as some have imagined. The colony of Connecticut, which is much inferior to this in extent, contains, according to a late authentic inquiry, above 133,000 inhabitants, and had a militia of 27,000 men in 1756, when the militia of New York, according to the general estimate, did not exceed 18,000. The whole number of souls is computed at 100,000; of which 15000 may reside in the metropolis.

The settlement of this colony has met with several discouragements; particularly the French and Indian irruptions, to which the Colonists were so much exposed, that many families withdrew into New Jersey; while at home the transportation of felons has brought all the American colonies into discredit with the industrious and honest poor, both in the kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland.

English is the most prevailing language among the Colonists; but not a little corrupted by the Dutch dialect, which is still so much used in some counties, that the sheriffs find it difficult to obtain persons sufficiently acquainted with the English tongues to serve as jurymen in the courts of law.

The manners of the people differ, as well as their language. In Suffolk and Queen's County, the first settlers of which being either natives of England, or the immediate descendants of such as began the plantations in the eastern colonies, their customs are similar to those prevailing in the English counties from which they originally sprung. The citizens of New York, through an intercourse with the Europeans, follow the London fashions; though, by the time they adopt them, they become diluted in England. The affluence of the Colonists during the late war introduced a degree of luxury in tables, dress, and furniture, with which they were before unacquainted. But still they are not so gay a people as their neighbours in Boston, and several of their southern colonies. The Dutch counties in some measure follow the example of New York; but still retain many modes peculiar to the Hollanders.

New York is one of the most social places on the continent: The men collect themselves into weekly evening clubs: The ladies in winter
are

are frequently entertained either at concerts of music or assemblies, and make a very good appearance.

It is much owing to the disproportion between the number of inhabitants, and the vast tracts remaining still to be settled, that they have as yet entered upon scarcely any other manufactures than such as are indispensibly necessary for their own conveniencies. Felt making, which is perhaps the most natural of any they could fall upon, was begun some years ago; and hats were exported to the West Indies with great success, till lately prohibited by an act of parliament.

The province of Pennsylvania has a fine soil; and, through the importation of Germans, abounds with inhabitants; but being a vast inland country, its produce must of consequence be brought to a market over a great extent of ground, and all by land-carriage. Hence it is said, that Philadelphia is crowded with waggons, carts, horses, and their drivers: that a stranger, at his first entrance, would imagine it to be a place of traffic beyond any one town in the colonies: while at New York in particular, to which the produce of the country is all brought by water, there is more business, at least business of profit, though with less shew and appearance. Not a boat in Hudson's River is navigated with more than two or three men at most; and these are perpetually coming in from, and returning to, all parts of the adjacent country, in the same employments, that fill the city of Philadelphia with some hundreds of men, who may be said to be laboriously indolent in respect to the public utility. For computing the expence of a waggon with its tackling; the time of two men in attending it; their maintenance; four horses, and the charge of their provender on a journey 100 or 200 miles; it will be found that these several particulars amount to a very considerable sum.—All this time, the New York farmer is in the course of his proper business, and the unincumbered acquisitions of his profession; for, at a medium, there is scarce a farmer in the province that cannot transport the fruits of a year's labour, from the best farm, in three days, at a proper season, to some convenient landing, where the market will be to his satisfaction, and all the wants of the merchant cheaply supplied. Beside which, one boat can enter the harbour of New York with a lading of more burthen and value than 40 waggons, 160 horses, and 80 men, into Philadelphia; and perhaps with less noise or shew than one. It is said of the citizens of New York, that prodigious is the advantage they have in this article alone: this is certain, that barely on account of their easy carriage, the profits of farming with them exceed those in Pennsylvania, at least by thirty per cent. which difference, in favour of

the New York farmers, is of itself sufficient to enrich them; while the others find the disadvantage they are exposed to so heavy, especially the remote inhabitants of their country, that a bare subsistence is all they can reasonably hope to obtain. Take the province of New York throughout, the expence of transporting a bushel of wheat is but two-pence for the distance of 100 miles; but the same quantity at the like distance in Pennsylvania will always exceed the other one shilling at least: but the proportion between the two colonies is nearly the same in the conveyance of every other thing. Such is the account given of the advantages of their situation by the New York writers. But when these facts are considered, that New York was a well-advanced colony long before William Penn began to settle his province; that though there have been always in the territory of New York great tracts of land unsettled, strangers have rather chosen to sit down in Pennsylvania; that numbers of families, particularly the Germans, have actually abandoned the former for the latter; that most of the emigrants from New England crossed the province of New York to settle beyond it; that Pennsylvania now far exceeds it in population; and that wheat, though equally good, is generally cheaper at Philadelphia market than at that of New York; it seems as if those boasted advantages were either much exaggerated, or over-balanced by some disadvantages accompanying them, or by greater advantages in Pennsylvania, which these writers do not mention.

C H A P. III.

Legislature, and religious state of the province of New York.

IT has been already observed, that this colony is subject to the controul of the British parliament; but its more immediate government is vested in a governor, council, and general assembly.

The instructions received with the commission, or explanatory of the patent, regulate the governor's conduct on almost every common contingency. The instructions are above one hundred in number; but never recorded. They are changeable at the royal pleasure; yet seldom undergo any considerable alteration.

The annual salary generally granted to the governor by the instructions is 1200 *l.* sterling out of the revenue here; but that being an insufficient fund, the assembly, in aid of it, give him annually 1560 *l.* currency; and the perquisites may amount to as much more.

This office formerly was very lucrative, but becomes daily less considerable, because almost all the valuable tracts of land are already taken up.

The council, when full, consists of twelve members, appointed by the king's mandamus and sign manual. All their privileges and powers are contained in the instructions. They are a privy-council to the governor in acts of civil government, and take the same oath as administered to the king's council in England. The tenure of their places is extremely precarious, and yet their influence upon the public measures very considerable. In the grant of all patents, the governor is bound to consult them; and regularly he cannot pass the seal without their advice.

The council never publish their legislative minutes; but the assembly always print their own votes; nor do either of these houses permit strangers to be present at their conventions.

The general assembly consists of twenty-seven representatives, chosen by the people, pursuant to a writ of summons issued by the governor. It is unnecessary to enlarge upon the customs of the general assembly, as they take the practice of the British House of Commons for their model, and vary from them in but very few instances.

No

HISTORY OF BRITISH AMERICA.

No colony upon the continent has formerly suffered more than this in the opinion of the king's ministers, which has been owing to the ill impressions made by their governors, who were scarcely ever disengaged from disputes with the lower house. The representatives, agreeable to the general sense of their constituents, are tenacious in their opinion, that the inhabitants of this colony are intitled to all the privileges of Englishmen, that they have a right to participate in the legislative power, and that the session of assemblies here is wisely substituted instead of a representation in parliament; which, all things considered, would, at this remote distance, be extremely inconvenient and dangerous. The governors, on the other hand, in general entertain political sentiments of a quite different nature. All the immunities the people enjoy, according to them, not only flow from them, but absolutely depend upon the mere grace and will of the crown. It is easy to conceive, that contentions must naturally attend such a contradiction of sentiments. Most of their disputes, however, relate to the support of government.

It must be confessed, that many plausible arguments may be assigned in support of the jealousy of the houses. A governor has numberless opportunities, not proper to be mentioned, for invading the rights of the people, and insuperable difficulties would necessarily attend all the means of redress.

As to the laws of this colony, the state of them opens a door to much controversy, because the uncertainty of them exposes the inhabitants too much to the arbitrary decisions of bad judges, and renders property precarious. The common law of England is generally received, together with such statutes as were enacted before this colony had a legislature of its own: but here the courts exercise a sovereign authority in determining what parts of the common and statute law ought to be extended; for it must be admitted, that the difference of circumstances necessarily requires these colonies, in some cases, to reject the determinations of both. In many instances, they have also extended even acts of parliament passed since they had a distinct legislation, which is adding greatly to the confusion in the colony.

The practice of their courts is not less uncertain than the law; for some of the English rules are adopted, and others rejected. Two things therefore seem to be absolutely necessary for the public security: first, the passing an act for settling the extent of the English laws: and, secondly, that the courts ordain a general set of rules for the regulation of the practice.

With

With respect to a more particular account of the religious state of this province, it should be observed, that the principal distinctions among them are the episcopalians, and the Dutch and English presbyterians. The two last, together with all the other protestants in the colony, are sometimes called by the general name of Dissenters; and compared to them, the episcopalians are scarce in the proportion of one to fifteen. Hence has partly arose the general discontent on account of the ministry acts; not so much as the provision made by them is engrossed by the minor sect, as because the body of the people are for an equal universal toleration of protestants, and utterly averse to any kind of ecclesiastical establishment. The dissenters, though fearless of each other, are all jealous of the episcopal party; being apprehensive that the countenance they may have from home will foment a desire for dominion, and enable them at last to load their fellow-subjects with oppression.

The episcopal clergy are missionaries of the English Society for propagating the gospel, and ordinarily ordained by the bishop of London, who has a commission from the king to exercise ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and commonly appoints a clergyman at New York for his commissary. The ministers are called by the particular churches, and maintained by the yearly allowance of the society, and the voluntary contributions of the auditors, because there is no law for tithes *.

The English presbyterians are very numerous; but those inhabiting New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and the three Delaware counties, are regularly formed, after the manner of the church of Scotland, into consistories or kirk sessions, presbyteries and synods, and probably will some time join in erecting a general assembly. These clergy are ordained by their fellows, and maintained by their respective congregations, excepting those missionaries among the Indians, whose subsistence is paid by "the Society in Scotland for propagating Christian Knowledge." None of the presbyterian churches in this province are incorporated, as is the case of many in New Jersey. Their judicatories are upon a very proper establishment; for they have no authority by legal sanctions to enforce their decrees: nor indeed is any religious sect among them legally invested with powers prejudicial to the common privileges of the rest. The dominion of all their clergy is merely spiritual, as it ought to be. The episcopalians, however, sometimes pretend, that the ecclesiastical establishment in South Britain extends to the colonies; which position the whole body of the dissenters utterly deny.

* See Smith, p. 219.

C H A P. IV.

Produce, manufactures, trade, and navigation.

CONCERNING the trade of this province, let it be remarked, that the situation of New York, with respect to foreign markets, for reasons before assigned, is to be preferred to any of the British colonies: for it lies in the center of the British plantations on the continent, has at all times a short easy access to the ocean, and commands almost the whole trade of Connecticut and New Jersey, two fertile and well cultivated colonies. The projection of Cape Cod into the Atlantic renders the navigation from the former to Boston, at some seasons, extremely perilous; and sometimes the coasters are driven off, and compelled to winter in the West Indies. But the conveyance to New York, from the eastward through the Sound, is short, and unexposed to such dangers. Philadelphia receives as little advantage from New Jersey as Boston from Connecticut, because the only rivers which roll through that province disembogue not many miles from the city of New York. Several attempts have been made to raise Perth Amboy into a trading port; but hitherto it has proved to be an unfeasible project. New York, all things considered, has a much better situation; and were it otherwise, the city is become too rich and considerable to be eclipsed by any other town in its neighbourhood.

The merchants of New York are compared to a hive of bees, who industriously gather honey for others, *non vobis mellificatis apes*. The profits of their trade center chiefly in Great Britain; and for that reason they ought always to receive the generous aid and protection of their mother-country. In their traffic with other places, the balance is almost constantly in their favour. Their exports to the West Indies are, bread, pease, rye-meal, Indian corn, apples, onions, boards, slaves, horses, sheep, cheese, butter, pickled oysters, beef and pork. Flour is also a main article, of which there is shipped about 80,000 barrels a year. To preserve the credit of this important branch of their staple, they have a good law, appointing officers to inspect and brand every cask before its exportation. The returns are chiefly rum, sugar, and molasses, except cash from Curacoa; and when mules from the Spanish main are ordered to Jamaica and the Windward Islands, which are generally exchanged for their natural produce, for they receive but little cash from their own islands. The balance against them would be much more in their favour, if the indulgence to the sugar colonies did not enable them to sell their produce at a higher rate than either the Dutch or French Islands.

The

The Spaniards commonly contract for provisions with merchants in this and the colony of Pennsylvania, very much to the advantage both of the contractors and the public, because the returns are wholly in cash. Their wheat, flour, Indian corn, and lumber shipped to Lisbon and Madeira, balance the Madeira wine imported here.

The logwood trade to the Bay of Honduras is very considerable, and was pushed by the merchants of New York with great boldness in the most dangerous times. The exportation of flax-seed to Ireland is of late so much increased, that, between the 9th of December 1755 and the 23d of February following, they shipped off 12,528 hogheads. In return for this article, linens are imported, and bills of exchange drawn in favour of England to pay for the dry goods purchased here; and their logwood is remitted to the English merchants for the same purpose.

The fur-trade ought not to be passed over in silence. It is computed that they export 150 hogheads of beaver and other fine furs per annum; and 200 hogheads of Indian-dressed deer-skins, besides those carried from Albany into New England; but skins undressed are usually shipped to Holland.

The building of Oswego conduced more than any thing else to the preservation of this fur-trade. Peltry of all kinds is purchased with rum; ammunition, blankets, strouds, and wampum or conque-shell beads. The French fur-trade at Albany was carried on until the summer 1755, by the Caghuaga profelytes; and in return for their peltry, they received Spanish pieces of eight, with some other articles which the French wanted to complete their assortment of Indian goods; for the savages prefer the English strouds to the French, who found it their interest to purchase them of the English, and transported them to the western Indians on the Lake Erie, Huron, and at the Streight of Michilimakinac.

The importation of dry goods from England is so great at New York, that they are obliged to betake themselves to all possible arts to make remittances to the British merchants. It is for this purpose these colonists import cotton from Saint Thomas's and Surinam; lime-juice and nicaragua wood from Curacoa, and logwood from the Bay; yet it drains them of all the silver and gold they can collect. It is computed, that the annual amount of the goods purchased by this colony in Great Britain is in value not less than 500,000*l.* sterling; and the sum would be much greater if a stop was put to all clandestine trade. England is doubtless intitled to all the colony superfluities, because their general interests are

closely connected, and the British navy is the principal defence of the colonists. On this account, the trade with Hamburgh and Holland for duck, chequered linen, oznabrigs, cordage, and tea, if Britain can produce and supply with these things, is certainly, upon the whole, impolitic and unreasonable, how much soever it may advance the interest of a few merchants, or this particular colony.

By what measures this contraband trade may be effectually obstructed, is hard to determine, though it well deserves the attention of a British parliament. Increasing the number of custom-house officers will be a remedy worse than the disease, as their salaries would be an additional charge upon the public. In the province of New York there is one collection or custom-house district, kept in the port of New York.

The exclusive right of the East-India company to import tea, while the colonies purchase it of the foreigners thirty per cent. cheaper; must be very prejudicial to the nation. The colonists of New York, both in town and country, are shamefully gone into the habit of tea-drinking; and it is supposed they consume of this commodity in value near 50,000 *l.* sterling per annum. Some are of opinion, that the fishery of sturgeons, which abound in Hudson's River, might be improved to the great advantage of the colony; and that, if proper measures were concerted, much profit would arise from ship-building and naval stores. It is certain, they have timber in vast plenty; oak, white and black pines; fir, locust, red and white mulberry, and cedar; and perhaps there is no soil on the globe fitter for the production of hemp than the low lands in the county of Albany. To what has been already said concerning iron ore, a necessary article, the following may be added: that it is generally believed this province abounds with a variety of minerals; and of iron in particular they have such plenty, as to be excelled by no country in the world of equal extent.

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
BRITISH EMPIRE
IN
NORTH AMERICA.

BOOK IV.
NOVA CAESAREA, or NEW JERSEY.

CHAP. I.

The original settlements and grants of the colony.

WHOEVER will be at the trouble of an enquiry into the general inexperience and methods of colonizing formerly, especially at the time the settlements here were first attempted under grants, will find but little reason to doubt, that views of permanent stability to religious and civil freedom must have been the inducement to the original adventurers to think of such a removal. The New England government had before been considerably settled, from motives of a like kind. These, though near forty years later in their settlement, were also protestant dissenters, and involved in the general insecurity of religious toleration in the reign of King Charles II. Many of them having been actual sufferers through the mistaken policy of that time, merely for a free exercise of their religious sentiments. As they do not appear to have been charged with any violation of religious integrity, so no instance occurs of dissatisfaction among themselves, though many of them were remarkably tender on that head. With the motives above, some of them had indubitably a distant prospect

spect also of improving their estates; but this could not be the case so much at first as afterward *.

However smooth the passage may look now, it must be a reasonable supposition, that persons and families, who lived well, which was the circumstances of many of the settlers of this province, found it no inconsiderable trial to unsettle and remove three thousand miles: but, whatever were their motives, they successively encountered the hazards and hardships to which the enterprize was exposed; and, at their own expence, laid the foundation of this colony.

New Jersey and Pennsylvania were originally claimed by the Dutch and the Swedes, who relinquished it to the English in 1664 †, when King Charles II. made a grant of New Jersey to his brother James Duke of York: and this Prince conveyed the same to Lord Berkeley, Baron of Stratton, and Sir George Carteret of Saltrum, in the county of Devon, Knight, their heirs and assigns for ever.

1664. This was done by deeds of lease and release from the Duke of York, dated the 24th of June 1664, whereby, in consideration of a sum of money, his Royal Highness granted them, their heirs and assigns for ever, "all that tract of land adjacent to New England, and lying and being to the westward of Long Island and Manhattas Island, and bounded on the east part by the main sea, and part by Hudson's River; and hath upon the west Delaware Bay or River; and extendeth southward to the main ocean as far as Cape May, at the mouth of Delaware Bay; and to the northward as far as the northermost branch of the said Bay or River of Delaware; which is in $41^{\circ} 40'$ of latitude, and crosseth over thence in a straight line to Hudson's River, in 41° ; which said tract of land is hereafter to be called Nova Casarea, or New Jersey, in as ample manner as the same is granted to the said Duke of York."

Lord Berkeley and Sir George Carteret, in consequence of this conveyance, became the sole proprietors of New Jersey; and agreed upon certain constitutions of government, by a governor, council, and assembly of representatives, with a general toleration as to the article of religion.

Thus affairs continued until 1688, when Governor Nicolls and his council at New York gave directions for a better settlement of the government on Delaware.

* Extracted from Mr. Samuel Smith's Preface to "the History of the Colony of Nova Casarea, or New Jersey," printed at Burlington in New Jersey, in 1765, p. 7.

† Ibid. p. 35.

This was the first constitution of New Jersey, which continued intire until the province became divided in 1676.

Sir George Carteret, then the only proprietor of the eastern division, confirmed and explained the concessions, with a few additions. The county of Bergen was the first settled place, where a few Danes inhabited, and called it Bergen, after the capital of Norway. The manner of originally settling is singular: this was in small lots, where their dwelling-houses are, and these contiguous in the town of Bergen: their plantations, which they occupy for a livelihood, are at some distance; and the reason of fixing thus, is said to be through fear of the numerous Indians in the early times of their settlement.

There were very soon four towns in the province; Elizabeth, Newark, Middletown, and Shrewsbury: these, with the country round, were in a few years plentifully inhabited, by the accession of the Scotch, of whom there came great numbers, such settlers as came from England, such of the Dutch that remained, and those from the neighbouring colonies.

Lord Berkeley and Sir George Carteret having agreed upon their concessions, appointed Philip Carteret, Esq. governor of New Jersey, and gave him power, with the advice of the major part of the council, to grant lands to all such as by the concessions were intitled thereto; and though there was no provision in the concessions for bargaining with the Indians, Governor Carteret, on his arrival, thought it prudent to purchase their rights, which was to be done for inconsiderable sums, in comparison of the damage a neglect might have occasioned. 1669.

Governor Carteret went for England in the summer of 1672, and left Captain John Berry his deputy until his return in 1674, when he found the inhabitants more disposed to union among themselves; and bringing with him the royal proclamation, as also a fresh commission and instructions from Sir George Carteret, he summoned the people, and had them all published; which for a while had a good effect toward restoring proprietary authority and the public peace. He remained governor until his death in 1682. In his time, the general assemblies and supreme courts sat at Elizabeth Town, and the councils generally. Here the secretary's office, and most other public offices, were held; and here also most of the officers of the government then had their residence. 1672. 1674.

Mention was made that Sir George Carteret, by his instructions to Governor Carteret, confirmed the original concessions, with additions and explanations.

explanations. Among other things they direct, that the governor and council should allow eighty acres per head to settlers above ten miles from the sea, the Delaware or other rivers, navigable with boats; and to those that settled nearer, sixty acres; that the land should be purchased from the Indians, as occasion required, by the governor and council, in the name of the proprietors, who were to be repaid by the settlers; with charges, that all strays of beasts at land, and wrecks of sea, should belong to the proprietor; and that all persons discovering any such thing should have satisfaction for their pains and care, as the governor and council might think fit.

CHAP.

C H A P. II.

Succession of governors, and historical events.

ONE moiety or half part of the province of New Jersey belonged to Lord Berkeley, who sold it to Mr. Edward Byllinge, and he assigned it to trustees * for the use of his creditors. Those trustees sold a considerable number of shares of their property to different purchasers, who thereupon became proprietors, in common with them, according to their different shares; after which Mr. Fenwick, and some other gentlemen, with their families, arrived and settled in West Jersey, when they agreed upon a form of government, which was intitled as follows :

1675.

"The concessions and agreements of the proprietors, freeholders, and inhabitants of the province of West New Jersey in America."

1676.

This deed consisted of forty-four articles, and was signed on the 3d of March 1676, by one hundred and fifty proprietors.

The new proprietors sent instructions to Mr. Richard Hartshorne for the security and improvement of their estate and interest, called New West Jersey, as George Carteret's was called New East Jersey.

The line of division was settled, and both proprietaries endeavoured to make the most of their estates. The western proprietors soon published a description of their moiety; on which many persons removed thither: but lest any should not sufficiently weigh the importance of this undertaking, and for other reasons, the three principal proprietors published a cautionary epistle, consisting of an admonitory preamble, ten declarative articles, and a friendly conclusion.

Among other purchasers of the West Jersey lands, were two companies; one made up of some friends † in Yorkshire, and the other of some friends in London, who each contracted for considerable shares.

Commissioners were sent by the proprietors, with power to buy lands of the natives; to inspect the rights of such as claimed property; to order the lands laid out; and, in general, to administer the government pursuant to the concessions. They landed with two hundred and thirty passengers, chiefly Quakers, at Rackoon Creek.

1677.

* Penn, Lawrie, and Lucas.

† Quakers.

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They had regulated some matters in dispute with the governor of New York, and made some valid purchases of the Indians. The town of Burlington was laid out and built: several other families and servants arrived from England; but many that came as servants succeeded better than some that bought estates. The first, inured to industry, and the ways of the country, became wealthy; while others, by attempting improvements, or living too freely on their original stock, dwindled to indigency and distress.

Mr. John Crips, in a letter to Mr. Henry Stacy, gives him a particular account of the country; and concludes as follows: "Here is a town laid out for twenty proprietries; and the town-lots for every propriety will be about ten acres, which is only for a house, orchard and gardens; for the corn and pasture ground is to be laid out in great quantities."

1678. Two ships arrived from London and Hull, with several substantial settlers, and their servants. In this year, upon the application of the assigns of Lord Berkeley, the Duke of York made them a new grant of West New Jersey; and also confirmed the eastern part to the grandson of Sir George Carteret.

1680. The settlers of West Jersey sent letters to their friends in England in commendation of the country, their situation and settlements; with some arguments against the customs imposed at the Hoar Kill by the governor of New York, which were drawn up in a bold, nervous, sensible, declarative, authoritative, and constitutional style: it was judiciously considered as to the point of law; the equity of the case, and the prudential part of the matter, which are too long to be inserted here, though worthy of the greatest attention and strictest curiosity. These words may be necessary: "So that the plain English of the tragedy is this; we twice buy this moiety of New Jersey; first of Lord Berkeley, next of the nation; and for what? The better to mortgage ourselves and posterity to the Duke's governors, and give them a title to our persons and estates, that never had any before: but can there be a house without a bottom, or a plantation before a people? If not, can there be a custom before trade?" "Besides, there is no end of this power; for since we are assailed without law, and thereby excluded our English right of common assent to taxes, what security have we of any thing we possess?" "Let the Duke be requested to avoid this taxation, and put the country in such an English and free condition, that he may be as well loved and honoured as feared by all the inhabitants of his territory; that being great in their affections, he may be great by their industry, which will yield him that wealth."

wealth, that parent of power, that he may be as great a Prince by property as by title."

Accordingly, the customs were taken off, and a free port confirmed.*

Mr. Byllinge was appointed governor of West Jersey; and he appointed Mr. Jennings his deputy-governor, who called an assembly, and with them agreed upon certain fundamentals of government †, comprized in ten articles, whereby the governor was greatly abridged of prerogatives, and the people as much enlarged in liberty.

1681.

This assembly passed thirty-six laws; many of which were afterward repealed, though consonant to the original grant.

The commissioners then agreed "upon the methods for settling and regulation of lands" which was done by an instrument consisting of twenty-two articles.

A large ship, of 550 tons burden, arrived at West Jersey, with 360 passengers; after which the general assembly made some new regulations as to affairs of government; particularly as follows: "That for preventing clandestine and unlawful marriages, justices should have power to solemnize them:—the births of children, and decease of all persons, were to be entered in the public registers.—And, for preventing differences between masters and servants, where no covenants were made, all servants were to have, at the expiration of their service, according to the custom of the country, ten bushels of corn, necessary apparel, two hoes, and an ax." It was enacted, that "there should be four courts of session held at Burlington and Salem annually:" and the representatives of West Jersey continued to be yearly chosen, until the surrender of the proprietary government in 1709.

1682.

About this time the settlers in many parts were distressed for food; and the colony was farther alarmed by the death of Sir George Carteret, who by his will impowered his executors to sell his share of New Jersey, which was accordingly done.

* Letter from S. Jennings to W. Penn, dated "New Jersey, the 17th of October 1680."

† These were dated, "Province of West New Jersey in America, the 25th of the 9th month, called November, 1681."

‡ This was dated, "December 3, 1698," whereby he devised to Edward Earl of Sandwich, John Esq. of Bath, Bernard Grenville, Sir Thomas Crew, Sir Robert Atkins, and Edward Atkins, Esq. and their heirs, all his plantation of New Jersey, for the purposes therein mentioned.

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From thence arose what has been called the twelve proprietors, who admitted another twelve; and the whole twenty-four appointed a council of proprietors. About this time it was calculated, that there were at least seven hundred families settled in the towns of East Jersey, which were near four thousand people; besides the out-plantations, which were thought to contain half as many more.

1683.

The Scotch had a considerable share in the settlement of East Jersey; and Robert Barclay, author of the Apology, was appointed governor for life; and Thomas Rudyard was appointed deputy-governor. Mr. Barclay continued governor until 1685, and died on the 3d of October 1690. He was succeeded as governor by Lord Neil Campbell, uncle to the Duke of Argyle; and he was succeeded by Sir Thomas Lane in 1698.

1684.

Gawen Lawrie arrived in 1683 as deputy-governor of East Jersey, under Robert Barclay; upon which a new council was chosen: and as there had been some considerable disturbances in the province, especially about Middletown and Woodbridge, relating to town affairs, the deputy-governor soon reconciled those disputes. He then wrote a letter to the proprietors at London, containing, as well his sentiments of the country, as some of the principal transactions of those times, particularly as follows: "Here wants nothing but people; there is not a poor body in all the province. Here is abundance of provision; pork and beef at two-pence per pound; fish and fowl plenty; oysters that might serve all England; wheat, four shillings sterling per bushel; Indian wheat, two shillings sterling per bushel; it is exceeding good for food every way, and two or three hundred fold increase: cyder, good and plenty, for one penny per quart: good drink that is made of water and molasses stands in about two shillings per barrel, wholesome, like our eight shilling beer in England: good venison plenty; brought us in at eighteen-pence the quarter; eggs, at three-pence per dozen; vines, walnuts, peaches, strawberries, and many other things, plentiful in the woods."

Mr. Barclay and Mr. Forbes also wrote to the Scotch proprietors: "That the air in this country is very wholesome; and though it alters suddenly, sometimes being one day hot, and another cold, yet people are not so subject to catch cold or be distempered by it as in England. The land lies for the most part pretty high; but on the river and creek sides are many meadows, which lie low, from which the country people get their hay, whereby their stocks are maintained in the winter season: that provisions of all kinds were plentiful and cheap; so that they saw little wanting that a man could desire; and they were sure, that a sober and industrious

industrious people might make this a rich country, and enrich themselves in it, especially poor people, who were hard put to it to gain bread at home, notwithstanding the excessive labour; for they saw that people there wanted nothing, and yet their labour was very small; that they worked not by one-half so hard as the husbandmen or farmers in England; and many of these who had settled there upwards of sixteen years, had lived upon the product of the land they cleared the first two years after they came, which produced not only corn to maintain their own families, but to sell every year; and the increase of their bestial, whereof they had good store of several sorts, as cows, oxen, horses, sheep, and swine, yielded them other provisions, and to sell besides: yet there were some more industrious among them, who continued clearing and improving land; and these had got estates, nor would sell their plantations for several hundred pounds: that the merchants in New York, both Dutch and English, had many of them taken up land, and settled plantations in this country; and several from that colony were desirous to come and take up land, though they might have land, without paying quit-rents, in their own country: that there was good encouragement for tradesmen to come over; such as carpenters, masons, and bricklayers; for they built not only of wood, but also of stone and brick; yet most of the country houses were built of wood, only trees split, and set up on end in the ground; and coverings to their houses were mostly shingles, made of oak, chestnut and cedar wood, which made a very neat covering; yet there were some houses covered after the Dutch manner, with pantiles."—"The towns are all settled upon rivers, where vessels of thirty or forty tons may come up to their doors, and the out-plantations generally upon some brook or rivulets, which are as plenty here as in our own country, and curious clear water; and in many places are good spring wells; but in the towns every man, for the most part, has a well digged on his own land: and among all the towns that are there settled, none lieth so convenient for trade as New Perth." This, with a farther account of the produce and establishment of the colony, was dated "Elizabeth Town in East Jersey, the 29th of the first month, called March, 1684," signed, "John Barclay, Arthur Forbes."

The colony continued in a very unsettled state from 1684 to 1687, during which time, Thomas Olive was chiefe governor of West Jersey; he was supplanted by Mr. Byllinge, who appointed Mr. Skeine his deputy; and he was succeeded as governor by Dr. Daniel Cox of London, in 1687. The Doctor was one of the most considerable among the proprietors, and held the government until 1690.

During,

During this time some salutary laws were made, regarding the danger of duels, and the scarcity of provisions. The division-line was ran, and alterations made in the manner of locating lands; but to trace the proceedings relative to this line minutely, would be a task proper for those immediately concerned; for others they are too voluminous.

1691. Dr. Cox conveyed the government of West Jersey and territories to the West Jersey Society, consisting of Sir Thomas Lane, Knight, Michael Watts, and forty-six other gentlemen.*

1692. The great flood at Delaware Falls[†] happened in 1692, which did great damage to the inhabitants, and taught them how to fix their habitations upon higher ground. It was in the spring this year that the proprietors of West Jersey first appointed Colonel Andrew Hamilton to be their governor.

1701. This year is remarkable for the public commotions in the colony, which occasioned a "surrender † from the proprietors of East and West New Jersey, of their pretended right of government, to her Majesty" Queen Anne in 1702, whereby they acknowledged her Majesty's right to constitute governors of those provinces.

"The Queen's acceptance of the surrender of government" was dated "at the court at St. James's, the 17th day of April 1702," in a full council, whose order was as following: "This day the several proprietors of East and West New Jersey, in America, did in person present a deed of surrender, by them executed under their hands and seals, to her Majesty in council; and did acknowledge the same to be their act and deed, and humbly desire her Majesty to accept the same, that it might be enrolled in the court of Chancery, whereby they did surrender their power of the government of those plantations; which her Majesty graciously accepted."

Immediately upon this surrender, Edward Lord Viscount Cornbury, grandson to the great Lord Chancellor the Earl of Clarendon, and first cousin to Queen Anne, was appointed governor of New Jersey. It re-unites the dissensions of the divided colonies; provides for their concord and unity, so as to be reunited into one province, and settled under one entire government, of which no more than seven were to be of the council;

* *Vol. this Instrument, Revell's Book, B. Secretary's Office, Burlington, p. 209.*

† *Ibid. Smith, p. 211—219.*

and

and as to the general assemblies, full directions were given in his instructions, in length.

Subsequent observations on Lord Cornbury's instructions, and the privileges originally granted to the settlers, are particularly mentioned in the provincial records, but are too prolix to be inserted here.

The distinction of the two provinces, East and West Jersey, now became united, under the name of Nova Caesarea, or New Jersey. Lord Cornbury convened the first general assembly after the surrender; but his speech, their address, and other proceedings, were discordant: therefore his lordship dissolved the assembly, and met another, which had its dissolution; when another assembly was called, who remonstrated the grievances of the colony. Lord Cornbury answered that remonstrance with great asperity, in a very prolix manner. The assembly replied to the same purpose*.

1703.

1704.

1706.

1707.

A memorial of the West Jersey proprietors residing in England was presented to the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations. The lieutenant-governor, with some of the council, addressed the Queen; and the assembly continued their complaints during the administration of Lord Cornbury, who was at last dismissed.

John Ford Lovelace, Baron of Hurley, succeeded Lord Cornbury, and summoned the council to meet him at Bergen on the 10th of December 1708. The session continued a month, and was conducted with unusual smoothness†.

1708.

The law for regulating the qualification of representatives to serve in general assembly was now passed, and is yet in force; the substance of which is, that every voter shall have 100 acres of land in his own right, or be worth 50*l*. current money; and that the person elected shall have 1000 acres in his own right, or be worth 500*l*. current money in personal estate‡.

The inhabitants had some reason to expect more happy times than formerly; but Lord Lovelace died a few days afterward, and the administration devolved on the lieutenant-governor, Ingoldby, who had before

* The whole may be seen in S. Smith, from p. 275 to 326.

† See S. Smith, p. 157.

‡ See the Laws of 1725 and 1730, vol. i. p. 142. 155.

the assembly the design of the crown, respecting the expedition against Canada, under the Colonels Nicholson and Vetch; upon which they voted 3000*l.* for the service, by an emission of paper-bills of credit*; but did not pass the bill at this time.

1710. Brigadier Hunter † arrived as governor in 1710, and removed that confusion in which the colony had been long involved concerning the Quakers oath to serve as jurymen. The general assembly presented a very long address to the governor relative to former innovations, which his excellency undertook to transmit to the Queen, and answered the house, "That her Majesty had given him directions to endeavour to reconcile the differences that were in this province; but if he could not, that he should make a just representation to her." The governor backed the remonstrance, and got all the counsellors removed that were pointed out by the assembly, as the cause of their grievances.

1711. A session of general assembly was convened: but Governor Hunter could not reconcile the differences and animosities between the council and representatives. The expedition to Canada took up their attention;
1712. after which a new assembly met, and passed several useful acts: but no
1713. farther historical occurrences happened until 1716, when the governor
1716. convened a new assembly at Perth Amboy ‡, which occasioned some differences between the representatives. The governor recommended to the assembly to augment the salaries of his officers, to assist in running the division-line with New York, and to provide for an agent at the court of Great Britain, because this was the only province in his Majesty's dominions that had none §. Very rainy weather happened, which destroyed the corn, and therefore was called the "wet harvest."

1720. Governor Hunter resigned the government to William Burnet, Esq.
1721. who convened the assembly in 1721. The members of council were twelve, and of the house of representatives twenty-four, to whom the governor addressed an elegant speech, and they returned a loyal answer. The sessions continued near two months; and the support was settled, 500*l.* a year for five years.

1727. Nothing material happened until 1727, when the assembly passed "an act for the limitation of actions, and for avoiding suits in law," which

* S. Smith, p. 359.

† He was also governor of New York. S. Smith, p. 376.

‡ For the members, see Smith, p. 404.

§ Vid. Laws of the Province, vol. i. p. 63.

was constructed upon the statutes then in force in Great Britain, and though short in expressions, will be of great importance in fact.

Governor Burnet continued to preside over New York and New Jersey until 1727, when he was removed to Boston, and succeeded by John Montgomery, Esq. who continued till his death in 1731. In his time, the assembly debated on the subject of a separate government from that of New York, and petitioned his Majesty thereupon, alleging, "That they humbly apprehended it would much more conduce to the benefit of this province, and no prejudice to that of New York, were their governors, as were the governments, distinct." This petition was referred by his Majesty to the Lords of Trade, who reported to the Lords of the Committee of the Privy Council, "That they had considered the humble petitions of the president and council, the speaker, and several members of the assembly of his Majesty's province of New Jersey; of the grand jury of the said province; and Mr. Richard Partridge, agent for New Jersey," whereupon "they could not doubt but that a separate governor, whom the province was willing to support, would be a means to be a quick dispatch to their public affairs, to increase their trade and number of people, and very much advance the interest of the province. Therefore they were of opinion, that his Majesty might be graciously pleased to comply with the prayer of those petitions."

1727.

1728.

See Beverley's
History of
Virginia.

William Cosby, Esq. was appointed governor, and continued so until his death in 1736, when the government devolved on the president of the council, John Anderson, Esq. who died soon afterward, and was succeeded by John Hamilton, Esq.

1731.

1736.

A commission arrived to Lewis Morris, Esq. as governor of New Jersey, separate from New York, and he continued as such until his death in 1746. He was succeeded by president Hamilton, who soon after died, and was succeeded by John Reading, Esq. as eldest counsellor. Jonathan Belcher, Esq. arrived as governor, and continued in his office until 1757, when he was succeeded by Mr. Reading as president.

1738.

1746.

1747.

1757.

Francis Bernard, Esq. arrived governor in 1758; but was removed to Boston, and succeeded by Thomas Boone, Esq. in 1760. Mr. Boone was removed to South Carolina, and succeeded to the government of New Jersey by Josiah Hardy, Esq. in 1761. He was removed, and afterward appointed consul at Cadiz in the room of Mr. Goldsworthy; and Mr. Hardy was succeeded in 1763 by William Franklin, Esq. the present governor of the colony.

1758.

1760.

C H A P. III.

The present State of the Colony.

THE greatest length of New Jersey from north to south, that is from Cape May, in the latitude of 39° to the north station point in the latitude $41^{\circ} 40'$, is 184 miles. Its greatest breadth is about 60 miles; but supposing it, on an average, 150 in length, and 50 broad, the whole province must then contain 4,800,000 acres; of which, at least, one fourth is poor barren land in respect to tillage, but in part abounding with pines and cedars, with some tracts of swamp that will make meadow. It is thought that West Jersey contains the greatest quantity of acres, and in return took the most barren land. East Jersey is supposed to have located about 468,000 acres of good land; and 96,000 acres of pine. West Jersey is partitioned into about 2,625,000 acres, of which the far greater part is already surveyed; and what remains are chiefly the rights of minors and people abroad.

Almost the whole extent of the province adjoining the Atlantic is barren, or nearly approaching it; yet there are scattering settlements all along the coast, where the people subsist chiefly by raising cattle in the bog undrained meadows and marshes, and cutting down the cedars, which were originally plenty of both the white and red sorts. The barrens or poor lands generally continue from the sea up into the province thirty miles or more, and this nearly the whole extent from east to west; so that there are many thousand acres that will never serve much of the purposes of agriculture; consequently, when the pines and cedars are gone, this will not be of much value. The lands, however, in general are good.

There are thirteen counties in the province.

I. *Eastern Division.*

1. Middlesex; in which lies the city of Perth Amboy, on a point of land that divides the River Rariton and Arthur Kull Sound: It was called Perth from James Drummond Earl of Perth; and Amboy from Ambo, in Indian a point: the harbor is capacious, and the port as good.

as most upon the continent. There is also New Brunswick, well built upon the Rariton: Princeton, where is New Jersey college, founded by charter from President Hamilton, and enlarged by Governor Belcher in 1747. This county contains several villages, and has a considerable trade with New York.

2. Monmouth; which contains Shrewsbury, Middletown, Freehold, and Allen Town.

3. Essex; contains the well-settled towns of Elizabeth and Newark, in each of which is a public library.

4. Somerset; in which is the village of Bound Brook.

5. Bergen; where are the remarkable Passaic falls; and the family of Schuylers have here two large parks for deer.

II. *Western Division.*

6. Burlington; has its capital of the same name, which was laid out in 1677; also Borden Town, and Bridge Town; with several villages. In this county are the Indian settlements of Brotherton and Weckpink.

7. Gloucester; first laid out in 1677, and contains the villages of Gloucester, Haddonfield, and Woodbury.

8. Salem; named by John Fenwick, and distinguished by his tenth, in 1675; but the name and jurisdiction were afterwards settled by a proprietary law in 1694. It contains the towns of Salem and Hunterdon.

9. Cumberland; so named by Governor Belcher, in respect to his Royal Highness William late Duke of Cumberland: It was divided from Salem by act of assembly in 1747; and it contains the town of Hopewell, as also the village of Greenwich and some others.

10. Cape May; which is divided into three precincts.

11. Hunterdon; was divided from Burlington by act of assembly in 1713, and named by Governor Hunter. The chief town is Trenton, which is a good place of trade.

HISTORY OF BRITISH AMERICA.

12. Morris; was made a county in 1738, when the boundaries were established; but altered by the separation of Sussex in 1753. It was named by Governor Morris, and the courts are held at Morris Town.

13. Sussex; was named by Governor Belcher, and was divided from Morris by act of assembly in 1753. The courts for the county are at Hairlocker's plantation, where a new court-house was lately built.

The principal courts in the province are, 1. The chancery. 2. The governor and council. 3. The prerogative court. 4. The vice-admiralty court. 5. The supreme courts, held four times a year, alternately at Amboy and Burlington. 6. The sessions and court of common pleas, for business in the respective counties. 7. The justices court for trial of small causes in a summary way.

" Appeals for sums above 200*l.* sterling may be made to the king in council, after having been through the courts here."

The beasts, birds, and fish, are those common to the rest of the continent; but some of the colonies have much greater variety.

The number of inhabitants in 1738 was found to be	_____	47,369
In 1745	_____	61,403

The increase in seven years	_____	14,034
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Supposing the increase to be nearly the same since, the number now must be about	_____	100,000
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The increase of some of the counties in West Jersey, between 1699 and 1745, was found to be more than six for one; but the proportion of strangers arriving since is not the same.

THE

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
BRITISH EMPIRE
IN
NORTH AMERICA.

BOOK V.

An Account of the Province of PENNSYLVANIA, and its
Territories.

SECTION I.

*General Remarks: Boundaries: Original Grants from the Crown to the
Proprietaries, and from them to the Colonists.*

IT may in general be observed, that gold, silver, other valuable
metals and minerals, as also precious stones, and spices, were the first
inducements and objects of our East and West Indian discoveries: but
the trade for tobacco, furs, skins, fish, rice, and naval stores, were only
incidental.

Sir Walter Raleigh, in 1584, began the settlement of Virginia, which
was dwindlingly carried on until 1606, when King James I. in one
patent incorporated two companies, called the North and South Vir-
ginia companies.

Captain Henry Hudson, in 1608, discovered the mouth of Hudson's
River, in 40° 30' of north latitude, upon his own account, as he imagined,
and

and sold it, or rather imparted the discovery to the Dutch, who made some settlements there; but were drove off by Sir Samuel Argol, Governor of a second Virginia company in 1618, because within the limits granted to that company. King James, however, in 1620, gave the Dutch some liberty of refreshment for their ships bound to the Brazils, which then belonged to them; and the Dutch, taking advantage of the civil wars in England, so far extended and improved their first and only colony in North America, that they formed a province called New Netherlands, which comprehended those territories that are now called the colonies of New York, the Jerseys, and some part of Pennsylvania.

As this great tract of land had been taken and possessed by a foreign power, though afterward delivered or surrendered back by treaty, King Charles II. to remove all disputes concerning the validity of former grants, was advised to make a new grant of that country to his brother the Duke of York, by letters patent, bearing date the 29th of June 1674.

The province and territories of Pennsylvania are by three distinct grants. I. The province of Pennsylvania by patent from King Charles II. dated the 4th of March 1680-1. II. The Duke of York, on the 24th of August 1682, sold to William Penn the elder, his heirs and assigns, the town of Newcastle or Delaware, and a district twelve miles round Newcastle. III. The Duke of York, by another deed of the same date, also granted to Mr. Penn, his heirs and assigns, all that tract of land from twelve miles south of Newcastle to the Hoar Kills, otherwise called Cape Henlopen, divided into the two counties of Kent and Suffex; which, with Newcastle district, are commonly known by the name of the three lower counties upon Delaware River.

The northern boundary of the province and territories of Pennsylvania is in 42° parallel of latitude, from Delaware River west to the extent of 5° in longitude, being about 245 English statute miles: thence in a line parallel with the river of Delaware at 5° longitude west from it, to a parallel of latitude fifteen miles south of Philadelphia, being about 153 miles in a direct line: but by the course of the river to 42° of latitude is about 210 miles.

This is one of the most considerable of all the North American colonies, and the first proprietary was the son of Sir William Penn, who commanded the English fleet, in conjunction with other admirals, in the time of the rump parliament, whom the Lord Protector Oliver-Cromwell sent

sent with Colonel Venables to reduce Hispaniola; to which expedition, though fruitless as to the first object of its destination, we owe the Island of Jamaica. Admiral Penn had been a strong independent; but became a royalist upon the restoration, was knighted, and commanded the English fleet under the Duke of York against the Dutch, commanded by Admiral Opdam in 1665; in which battle the Dutch admiral was killed, and Sir William Penn acquired immortal glory, but soon after died, and was interred at Redcliff church in Bristol.

Sir William Penn, in reward of his services to the crown, had a promise from King Charles II. of the grant of this part of America; but his son, who was a student at Christ church in Oxford, together with Lord Spencer, afterward that great statesman Robert Earl of Sunderland, despised the surplice, and patronized the Quakers, who were then persecuted. Upon their account he solicited the grant promised to his father, and resolved to put himself at the head of as many as would go with him to the country which he intended to call Pennsylvania.

The report is probable, that Mr. Penn, beside his royal grant of the province of Pennsylvania, had also a grant of the same from the Duke of York, to obviate any pretence that the province was comprehended in a former royal grant of New Netherlands to the Duke of York: But as the three lower counties or territories were by distinct deeds or grants from that of the royal grant of the province, when it was left by the proprietary to their option to be united with the jurisdiction of the general government, or to continue a separate jurisdiction, they chose the latter, so as not to be annihilated by a prevalent authority: And thus they continue as two distinct legislatures, under the direction of one governor; though their municipal laws and regulations are much the same.

When Mr. Penn had obtained his patent, he invited several persons to purchase lands under it; while he also bought the lands of the native Indians, which was certainly the best right he had to them. The Swedes had encroached upon the Dutch at New York, and settled upon or near the freshes of the Delaware. The King of Sweden appointed a governor here, who had disputes frequently with the Dutch governor. The Swedes applied themselves chiefly to husbandry, and the Dutch to trade, whereby they became more formidable than the Swedes, and obliged them to submit to such a superiority. Accordingly, John Rizeing, the Swedish governor, made a formal surrender of the country to Peter Stuyvesant, the Dutch Governor; after which, this territory continued subject

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subject to the States General until the Dutch were expelled by the English, who thereby made the possession more easy to Mr. Penn.

There were a few English here before Mr. Penn sent over the first adventurers under his patent; and, as governor of them, he appointed Colonel William Markham, his nephew, to whom both Swedes and Dutch submitted. Those that first embarked from England as adventurers were generally Quakers from London, Bristol, and Liverpool. Servants were to have fifty acres when their times were out, and owners of land fifty acres a head for such servants, men or women.

When the province began to be somewhat planted, Mr. Penn went over himself, with about 2000 persons, in 1681; so that, as he judiciously observed, this province "was at once made a country." He took the government into his own hands, purchased the Indian territories, divided the country into proper districts, and established courts for the distribution of justice.

The original draught of the constitution for this province was made by that great patriot and lawyer Sir William Jones, who had too much understanding, virtue, and honour, to throw the people out of the question, when their religion, their liberty, their property, their well-being in this world and the next, were so nearly concerned in it.

"Mr. Penn's first charter concessions, or form of government to the settlers, seems Utopian and whimsical; constituting a legislature of three negatives, viz. the governor, and two distinct houses of representatives chosen by the freemen; one called the provincial council of 72 members, the other the provincial assembly of 200 members; the council had an exorbitant power of exclusive deliberation upon, and preparing all bills for the provincial assembly; the executive part of the government was intirely with them. The provincial assembly, in the bills to be enacted, had no deliberative privilege, only a yes or no; then the numbers of provincial council, and provincial assembly, seem to be extravagantly large for an infant colony: perhaps he was of opinion with some good politicians, that there can be no general model of civil government; the humours or inclinations, and numbers of various societies, must be consulted and variously settled. A small society naturally requires the deliberation and general consent of their freemen for taxation and legislature; when the society becomes too numerous for such universal meetings, a representation or deputation from the several districts is a more convenient and easy administration. His last and present standing charter to the inhabitants

inhabitants of the province and territories of Pennsylvania October 28 1701, runs into the other extreme; the council have no negative in the legislature, and only serve as the proprietary's council of advice to the governor.—A council chosen by the people, to negative resolves of representatives also chosen by the people, seems to be a wheel within a wheel, and incongruous; but a council appointed by the court of Great Britain as a negative, seems to be a good policy, by way of controul upon the governor on the one hand, and upon the people by their representatives on the other.

" The province of Pennsylvania some years since was mortgaged to Mr. Gee and others, for 6600 l. sterling. In the year 1713, Mr. Penn by agreement made over all his rights in Pennsylvania to the crown, in consideration of 12,000 l. sterling; but before the instrument of surrender was executed, he died apoplectic, and Pennsylvania still remains with the family of Penn *."

* Douglas's Summary, vol. ii. p. 305.

SECTION II.

Divisions into counties—Description of the city of Philadelphia, legislature, and courts of judicature. Religious sectaries.

WILLIAM Penn, Esq. carried over many Quakers with him to settle in the province, which he divided into proper districts, and founded the capital city of Philadelphia. He continued two years in Pennsylvania, and then returned to England upon the death of his father; but he left the government in the hands of Thomas Lloyd, with a council.

The proper province of Pennsylvania was at first divided into the three counties of Philadelphia, Bucks, and Chester, each sending eight representatives to the assembly: the county of Lancaster has been added since, which sends four representatives; and an addition was lately made of two new counties back inland, by the names of York and Cumberland, which are allowed only two members each: And all these, together with two representatives from the city of Philadelphia, make thirty-four representatives, which compose the house of assembly.

The three lower counties, called the territories, on Delaware River, are a distinct jurisdiction, and their assembly of representatives consists of six members from Newcastle county, six from Kent and Sussex counties, in all eighteen members.

The city of Philadelphia is situated in 75° of west longitude, and $39^{\circ} 58'$ of north latitude, between Delaware and Schuylkill Rivers, and near their confluence. It is well laid out, in a plain, consisting of eight long streets of two miles, and sixteen cross streets of one mile each, at right angles, with proper spaces for public buildings. It is divided into the following suburbs and wards; The South suburbs, the Dutch ward, Walnut ward, South ward, Chestnut ward, Middle ward, High Street ward, North ward, Mulberry ward, Upper Delaware ward, Lower Delaware ward, and the North suburbs, which were soon well built and populously inhabited, but principally by Quakers, to whom, and the other citizens, Mr. Penn, on the 25th of October 1701, granted a charter for erecting the town into a corporation and city, under a mayor, recorder, sheriff, and town clerk, eight aldermen, and twelve common-council men.

The plan of the city was drawn up by Mr. Thomas Holme, who was appointed surveyor general of the province. The city has two fronts on the water; one, on the east side, facing the Schuylkill; and the other, on the west, facing the Delaware. This city flourished so much at first, that there were about 100 houses erected there in less than a year, and they continually increased until it became a populous and flourishing city.

The names of the streets denote the several sorts of timber that are common in Pennsylvania; as Mulberry-street, Sassafras-street, Chestnut-street, Walnut-street, Beech-street, Ash street, Vine-street, and Cedar-street. There are also several other streets, particularly High-street, which is 100 feet in breadth; and so is Broad-street, which is in the middle of the city, running from north to south.

All owners of 1000 acres and upward had their houses in the two fronts facing the rivers, and in the High-street, running from the middle of one front to the middle of the other. Every owner of 1000 acres had about an acre in front, and the lesser purchasers about half an acre in the back streets, by which means the least had room enough for a house, garden, and little orchard.

The Schuylkill is navigable more than 100 miles above the falls; and the Delaware is navigable 300 miles. The land on which the city stands is high and firm; but the convenience of cover, docks, and springs, have very much contributed to the commerce of this place, where many eminent merchants reside. Ships may ride here in six or seven fathom water, with good anchorage; and the cellars or warehouses on the quay are made into the river three stories high.

In 1749, the city contained about 14,500 inhabitants: and there were eleven places of public religious worship; that is, one Church of England, two Presbyterians, two Quakers, one Baptist, one Swedish, one Dutch Lutheran, one Dutch Calvinist, one Moravian, and one Roman Catholic.

In the province of Pennsylvania and its territories no regular estimate can be made of the inhabitants, because there is no poll-tax, nor any militia list allowed for alarms, or common trainings, to form estimates by, as in the other colonies; but, in the last six months of 1750, there were buried in Philadelphia as follows:

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Swedes,	—	—	—	13
Presbyterians,	—	—	—	26
Baptists,	—	—	—	9
Quakers,	—	—	—	104
Dutch Lutheran,	—	—	—	28
Dutch Calvinists,	—	—	—	39
Roman Catholics,	—	—	—	15
Church of England,	—	—	—	64
Negroes,	—	—	—	42
In all,				<u>340</u>

There is only one custom-house collection in the proper province of Pennsylvania, called the port of Philadelphia; it should be observed that Delaware River, or the port of Philadelphia, is generally frozen up, and has no navigation in the months of January and February.

The acts of legislature run as follows: "Be it enacted, by the Honourable — Esq. Lieutenant-Governor of the province of Pennsylvania, and of the counties of Newcastle, Kent, and Suffex, on Delaware River; by and with the consent of the representatives of the freemen of the said province, in general assembly met." The governor is only deputy to the proprietary, and is stiled his Honour the Lieutenant-Governor, whose annual salary has generally been 1000*l.* currency out of the excise duty for the province of Pennsylvania, and 200*l.* a year from the territories called the Three Lower Counties. But, by act of parliament, all lieutenant-governors, or deputies, nominated by proprietors, or principal hereditary governors of British colonies, must have the royal approbation.

The house of assembly consists of thirty-four representatives; and the qualification for an elector or elected is, a freeman resident in the country for two years, worth in real or personal estate, or both jointly, the value of fifty pounds currency; which is to be declared upon oath or affirmation, if required: but the territories have a peculiar jurisdiction, as observed before.

Their general assemblies are annually elective on the first of October; and the representatives are not by towns and parish elections, Philadelphia excepted, as in the New England colonies; but by county elections.

Pennsylvania

Pennsylvania Proper, called the Province, for many years, consisted of only three counties, called the Upper Counties; as, 1. Buckingham county, whose chief town is Bristol. 2. Philadelphia county, whose capital is of the same name, which implies "brotherly love." 3. Chester county, whose principal town is Chester, about fifteen miles below Philadelphia town. The three interior counties are, Lancaster, York, and Cumberland, whose capitals are of the same name. The territories are called the three Lower Counties on Delaware River. 1. Newcastle county, the chief town Newcastle, about thirty-five miles below Philadelphia. 2. Kent county, whose principal town is Dover. 3. Sussex county, the capital of which is Lewis town or Hoarkill, near Cape Henlopen of Delaware Bay.

The courts of judicature are as following :

Juries are all returned by the sheriff, except in particular cases, but not often, when there may be a struck jury by consent of parties; which must be in the presence of the judges, the sheriff, and the parties.

The sheriffs and coroners are annually elected, at the same time with the representatives, by a county election. The people elect two for each office, of which the governor chooses one, who in the same manner may be elected for three years running; but cannot be re-elected after three years, without the intervention of three years, when they are capable of a new election.

Justices of the peace are all appointed by the governor, and sit in quarter sessions, conformable to the laws and institutions of England.

The judges of the common pleas are the justices of the peace in each respective county; and when the quarter sessions are finished, they continue to sit in quality of the judges of common pleas by commission from the governor.

The supreme court consists of a chief justice, and two assistant judges, commissioned by the governor. They have all the authority of the king's bench, common pleas, and court of exchequer, in England, in the words of the provincial law. They not only receive appeals, but all causes once commenced in the inferior courts, after the first writ, may be moved thither by a *habeas corpus*, *certiorari*, writs of error, &c. The judges of this supreme court have also a standing and distinct commission, to hold, as to them shall seem needful, courts of oyer and terminer and general

general gaol delivery throughout the province, and are justices of the peace in every county.

The supreme courts in Pennsylvania are held at Philadelphia, the tenth day of April, and the twenty-fourth day of September.

There is an officer called the register-general, for the probate of wills, and granting letters of administration; whose authority extends all over the province, but is executed by a deputy in each respective county, except at Philadelphia, where he is obliged to reside himself. He or his deputies, in case of any dispute, or caveat entered, may call two justices of the peace to assist him in giving decisions. The authority of this officer, and of all the others above-mentioned, is founded on acts of assembly, empowering the governor to commission and appoint such as seem to him qualified for that purpose.

The court of vice-admiralty is, as in the other colonies, by commission from the admiralty in England.

The judiciary court of admiralty is, as in the other colonies, by commission under the broad seal of England. Some of the neighbouring provinces being included in one and the same commission, the judges are the governors, councils, captains of men of war, principal officers of the customs, and some justices of the peace.

As to the religious sectaries, the Quakers are the chief; and these are a separate body from all the other dissenters, disagreeing in doctrine and practice from all alike, and teaching a particular religion from every other body of Christians throughout the world. Their adversaries have charged them with a denial of all the fundamentals of Christianity. They are a distinct political body, governed with great regularity, by laws and rules of their own making; and, in their outward deportment, they study to appear as contrary to the rest of mankind as they possibly can.

For their faith, the fairest account we can take of it will be from an Apology which Robert Barclay, one of their own body, presented to King Charles II.

In this there is no mention of a Trinity of Persons in the God-head; nothing of the incarnation of Jesus Christ, and of his being actually thereupon God-man; of the plenary satisfaction which he gave to the Divine Justice for the sins of men, by his death; of his ascension into

into heaven with the same body with which he appeared to St. Thomas after his resurrection; of his constant intercession at the right hand of the Father for all mankind; nor of the resurrection of the body.

These articles the Quakers have been charged with denying, before the writing of Robert Barclay's Apology, and more vigorously since. In defence for themselves, they say, that they own "the Three that bear record in heaven," 1 John v. 7. But the terms, Person and Trinity, they reject, as not spiritual; and they say farther, that the word Person is too gross to express such an union. They refuse therefore to subscribe the Nicene and Athanasian Creeds; and they seem to accuse the doctrines therein contained of polytheism. As to the doctrine of the incarnation, as the church of England holdeth it, they are not clear. They keep to Scripture-phrases, and own, that the Godhead dwelt bodily in Jesus: but whether they mean any more thereby than that the light, which they call the Christ within, dwelt in the Man Jesus fully, and was given to him without measure, is uncertain; for when they have been charged with affirming, that "there is no other Christ but what is within them," they reply thus: "When we say, There is no other Christ than what is within us, we say true; because Christ, as God, cannot be divided; and the measure or manifestation of the Spirit of Christ in us is not another, but a manifestation of the same Christ, which did, in fulness and bodily, dwell in the Man Jesus." They never speak of the hypostatical union of the two natures, divine and human, in the person of Jesus Christ. Some of them have been charged with allegorizing away the whole history of the crucifixion of Jesus Christ at Jerusalem, and of his resurrection and ascension; but this their vindicators deny, and many of them have been very explicit in their acknowledgment of the reality of that history, though they utterly deny, "that the outward person who suffered his body to be crucified by the Jews, without the gates of Jerusalem, is properly the Son of God." It will not be difficult to collect how far they agree with the church of England in the doctrine of the full and sufficient oblation and satisfaction which Jesus Christ made for the sins of all mankind at his death. As to the resurrection of the body, what they positively mean by it, they have never yet explained: negatively they assert, that the same natural and fleshly body, which was here upon earth, shall not rise; and in that they are very explicit, and pretend to prove their assertion from St. Paul's account of the resurrection.

At first they had no such thing as church government; and every man spoke, acted, directed, and admonished all things as he apprehended himself to be directed by the light within: but as they grew numerous, they

they found this would not keep them sufficiently together; and so, under the direction of their first founder, George Fox, they formed themselves into a regular body, and observed a stated discipline; in which, though without pretending to any thing like coercion, they are as united, and understand the state of one another, as well as any society of men whatsoever, civil or ecclesiastical, in Christendom *.

Their monthly and quarterly meetings are held in the several countries in which they live; and according as their settlements are more numerous and thick, so more or fewer towns send deputies to these assemblies. In their meetings they take examinations of the state of every town in which they dwell: they inquire who stand fast to their rules and orders, and who backslide from them; who write against them; who pay tithes and churchwardens rates; who suffer for non-payment of either; as also who are married by priests; and accordingly they censure or encourage: there they excommunicate; and there, upon occasion, they receive into communion again: and of all this they keep exact registers.

From these monthly and quarterly meetings, appeals lie to their yearly ones. These yearly meetings are always held in London, which is the center of communion of all the Quakers throughout the world. Thither deputies come from all parts of Great Britain, Ireland, Holland, Germany, and the plantations; in which last they have many numerous settlements. This meeting is usually held in White Hart Court, in Grace Church-street, in a commodious room, built on purpose. They send also a yearly epistle to all their settlements, giving instructions and admonitions proper to the occasion; to be read in the monthly and quarterly meetings of friends throughout the world.

The second day's meeting is a standing committee, residing at London, which meets every Monday in the year: its members are their principal teachers residing in or near the city; their business is to attend every particular exigency relating to the body, which may happen from one yearly meeting to another; but more particularly they are to examine, approve, and licence all books printed or reprinted for the service, as they call it, of the truth.

The meeting of sufferings is one of the ancientest assemblies they have; its regular time of meeting is every six weeks; its business is to receive

* Their meetings, by which they act as a society, are of several sorts; monthly, quarterly, yearly, second-day's meetings, and meeting of sufferings.

complaints out of all parts of England and Wales, from those who have suffered for non-payment of tithes and rates, and to take care how to procure them relief, either by sending them money, or by soliciting their causes above, or both. These people are more indulged than any other subjects; they are not obliged to take the oaths to the government; their bare word or affirmation is held sufficient: and whereas they used to affirm in the name of God, this was looked upon as too great an imposition on them, and the word God is now left out of it *."

The Quakers were not distinguished by any particular name until the year 1650; and in 1656 some of them arrived in New England, where they were persecuted with great severity †; but now, by their simplicity of manners, industry, integrity, frugality, humanity, and charity, they are universally esteemed.

Mr. Penn became a Quaker when he was twenty-two years of age; and he went with George Fox upon a mission into foreign countries; but from Holland they soon returned home; after which Mr. Penn wrote voluminously in defence of the sect he had embraced and patronized.

The Quakers have two large meeting-houses in Philadelphia, and a meeting almost in every township of the three first settled counties. In the other three counties they are not so prevalent; but they every where preserve a power by their two irresistible maxims of riches and unity: they have the secret of keeping their young people up to these, and let them think and talk otherwise as they please. The external part of their religion consists only in trivial matters, as antiquated modes of speech and plainness of dress; but the pusillanimous doctrine of not defending themselves by force against an invading enemy, is very singular. They say, that a regular clergy with benefices are hirelings: but unjustly they are said not to regard the Scriptures; whereas, in their exhortations, and defences of their orthodoxy, they use Scripture-phrases and quotations as much as any other sectaries; but some of their tenets seem to be Arminian.

There are several sorts of Baptists in Pennsylvania: 1. The English are generally a good and sober kind of people, who have one meeting in Philadelphia, and some in the country. 2. The First-day Baptists have been already mentioned. 3. The German Baptists are also reputed

* See the Statutes, 13 Car. II. cap. i. and 8 W. III. cap. 14. 3 Geo. I. cap. vi.

† Neale, vol. i. p. 310. 344. Hutchinson, p. 196. Douglass, i. p. 136.

orderly: they have no meetings, or public places of worship in Philadelphia, but many in the country, and generally refuse the qualification oath. One of their branchings are called Menists, who have no meeting in the capital, but follow farming in the country, where they are considered as a numerous and wealthy people. Their distinction is wearing long beards, and refusing government oaths. 4. The Dimplers are a small body of German Baptists from Philadelphia: both men and women profess continency, and live in separate apartments. Tho' an illiterate people in general, they have a decent chapel, and a printing-press, where some are continually printing, and others are curious in writing fine, particularly in scrolls, on religious subjects, stuck up in their halls and cells: the initial letters are beautifully illuminated with blue, red, and gold; such as may be seen in old monkish manuscripts. The men wear a monkish habit, without breeches, like capuchins, but lighter cloth. As to oaths, they are the same with the Quakers and Moravians; and as craftsmen, they are very ingenious. They have a grist-mill, a saw-mill, a paper-mill, an oil-mill, and a mill for pearl barley, all under one roof, upon a fine stream, which brings them in a considerable gain.

The Lutherans have one church in Philadelphia, and several in the country. There are also three Lutheran churches belonging to the descendants of the old Swedish families. They are supplied once in seven years from Sweden, and generally with good men.

The Presbyterians have two meetings in Philadelphia, and many in the country, particularly a small congregation called Cameronians, or Covenanters, who deny submission to magistrates.

The Papists are tolerated in this colony, as well as in Maryland, even as to the public exercise of the Roman catholic religion; and in Philadelphia there is a public popish chapel, frequented by a poor set of Irish people, whose priests have generally been Jesuits from England or Maryland.

The Moravians have transported themselves in considerable numbers from Germany, and call themselves *unitas fratrum*, or united brethren, as before mentioned. In church government they are episcopal, but refuse taking the oaths, in which they are favoured like the Quakers by affirmation, pursuant to an act of parliament in 1749. They publish no Creed or Confession of Faith, and preach in an enthusiastic strain. They use instrumental music in their worship; and they have a chapel, with a small organ, in Philadelphia: but their grand settlement is at Bethlehem, about

about fifty miles from the capital; and, at their solemn festivals, they use French horns, hautbois, and violins. They possess about eight thousand acres of land, and make valuable settlements. They are very zealous toward converting the Indians, some of whom have joined their society, which sends missionaries even to Greenland and Surinam. The Moravians refuse carrying arms, but willingly contribute toward the pecuniary charge of a war, which some Quakers have refused.

The Moravians are indulged in Pennsylvania with an affirmation, instead of an oath; but their affirmation disqualifies them to give evidence in criminal cases, as also to serve in juries; though the Quakers affirmation is allowed in cases both civil and criminal.

In Pennsylvania there has also been a numerous importation of Palatines, Saltzburgers, and other foreigners; of whom it has been observed, that in progress of time, by their industry and frugality, they may become possessed of the most valuable lands in the colony.

[illegible]

1. The first step is to identify the problem. This involves understanding the situation and the goals that need to be achieved. It is important to gather all relevant information and to consider the perspectives of all stakeholders involved.

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BOOK VI.

The Province of MARYLAND.

CHAP. I.

Rise of the colony; original grants; and first settlements.

MARYLAND is properly a sprout from Virginia; therefore the connection of this settlement with the first discoveries must be referred to the general account of Virginia.

Toward the end of the reign of King James I. Sir George Calvert, then principal secretary of state, afterward Lord Baltimore, obtained a patent for some fishing harbours in Newfoundland; but he met with several disappointments, owing to his zeal for the catholic religion, and soon afterward died; upon which his son and heir obtained a patent from K. Charles I. for "All that part of a peninsula, lying in the parts of America, between the ocean on the east, and the Bay of Chesapeake on the west, and divided from the other part thereof by a right line drawn from the Promontory or Cape of Land, called Watkin's Point, situate in the said Bay, near the river of Wigheo, on the west, unto the main ocean on the east; and between that bound on the south, unto that part of Delaware Bay on the north,

north, which lies under the fortieth degree of north latitude : and all that tract of land within the bounds underwritten ; that is, passing from thence unto Delaware Bay, in a right line, unto the true meridian of the first fountain of the river Potomack ; and from thence tending toward the south unto the farther bank of that river ; and following the west and south side thereof unto a place called Cinquack, situate near the mouth of that river, where it falls into the Bay of Chesapeak ; and from thence by a straight line unto Watkin's Point."

1632.

Upon this patent, Lord Baltimore intended to visit Maryland in person, but altered his mind, and appointed his brother, Leonard Calvert, to be governor ; but he also joined Jeremy Hawley, Esq. and Thomas Cornwallis, Esq. in the commission. The first colony consisted of about two hundred persons, sent by his lordship in the autumn of 1633. They were chiefly gentlemen of good families, but Roman catholics.

They sailed from Cowes in the Isle of Wight on the 22d of November 1632, touched at Barbadoes, and arrived at Virginia on the 24th of February following. Their arrival in Potomack River was on the 1st of March ; and, after ranging about, they at last settled, with the consent of the Indians at Yamaco, an Indian town at the mouth of the river, to which place they gave the name of Saint Mary's. It is supposed, that, in the first two years, this settlement cost Lord Baltimore above 40,000 l. sterling, by bringing over colonists, provisions, and stores. But during the civil wars in England, Lord Baltimore was deprived of the government or jurisdiction of Maryland. However, soon after the restoration of King Charles II. Charles Lord Baltimore, son of Lord Cecilius, obtained a confirmation of the grant in 1632, and made several voyages to his province : yet, as the proprietor was a Roman catholic, the crown retained the jurisdiction, and appointed the governor, as well as all other civil officers ; after which the proprietor became a protestant, and enjoyed the government of the province in its fullest extent.

The first settlement was at Saint Mary's, where the general assembly and courts of judicature were kept for many years : but they were removed in 1699 to Annapolis, at the mouth of the River Severn, for the better conveniency of the whole province, as it was nearly the center of it all.

CHAP. II.

The fourteen counties, as divided and settled in 1752; the courts, legislative and executive; proprietors and deputy governors; taxes, quit-rents, and currencies.

THE province of Maryland in 1752 was divided into fourteen counties; that is, seven on each side of the Great Bay; as following:

1. Saint Mary's,	} West side.	Worcester,	} East side.
2. Calvert,		Somerfet,	
3. Prince George,		Dorchester,	
4. Charles,		Talbot,	
5. Anne Arundel,		Queen Anne's,	
6. Baltimore,		Kent,	
7. Frederick,		Cecil,	

Formerly the assembly was triennial, but it is very different now, when they are called, adjourned, prorogued, and dissolved, as occasion requires. ^{Legislative power.}

Besides, it appears, that, in the government of Maryland, there are four negatives in the legislative power, as there provincially constructed: 1. The lower house, or house of representatives, where all bills for acts originate. 2. The governor's council. 3. The governor. And, 4. The lord proprietor. But of these four negatives, the proprietor seems to have three; therefore the late discontents might arise.

The complement of the council is twelve, appointed by the governor. ^{The council.} general, principal, or proprietor; but are paid 180 *lb.* of tobacco *per diem* by the province.

The lower house of assembly, or house of representatives, consists of ^{Assembly.} four from each of the present fourteen counties, and two from Annapolis, as the capital of the province; each is paid 160 *lb.* of tobacco *per diem*.

1. The parish-vestries, who not only manage the affairs of the parish- ^{Executive power.} church, but also the prudential matters of the district, like the select men in New England; beside, they are assessors of rates or taxes. They are twelve in each parish for life; and, upon a decease, the survivors elect another to supply the vacancy.

2. The county-courts. 3. The

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3. The circuit court of assizes, for trying criminal cases, and titles of land. There is one court on each side of the bay, consisting of a chief judge, an assistant judge, and proper juries, who sit in, and form the respective courts.

4. From the county courts, there is appeal to the provincial court of Annapolis, in personal debts of 50 *l.* or upward.

5. In the city of Annapolis are held the mayor's quarterly courts.

6. From the provincial courts held at Annapolis lies an appeal in cases of 300 *l.* sterling value, or upward, to the King in council.

The commissary grants the probates of wills and administrations; but he is not a superintendant of the clergy, and his place is worth about 1000 *l.* a year.

The lieutenant-governor is chancellor, and grants licences for marrying, which are given out or sold, by a minister in each county, at 1 *l.* 5 *s.* of which the governor has twenty shillings, and the parson five. The lieutenant-governor has also fees for the great seal of the province, and many other perquisites. The country generally gives him three halfpence per hoghead of tobacco exported; but the salary allowed him by the governor is seldom publicly known.

The court of vice-admiralty is of the same nature as those already described; and so is the justiciary court of admiralty, pursuant to the act of the 11th and 12th of King William III.

Lords proprietors.

1. Sir George Calvert. 2. His son, Cecilius Lord Baltimore, in 1632.
3. Charles Lord Baltimore, son of Cecilius, in 1661. 4. Frederick Lord Baltimore, who succeeded to the government in 1751.

Deputy-governors.

1. Sir Edmund Andros. 2. Colonel Nicholson. 3. Colonel Blackstone.
4. Colonel Seymour, in 1704. 5. Colonel Corbet. 6. Colonel Hunt.
7. Benedict Leonard Calvert, Esq. in 1732. 8. Samuel Ogle, Esq. in 1747, until 1752. Horatio Sharpe, Esq. till 1769.

Taxes, Quis-rents, and Currencies.

Taxes.

In Maryland and Virginia, the public rates or taxes, for province, county, and parish, are called levies, which constitute a *seignior* or poll-tax,

tax upon all titheables; that is, upon all males of whites, and upon all negroes, males and females, of sixteen years and upward, to sixty years of age.—There are about forty thousand taxables in Maryland; and the tax has generally been from 90 *lb.* to 120 *lb.* of tobacco on each poll annually; 40 *lb.* of which was for the rector of the parish, the rest for the poors rate, assembly wages, and other public exigencies: but the clergymen of Maryland are better provided for than those in the other colonies; in Virginia, the parish ministers are fixed to 16,000 *lb.* of tobacco a year for salary, but in Maryland there is no salary ascertained: so that in this increasing colony, when the ministers are paid in proportion to the number of taxables, the more those increase the more will the clergy be enriched.

The proprietor's quit-rents are two shillings sterling a year for every hundred acres; afterward increased to four shillings in some parts, and unsuccessfully attempted to be advanced to ten in others, which was done by agents. The assembly, however, with the consent of the lord proprietor, experimentally granted him, during the term of three years, in lieu of quit-rents, a revenue of 3*s.* 6*d.* sterling duty per hogshead of tobacco, to be paid by the merchant or shipper. Thus the planters, or assembly, to ease themselves, laid the burden upon trade, which amounted to about 5000 *l.* sterling a year; but, upon the expiration of the three years, this project was dropped, and the proprietor found it more for his interest to revert to the revenue arising from the quit-rents as before.

The principal currency was tobacco, by the pound or hundred weight, as regulated by acts of assembly, or general consent of the people: but the province was hurt by the emission of paper-currency. In 1734 they emitted 90,000 *l.* in bills of public credit; whereof thirty shillings to every taxable was 54,000 *l.* and the remaining 36,000 *l.* was to build a governor's house, and to be let upon loan. The fund for calling in these bills of public credit was a duty upon liquors, and other things, to be paid in sterling, and lodged in the bank of England, so as to be cancelled in the space of thirty years. These bills were not receivable in the proprietor's quit-rents, because an ensuing depreciation was perceived, which really happened; so that from thirty-three and three-quarters difference of exchange with London, it gradually arose to an hundred and fifty difference. In 1740 the Pennsylvania eight shillings was equal to twelve shillings Maryland; but as the fund for cancelling these bills of credit was regularly transmitted to the bank of England, they gradually recovered their value, and 200 *l.* Maryland was equal to 100 *l.* sterling in 1748, when they were cancelled.

C H A P. III.

Boundaries, mountains and rivers, produce and manufactures.

Boundaries.

THESE have been already mentioned; nor are the disputes yet settled: but it may be observed, that the terminating line of this province is a small opening between the properties of the Penns and of Lord Fairfax, as settled by treaty with the Six Nations of Indians in 1744, whereby it was stipulated, that the boundaries should be at two miles above the uppermost falls of Potomack River, and run from thence in a north line to the south bounds of Pennsylvania. The Indians gave a quit-claim to all the lands in Maryland, east of that line, for the consideration of 300 *l.* currency, paid to them by Maryland.

Mountains
and rivers.

These should be referred to our account of Virginia; yet here it may be observed, that as both provinces lie in the same extensive bay of Chesapeake, the same account occurs with regard to both, as to their navigation and trade.

Maryland and Virginia are flat countries, excepting the Apalachian great mountains to the westward, which begin in Pennsylvania, and run 900 miles south-west, at about 150 or 200 miles distance from the eastern shore of the Atlantic Ocean, and terminate in the bay of Apalachia River, near Pensacola, in the Gulph of Mexico.

Colonel Spotswood, lieutenant-governor of Virginia, was the first who passed the Apalachian Mountains, or great Blue Hills; and his attendants were called "Knights of the horse-shoe," having discovered a horse-pass,

There are two passes across these mountains: the north pass is in Pennsylvania; and the south pass is near Brunswick.

Some rivers have been discovered on the west side of the Apalachian Mountains, which fall into the River Ohio, and that falls into the River Mississippi, below the River Illinois.

Produce and
manufactures.

These are nearly the same in the provinces of Maryland and Virginia; but tobacco is the principal, which is a yearly plant; and when at its full growth, is about five feet eight inches; the stalk is straight, hairy, and clammy: in trade there are only two species of tobacco, that is, Oranokoe from Maryland, and the northern parts of Virginia; with the sweet

Sweet-scented from the south parts of Virginia, whereof the best kind is from James and York Rivers. The first is the strongest, and chiefly demanded by the northern markets of Europe; the other is milder, and more pleasant; but the difference seems to be only from the soil. *Sweet-scented*, which grows in sandy lands, is best for smoking when new, or only from two to three years old; that from stiff land, if kept five or six years, much exceeds the former in quality.

Tobacco is generally cultivated in sets by negroes, who have an overseer to eight labourers. Each working negro is reckoned one share; and the overseer has one and a half, or two shares. The charge of a negro is a coarse woollen jacket and breeches, with one pair of shoes in winter: victualling is one peck of Indian corn, and some salt per week.

To prevent tobacco from becoming a drug, no taxable is to cultivate above six thousand plants. The plantation duty is one penny sterling per pound upon tobacco exported to the other colonies; and is about 200*l.* toward the revenue of the college of Williamsburgh in Virginia.

The common culture of tobacco is in this manner: The seed is sown in beds of fine mould, and transplanted the beginning of May. The plants are set at three or four feet intervals or distances: they are hilled, and kept continually weeded; but when as many leaves are shot out as the soil can nourish to advantage, the plant is stopped, and it grows no higher. It is frequently wormed; and the suckers, which put forth between the leaves, are taken off until the plant arrives to perfection, which is in August, when the leaves begin to turn brownish and spot. In a hot time, the plant is cut down, and hanged up to dry, after being sweated in heaps for one night, when it may be handled without crumbling; for tobacco should not be handled but in moist weather. The leaves are stripped off from the stalk, tied up in little bundles, and packed up in hogheads for transportation; but no suckers or ground leaves are allowed to be merchantable.

An industrious man may manage six thousand plants of tobacco, and four acres of Indian corn.

Maryland and Virginia sometimes produce more tobacco than they can vent to advantage, by glutting the markets too much.

Tobacco is not only their chief produce for trade, but may also be called their medium or currency, as it is received in taxes or debts; and the inspector's notes for tobacco received by him may be transferred.

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Formerly the tobacco business was managed by receivers, at cutting houses, near the shipping places, where the planter delivered his tobacco to the merchants; but this is not the case at present, for in every river there are country stores, where the tobacco is deposited; and every hog-head is branded with the marks of the planter, river, and store.

Many swine run wild in the woods of Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina. They are generally small, and are salted and barrelled. They feed mostly upon mast; eat oily and rank; but they make a considerable branch in the export of these colonies.

Forest nuts, of many kinds, are very plentiful, upon which the price of pork depends. Next to the pork fed with Indian corn, as in New England, acorns make the firmest pork. Beech nuts also make sweet pork, but flabby, oily, and soft.

Good land in Maryland and Virginia generally yields fifteen bushels of wheat an acre, or thirty bushels of Indian corn, which casts whiter than that of New England.

Calavances, or Maryland pease, both white and red, are exported to several of the other colonies; they yield better than the common pease of Europe; which makes them a profitable food for the poorer sort of white people, and for negro slaves.

They raise, in the uplands, quantities of hemp and flax. In October 1751, from the back settlements of Maryland, there came into Baltimore Town above sixty waggons of flax-seed. In some counties of Maryland the flax is worked up in charity schools.

Iron.

Toward the mountains there are some furnaces for running of iron ore into pigs and hollow cast-ware; as also forges to refine pig-iron into bars.

Timber and
lumber.

Their oak is of a straight grain, and easily splits into staves; but in building of vessels it is not durable. They build only small craft; but some years since they built a large ship called the British Merchant, burden one thousand hogheads; and, with many repairs, she kept in the Virginia trade thirty-six years.

Their black walnut is in great demand for cabinets, tables, and other joiners work.

Maryland

Maryland and Virginia produce beautiful large apples, but very mealy; their peaches are plenty and good, from which they distil a good spirit.

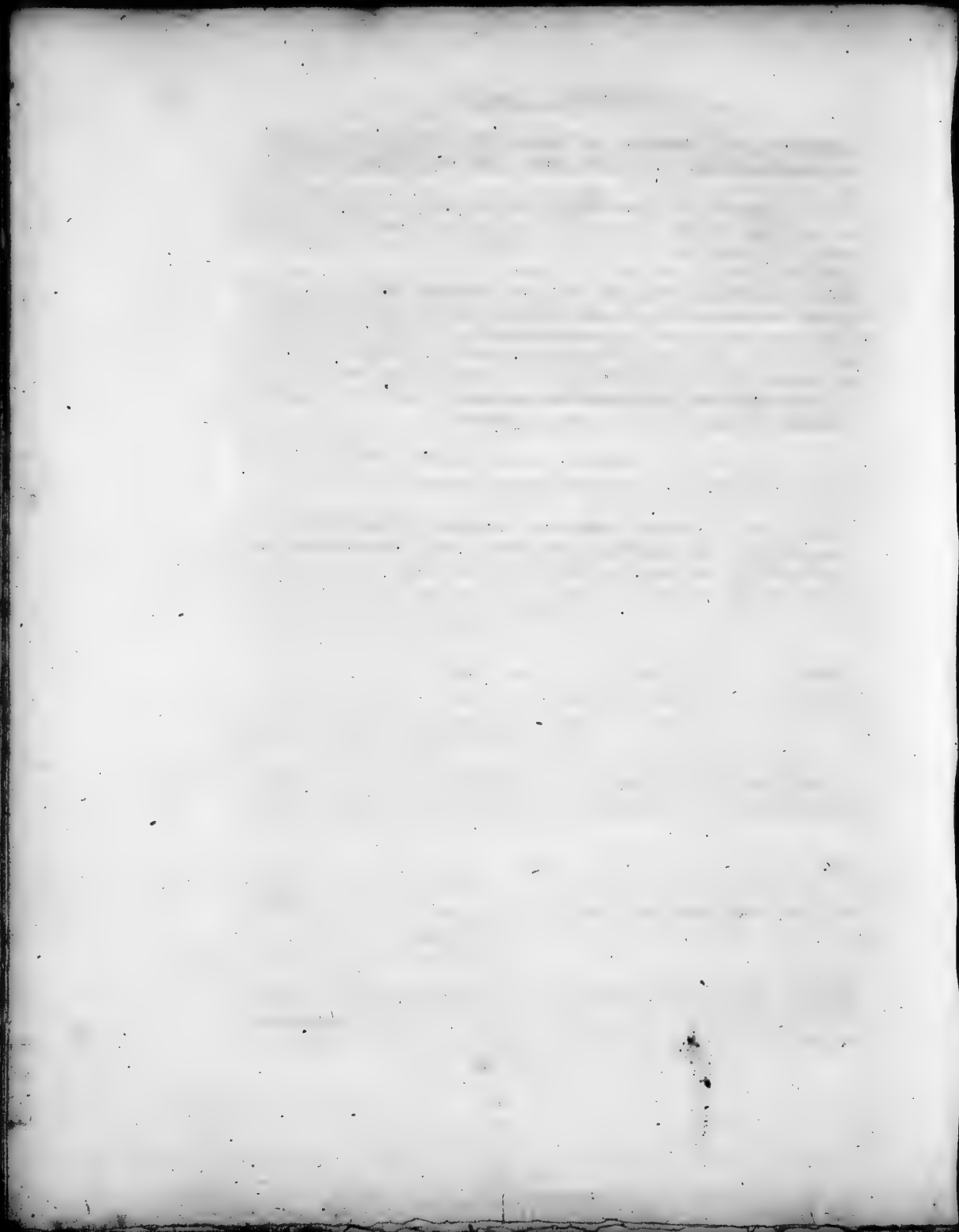
The alarm list, and the training militia, are nearly in the same manner, and under the same regulations, as in the other colonies already mentioned. The taxables are about forty thousand persons, whites and blacks.

About four thousand negroes are yearly imported into Maryland and Virginia, where some planters have five hundred slaves, and Mr. Bennet of Maryland had thirteen hundred at one time. A peck of Indian corn and some salt is their weekly allowance of provision for each negro: they are reckoned to raise 1000 *lb.* weight of tobacco, beside some barrels of corn, per head; and 6000 plants are computed to yield 1000 *lb.* weight of tobacco, which is the utmost quantity allowed.

There may be about 350 felons imported yearly to Maryland from England; but the colonists with this importation was restrained.

Roman catholics abound in Maryland, where the county courts grant meeting-house licences to dissenting ministers, which are sometimes negatived by the superior court.

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BOOK VII.

The History of VIRGINIA.

CHAP. I.

Original discoveries, charters, boundaries, and settlements.

THIS country was first discovered to the Europeans by Sebastian Cabot, in 1497, as already mentioned: but notwithstanding the French pretensions of any discovery made by John Verazzan, the English justly claim it from the care and expence of Sir Walter Raleigh, who obtained letters patent for that purpose from Queen Elizabeth in 1583, and fitted out two ships the next year, and sent them upon the enterprize, which was principally entrusted to the conduct of Captain Philip Amidas and Captain Arthur Barlow, whose discoveries have been related before. They anchored at Roanoke, coasted the country, and landed in several parts, from whence they brought furs and other commodities, particularly tobacco and sassafras.

Queen Elizabeth was so well pleased with the account these adventurers gave of the country, that she honoured it with the name of Virginia, either as she was called "a virgin queen," or, as the Virginians say,

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say, because it still appeared to retain the virgin purity and plenty of the first creation, and the people their primitive innocence.

Sir Richard Greenville sailed from Plymouth with seven ships in 1585, and arrived at Roanoke, where he left 108 men to form a settlement under the command of Mr. Ralph Lane, who received a supply by Sir Francis Drake in 1586: but this was thought insufficient, and Sir Francis took them back with him to England, which put an end to the first settlement.

The second settlement also proved unsuccessful in 1587; after which a third settlement was attempted by Mr. John White, who constituted a form of government consisting of a governor and twelve council, incorporated by the name of "the governor and assistants of the city of Raleigh in Virginia." From these small beginnings we may trace this colony, which has increased so much since, that it now furnishes one of the most important branches of the revenue belonging to the British crown.

This third settlement underwent severe hardships, and was broke up in 1589. Captain Gosnold made an unsuccessful attempt in 1602; after which, the Bristol merchants undertook the same enterprize, and had better success. The Londoners also renewed their attempts under Captain Weymouth, who entered the river of Powhatan, and returned with a profitable cargo to England, where the farther design of a colony would have been relinquished, if Captain Gosnold had not so effectually solicited the colonization of Virginia, that several gentlemen contributed toward it, and they were incorporated by King James I. as two companies in one patent, dated the 10th of April 1606, for two colonies.

The patent, as regarding the first company, included Maryland, Virginia, and Carolina, as they are now distinguished from each other. And the patent, as relative to the second company, included New England, New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, as they are now divided into several provinces: but the whole country was then called Virginia.

The first colony was the earliest in their settlement; for they immediately fitted out two ships, under the command of Captain Newport, who fell in with the coast near Cape Henry, the southernmost point of the Bay of Chesapeake. With him went the honourable Mr. Percy, brother to the earl of Northumberland, Captain Smith, Captain Gosnold, Cap-
tain

tain Ratcliffe, Captain Martin, and Mr. Wingfield, of whom the five last were of the council. They raised a fort at the mouth of the River Powhatan, where they left 100 men, with proper necessaries to make a settlement; and this was the first colony that remained on the place.

Mr. Wingfield was the first president, but was soon deposed, and succeeded by Captain Ratcliffe, who left the administration of affairs to Captain Smith. This gentleman was a remarkable navigator and adventurer: He built a fort on the southern cape, which he named Cape Henry, in honour of Prince Henry, the eldest son of King James; and another fort on the northern cape, which he called Cape Charles, from Prince Charles, afterward King Charles I. and the River Powhatan he called James River, after the name of his Majesty.

James Town was built upon a peninsula about fifty miles up the river.

In 1607 the plantation met with several interruptions; but the next year was attended with more success to Captain Smith and the Colonists. In 1609 John Layden and Anne Burroughs were married; which was the first Christian marriage in Virginia. Other settlements were made at Nansomund, Powhatan, and Kiquotan.

Captain Smith pursued his discoveries, in which he underwent great hazards and difficulties. The manner of his treatment among the Indians, and his escape; his friendship to Nautauquaus, the king's son; and the surprizing tenderness of Pocahonta, his daughter, for Captain Smith, when the Indians were determined to put him to death, are incidents agreeable and surprizing, but romantic and marvellous. He returned to England, where he gave superlative accounts of Virginia: but those who succeeded him almost ruined the settlement; and those who arrived under the new charter disagreed among themselves, so that nothing was apprehended of any considerable emolument either to the Colonists or the Companies; which made the latter resign their charter, to obtain a new one, in expectation of greater advantages to themselves, as well as to the Colonists in general.

The second charter was granted March 23, 1609; and a third followed March 12, 1611-12.

Virginia is divided by the great Rivers of Potomack, Rapahannock, York, and James, into four necks, and the two counties east of Chesapeake Bay make the fifth great division.

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The first settlers were intent upon taking up large tracts of land; which occasioned the several settlements to be dispersed at considerable distances, and not fixed in towns or villages. They met with great difficulties until the year 1611, when Sir Thomas Dale arrived with three ships, men, cattle, and provisions. Sir Thomas Gates soon after brought a stronger reinforcement and a greater supply; after which, Captain Argol made his arrival with fresh recruits in 1612. In 1618 Lord Delaware was appointed governor, but died in his passage, and was succeeded by Governor Yearly. In 1621 Sir Francis Wyatt was appointed governor, and arrived with nine ships. Every person was to plant 1000 plants of tobacco, with eight leaves each plant, which is about 100 pound of tobacco; and corn then sold at 2 s. 6 d. per bushel.

King Charles I. dissolved the company in 1626, and the colony was then brought under the immediate direction of the crown, where it remains to this day.

At first there were only a few general patentees; but at present every freeholder may be reckoned a patentee.

The government of Virginia pretend to extend their settlements so far back to the westward as the great Lake Erie, and some branches of the River Mississippi, comprehending an immense quantity of land unsettled: And, as their settlements extend gradually toward the mountains, they create new counties from time to time, for the conveniency of attending inferior courts.

The country between James River and York River is the best settled, and produces the best tobacco. Their remotest settlement is Lunenburg, about 100 miles south-west from Hanover, which is sixty miles from Williamsburgh, the metropolis. The best lands are above the falls of the rivers.

The lands west of the Virginia settlements were claimed by the Six Nations, as also by the Southern Indians.

CHAP. II.

Government; Religion; and Laws.

THE first assembly met at James Town in May 1620, when Sir Francis Wyat was governor. The king had dissolved the company, and ordered the future form of its government to be by a governor, a council of twelve, and the assembly. Sir John Harvey was governor in 1639, when he was sent prisoner to England for oppressing the Colonists, who had suffered great devastations from the Indians. He was succeeded by Sir William Berkley, who intimidated the Indians from perpetrating their acts of cruelty. Sir William maintained his loyalty to King Charles I. but Captain Dennis reduced Virginia to the obedience of the parliament. Diggs, Bennet, and Mathews, were successively governors during the protectorate: but Sir William Berkley was again appointed governor after the restoration, when Colonel Bacon's rebellion broke out upon the following causes:

1. The low price of tobacco in England, and the high price of all goods exported thence to Virginia.
2. The grants made by King Charles of several parts of their country to noblemen in England, in some of which several plantations were included.
3. The burthens laid upon the Colonists by the parliament in England, and taxes by the assembly in Virginia.
4. The disturbances given them by the Indians.

This insurrection was suppressed; Sir William Berkley returned to England, where he died, and was succeeded by Lord Colepepper, who arrived in Virginia with several acts drawn up in England, to be passed into laws.

Francis Lord Howard of Effingham was appointed governor, and arrived there in 1684. He was succeeded by Sir Edmund Andros; and his successor was Colonel Nicholson, who removed the seat of his government from James Town to Middle Plantation, where he marked out the town of Williamsburgh. He was succeeded by George Earl of Orkney,

Orkney, whose deputy was Edward Notte, Esq. His lordship continued in England like an agent for the colony: but as the inhabitants of the British plantations have a natural right to the protection of their mother state in all cases, they ought not to have stood in need of any other mediation for them than the justice and reason of the thing, which always should require access to those that can protect them. Colonel Spottwood succeeded Mr. Notte, Hugh Drysdal Esq. was the next deputy-governor; and he was succeeded by Major Gouge.

When King Charles I. dissolved the company, he continued the form of government by a governor and council for the executive power, and placed the legislative in the assembly.

The chief court next to the assembly is the general court, held by the governor and council, who are judges of it, and take cognizance of all causes criminal, penal, civil, and ecclesiastical. The governor is invested with plenary powers in all acts of government, but subject to the controul of the crown, and his usual salary has been from 2000 to 3000 *l.* a year, including perquisites. The council are the upper house in the assembly, and claim a negative voice to all laws. The assembly-men are two for each county, to be chosen by the freeholders; but their acts must be approved by the crown.

Beside the governor and council, the public officers are, the auditor of the revenue, the secretary and president of the council, the treasurer, and the collector of the customs. These are public officers and servants of the colony; the inferior officers are sheriffs, surveyors, clerks of courts, and others in subordination.

The revenues arise by the royal quit-rents: Duties on exportation of tobacco, tonnage for every ship, and poll for every passenger; fines and forfeitures: waifs and strays; escheats of land; and personal estate for want of a lawful heir. Duties on liquors, servants, and slaves. The college revenue. Additional duty on tobacco exported to the other plantations: In all about 8000 *l.* a year, as estimated by Sir William Keith.

The General Court is also called the Quarter-Court, as being held every quarter of a year: but there are inferior courts kept monthly in each county, called the County Courts, or Monthly Courts, where inferior matters are cognizable: from these courts there is an appeal to the quarterly courts, in which no action can be originally brought under the value of 10 *l.* sterling. The sheriffs, justices of the peace, and other officers,

officers, are judges of these county-courts, in which every man may plead his own cause: but the frontier or farthest back counties being of great extent, no navigation; and little foreign trade, have only quarterly county-courts, and all the others have monthly-courts, as following:

I. Quarterly County-Courts.

Brunswick, Fairfax, Lunenburg, Frederick, Albemarle, Augusta.

II. Monthly County-Courts.

Henrico, Richmond, Williamsburg, James City, Northumberland, Nansemond, York, Prince William, Cumberland, Middlesex, Elizabeth City, Spotsylvania, Prince George, King and Queen, Northampton, Stafford, Essex, Gooch Land, Princess Anne, Surry, Louisa, Westmoreland, Accomack, Charles City, Warwick, Isle of Wight, Hanover, New Kent, Southampton, Norfolk, Culpepper, Gloucester, Orange, Chesterfield, King George, Lancaster, Carolina, King William, Amelia.

Thus the government is divided into forty-five counties, whereof six hold quarterly courts, and thirty-nine hold monthly courts.

The body of the people are members of the church of England; but II. Religion. there are some Dissenters, and a few French Refugees.

The bishop of London, who is the Ordinary of this and all the other plantations, appoints a commissary here, whose business is to make visitations of churches, and have the inspection of the clergy, for which he has been allowed 100*l.* a year.

A college was erected at Williamsburgh, which was amply endowed by King William and Queen Mary. The foundation was to consist of a president, six masters or professors, and 100 scholars. It began to be carried into execution, and met with great encouragement in the colony: but the building was destroyed by fire, and the donation continued dormant for several years. The first president of the college, by charter, was Mr. Blair; and Doctor Bray procured considerable contributions in England toward collecting a library.

CHAP. III.

Of the Inhabitants, Climate, Soil, Animals, Productions, and Trade.

WHEN the English first discovered Virginia, the Indians were divided into several nations; which are now almost extinct, and the English remain masters of the country which they formerly possessed.

It was a long time before Virginia saw a race of English born upon the spot; but now they are very numerous, both masters and servants, who have all retained the manners, customs, and dress of the natives of England; and there are also several families of French Refugees.

The Virginians are a prudent, careful, yet a generous and hospitable people, whose houses are open to all travellers, whom they entertain with great civility.

The climate is healthy for English constitutions, having a clear sky, and a kindly soil. The winter months are December, January, February, and March; the frosts are severe, but of no long continuance. The rains are frequent and refreshing; the heats of summer are most violent in June, July, and August, which are much mitigated by the rains; and the fresh breezes that are common in Virginia contribute much to render the heat tolerable to new-comers, and hardly sensible to the inhabitants.

The soil in general is a rich, fat, and deep mould, and under it a loam, of which they make a fine brick; but the soil varies according as the situation is moist or dry. It is distinguished into three sorts, high, low, and marshy; all which having sand mixed with them, makes their land warmer than that of Great Britain. The Highlands are most sandy; however, they bear good crops of tobacco: the Lowlands are rich; but the marsh lands indifferent. But, taking all together, Virginia is said to abound in every thing necessary for the pleasure or profit of the inhabitants.

The animals peculiar to this country are beavers, otters, foxes, wild cats, raccoons, martins, and minks, in the freshes, where the Indians are dexterous in catching them for the fur trade. The woods are stocked with deer. They have also elks, buffaloes, bears, and wolves; as also
wild

wild hogs, and English cattle of all sorts. Beside, there are, the arrong-hena, somewhat like a badger; the assapanick, or flying squirrel; the opossum; the utchunquois, a kind of wild cat; and the muskascus, a sort of water rat, that smells like musk. Hares and rabbits are plentiful, which are as good as those in England.

Of birds there are a great variety, for feather and song; particularly the red-bird, which has the sweetest note: blackbirds, that come in prodigious flights out of the woods about the fall of the leaf: nightingales, of a gay crimson and blue plumage: the mock-bird, in size and colour like a thrush: and the humming bird, whose colour is a shining mixture of scarlet, green, and gold; it is much less than the English wren, revels among the flowers, and sips the dew from their leaves. The herons are large, and the partridges small. They have eagles and hawks. There is also a great variety of wild fowl of the usual species.

Of fish they have many kinds, and in great abundance: The sea-coast abounds in sturgeon and cod; and the rivers with almost every kind of fish that are found in the other parts of the world.

The timber-trees are oak, elm, cedar, ash, walnut, cypress, and firs. There are plenty of shrubs, as well as of timber; and the whole country is interspersed with an incredible variety of plants and flowers. The fruits are also of various kinds, peculiar to the native soil, together with those introduced from England; as grapes, peaches, apricots, pines, cherries, apples, and pears. Of roots they have several kinds, among which are the shumack, and snakes root. Garden herbs are in great plenty of all kinds.

The Indians have reared many sorts of melons; they had also beans, peas, and potatoes, before the English came among them; but corn was their principal food.

Tobacco is the staple commodity of the country, beneficial to the planter, and natural to the soil. This plant is now too well known to be particularly described; only it may be necessary to say, that it grows much like a dock, and some planters have a different way of cultivation from others. It is not known how the Indians cured their tobacco; but it is reported they used to let it run to seed; only succouring the leaves, to keep the sprouts from growing up and starving them: When it was ripe, they pulled them off, cured them in the sun, and

and laid them up for use. The Virginia planters have usually sown the tobacco seeds in beds, where they leave them a month, and see them well weeded. The tender plants are removed to some tobacco hills, where they thrive, and are properly pruned, till they come to maturity, and are then manufactured under the greatest care.

From what has been said respecting tobacco, it is evident the trade of this province consists generally in that article, which is brought to such perfection as to command a large traffic not only in England, but even in all parts of the world. Immense are the sums acquired by the tobacco trade, both to the colony and the mother-country. This article has been brought to such perfection, that the Virginian tobacco, especially the sweet-scented, which grows on York River, is reckoned the best in the world, and is generally vended in England for home consumption. The other sorts called Oranoc, and that of Maryland, are hotter in the mouth; but they turn to as good an account, as they are chiefly demanded in Holland, Denmark, Sweden, and Germany. Of this commodity 30,000 hogsheds have been exported yearly; which, beside the other advantages that the English acquire by it, have cleared 5*l.* a hogshed in a foreign market, and increased the general stock of the nation about 150,000*l.* a year.

The whole trade of tobacco is one of the most profitable of all the British commerce, as it employs about 200 sail of ships every year, and generally brings in between 300,000 and 400,000*l.* to the royal treasury annually.

Beside the great advantage that accrues to the national stock, by the exportation of tobacco from England, it should be considered how beneficial this trade is, by the prodigious number of hands it employs, and families it maintains, as well in Great Britain as Virginia. Great quantities of manufactures are exported from the mother-country to the colony, whose merchants and planters export tobacco, cattle, and provisions, to the West India Islands, from whence they bring in exchange molasses, sugar, and rum.

The country is certainly capable of large improvements by the timber trade and its appurtenances, as pitch, tar, and rosin. They might also manufacture flax, hemp, cotton, and even silk; but their want of towns prevents them from receiving many advantages by the fertility of the soil.

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
BRITISH EMPIRE
IN
NORTH AMERICA.

BOOK VIII.

The History of CAROLINA.

CHAP. I.

The discovery and settlement of this Province ; with an account of its government, until the charter was surrendered to the crown in 1728.

CAROLINA is the northern part of that extensive tract of territory which was discovered by John Ponce de Leon in 1512, when he arrived there from the Island of Porto Rico, and gave the country the name of Florida ; because the face of it had the resemblance of a perennial spring.

The Spaniards afterward made some farther attempts to settle in this country, but were unsuccessful ; and the French then attempted a settlement there, in the reign of Charles IX. who sent Jean Ribaut there with two ships, which arrived on the coast, where the commander built a fort at the mouth of Albemarle River, then called the Great River, to which he gave the name of Port Royal, in 32° north latitude, bordering upon that part of Virginia which now constitutes North Carolina, where the first settlement was made by an European nation : but the French abandoned the

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enterprise, which they soon after renewed under the protection of Admiral Coligny, who sent three ships there in 1564, under the command of Lewis Laudoner. The country was now called Carolina, in honour of the French king. Ribaut arrived with three ships to reinforce Laudoner; but they were dispossessed by the Spaniards, who killed Ribaut and 600 men, and sent Laudoner with the rest to France.

The Spaniards, in their turn, were dispossessed by the French, under the command of Captain de Gorgues, who arrived there with three ships and 280 men. He penetrated far into the country; but made no settlements, and returned to France.

The Spaniards made no farther attempts to recover the country, which from 1567 lay deserted by all European nations for a considerable time; but, in 1622, some English families who fled from the ferocity of the Indians in New England and Virginia, were drove on the coast of Carolina, and settled near the head of the river of May.

As the country was deserted by the French and Spaniards, the English claimed a right to it under the discoveries made by Sebastian Cabot. This right was asserted by King Charles II. who granted it, by letters patent dated the 24th of March 1663, to Edward, Earl of Clarendon, then Lord High Chancellor of England; George, Duke of Albemarle; William, Lord Craven; John, Lord Berkley; Anthony, Lord Ashley; Sir George Carteret; Sir William Berkley; and Sir John Colliton; who, as the charter expressed, "being excited with a laudable and pious zeal for the propagation of the Gospel, begged a certain part of America, not then cultivated and planted, and only inhabited by some barbarous people, who had no knowledge of God; therefore, his Majesty granted the petitioners all that territory in his dominions in America; from the north end of the island called Luck Island, which lay in the southern Virginian sea, and within 36° north latitude; and to the west as far as the South Seas; and so southerly as far as the River San Mattæo, which bordered on the coast of Florida, and was within 31° north latitude, and so west, in a direct line, as far as the South Seas:" with all royalties and jurisdictions necessary in an absolute propriety; paying a quit-rent of twenty marks a year.

Under this charter, the proprietaries proceeded to establish a settlement, which was soon accomplished. The first proprietors were so sensible that nothing could people that province, and enrich it, but an universal and absolute toleration, that they made the most express and ample provision

provision for such a toleration that ever was made in any constitution in the world, as may be seen in some articles * of the fundamental constitutions, which provided, as the lords proprietaries worded their intentions, "That since the natives of that place, who would be concerned in these plantations, were utterly strangers to Christianity, whose idolatry, ignorance, or mistake, gave the proprietaries no right to expel or use them ill; and that those who removed from other parts to plant there, would unavoidably be of different opinions concerning matters of religion, the liberty whereof they would expect to have allowed them; and that it would not be reasonable for the proprietaries to keep them out; therefore that sure peace might be maintained amidst the diversity of opinions, and the proprietaries compact and agreement with all men might be duly and faithfully observed, the violation whereof, upon what pretence soever, could not be without great offence to Almighty God, and great scandal to the true religion, which the proprietaries professed: And also that Jews, Heathens, and other dissenters from the purity of the Christian religion, might not be scared, and kept at distance from it, but by having an opportunity of acquainting themselves with the truth and reasonableness of its doctrines, and the peaceableness and inoffensiveness of its professors, might, by good usage and persuasion, and all those convincing methods of gentleness and meekness, suitable to the rules and designs of the Gospel, be won over to embrace and unfeignedly receive the truth:" Therefore, those constitutions provided for their liberty; but declared, "That no person above seventeen years of age should have any benefit or protection of the law, which was not a member of some church or profession, having his name recorded in some one religious record."

Many protestant dissenters removed with their families to Carolina, where so many people arrived, that it was necessary to establish a solid form of government, which was agreed upon by the lords proprietaries in 120 articles, called "the Fundamental Constitutions" abovementioned, which were signed, on the 1st of March 1699, by the proprietors, who declared, that "those constitutions should be and remain the sacred and unalterable form and rule of government in Carolina for ever."

These remarkable articles were drawn up by that celebrated philosopher Mr. Locke, on a new system of government, at the desire of that eminent politician the Earl of Shaftesbury, one of the proprietors. The first article of these fundamentals was, "That a Palatine should be chosen

* The 96th, 101st, 102d, and 106th.

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out of the proprietaries, who should continue during life, and be succeeded by the eldest of the other proprietaries." The Palatine had the executive power in general; but the rest of the proprietaries had their respective places and privileges. In fact, they centered all their power in the Palatine of their own chusing; and three more, who were authorized to execute the whole powers of the charter. This was called the Palatine's Court; and their deputies in Carolina executed it as they were directed by their principals.

By the fundamental constitutions, a very plenary power was granted to the lords proprietaries; particularly to create a kind of nobility, under the great seal of the province, called landgraves and cassiques, instead of earls and lords; which new dignitaries were to sit with the deputies, and together make the upper house; the lower house being elected by the people. These landgraves were to have four baronies annexed to their dignities, of 6000 acres each barony; and the cassiques two baronies, of 3000 acres each, and not to be divided by sale of any part. Every county was to have a sheriff, and four justices of the peace: every planter was to pay 1 *d.* an acre quit-rent to the proprietaries, unless he bought it off: and all the inhabitants and freemen, from sixteen to sixty years old, were bound to bear arms, when commanded by the great council.

The proprietaries entered into a joint stock, and fitted out ships at the expence of 12,000 *l.* to transport people and cattle there; beside, as much more was disbursed by single proprietors to advance the interest of the colony.

Though the difficulties and dangers they met with at first were somewhat discouraging, all free persons who came over were to have fifty acres of land for themselves, fifty more for each man-servant; the same for each woman-servant marriageable; or not marriageable, forty acres; and each servant out of his or her time was to have fifty acres, paying the quit-rent of 1 *d.* an acre in full: but some gentlemen made intire purchases of their lands.

The lords proprietaries appointed Colonel William Sayle to be the governor of their province in 1670; and the next year the proprietaries sent Captain Halstead with a supply of provisions and stores for the colony: they also created James Carteret, Sir John Yeomans, and John Locke, Esq. landgraves: but the constitutions having been found deficient in some cases, temporary laws were added, and the form of government new modelled in this manner:

I. A governor, nominated by the Palatine.

II. A council, consisting of seven deputies of the proprietors; seven gentlemen chosen by the assembly; and seven of the eldest landgraves and cassiques.

III. An admiral, a chamberlain, chancellor, chief-justice, secretary, surveyor, treasurer, high-steward, high-constable, public registers, and marshal of the admiralty.

These were all nominated respectively by the proprietors, and the quorum of the council were to be, the governor, and six of the council, of whom three were to be the deputies of the proprietors.

The temporary laws were made in 1671, when Lord Craven was Palatine. Sir John Yeomans succeeded Colonel Sayle in the government; and Sir John in 1680 was succeeded by Joseph West, Esq. one of the first planters, and a gentleman of great integrity. He held a parliament, or an assembly, in Charles Town in 1682, when several acts were passed; particularly "an act for highways, for suppressing drunkenness, and profane swearing; for observation of the Lord's day; and for settling the militia."

Joseph Moreton, Esq. was appointed governor in 1683, when Admiral Blake's brother arrived there, with several families of dissenters out of Somersetshire, and Mr. Blake's daughter was married to the governor. The lords proprietaries took the Indians under their protection, and laid out the counties of Berkeley, Craven, and Colliton; all which were divided into squares of 12,000 acres. Several public acts were passed, particularly relative to the provincial trade.

The next governor was Sir Richard Kyrle, an Irish gentleman, who died soon after his arrival in the colony; and was succeeded by James Colliton, Esq. brother to Sir Peter Colliton. It was then reported, that the party Governor Moreton had gone a great way in suppressing, grew now so strong among the common people, that they chose members to oppose whatsoever the governor requested; insomuch that they would not settle the militia act, though their own security depended on it, and that it would be grounds of their farther strength.

The reason of the discontent the people lay under, were disputes about the tenure of their lands, and payment of their quit-rents, which were not settled till Mr. Archdale's government.

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The assembly in 1687 made some innovations upon "the fundamental constitutions," and drew up a sure form of government, differing in many articles from the former, to which they gave the title of "standing laws, and temporary laws." But neither the lords proprietaries, or the colonists, accepted of them; so that the fundamental constitutions still kept their ground.

Thomas Smith, Esq. succeeded Mr. Colliton, properly as governor, although Colonel Quarry, Mr. Southwell, and Colonel Ludwell, were intermediate a short time.

Mr. Archdale arrived as governor in August 1695, where he found all matters in great confusion, and every faction solicited him for relief. In order to which, he summoned an assembly, and made a speech to them; but it was with great difficulty that he appeased the public disturbances and animosities.

Mr. Archdale tells us, he "returned for England, being not sent for home." He was succeeded by Joseph Blake, Esq. who governed the country with equal prudence and moderation. In his time Major Daniel brought from England forty-one articles of new constitutions, wherein as ample provision was made for liberty of conscience as in "the fundamental constitutions." These new laws were called "the last fundamental constitutions;" but they were never confirmed in the colony.

1701. James Moor, Esq. was the next governor, though Mr. Moreton was his opponent. The Earl of Bath was dead, and his son John Lord Granville was Palatine, who confirmed Mr. Moor in the government; after which several arbitrary acts were passed in the assembly, the people unlawfully oppressed, and the Indians cruelly persecuted. The governor obtained 2000 *l.* from the assembly to undertake an expedition against the Spanish settlement at Augustine. The number of men enlisted for this enterprize consisted of 600 English and 600 Indians, who were ordered to rendezvous at Port Royal, under the command of Governor Moor; and Colonel Daniel commanded a party to proceed by land, while the governor was to sail and attack the place by sea.

1702. They both set out in August 1702; when Colonel Daniel took Saint John's and Saint Mary's in his march against Augustine, which town he also took before the fleet arrived. The Spaniards retired into the castle, where they made a good defence, until they were relieved by two small men of war; upon which the English abandoned the siege, with the loss of their ships, and returned to Charles Town over land. This unfortunate

nate expedition was attended with the loss of only two men; but it brought a debt of 6000 *l.* upon the colony, which occasioned great dissensions between the governor and the principal inhabitants.

Sir Nathaniel Johnson was appointed governor, and Job How, Esq. was chosen speaker of the new assembly; the members of which were packed, and passed a severe law against the dissenters, contrary to the first and last fundamental constitutions. Colonel Moreton, and several other gentlemen, prevailed with Mr. Ash to embark for England, and represent the miserable state of the province to the proprietaries; but he was unsuccessful in his solicitation, and soon after died.

1704

A kind of high commission court was erected in Carolina, and several commissioners were appointed, to the great mortification of the dissenters, who could get none of their complaints regarded, or any of their grievances redressed, until they brought the matter before the house of lords in England, who thereupon addressed the Queen, to use the most effectual methods to deliver the said province from the arbitrary oppressions under which it then lay; and to order the authors thereof to be prosecuted according to law.

To which her Majesty was graciously pleased to answer, that " she thanked the house for laying those matters so plainly before her; that she was very sensible of what great consequence the plantations were to England; and would do all that was in her power to relieve her subjects."

It appeared to the house that some of the proprietors refused to join in those acts; and the Lords Committee of Trade, to whom the matter was referred, represented to her Majesty, " that the making such laws was an abuse of the powers granted to the proprietors by their charter, and would be a forfeiture of such power." They farther humbly offered to her Majesty, " that she would be pleased to give directions for re-assuming the same into her Majesty's hands by *scire facias*, in the court of Queen's Bench."

24 May
1706.

On the 10th of June, her Majesty was pleased to approve of that representation, and accordingly having declared the laws mentioned therein to be null and void, ordered, " that for the more effectual proceeding against the said charter by way of *quo warranto*, the attorney and solicitor-general should inform themselves fully concerning what might be most necessary for effecting the same."

The

1705. The assembly which passed those two memorable acts was dissolved in the following year, and a new one summoned to meet at Charles Town; but faction prevented business.

Major Tynte succeeded Sir Nathaniel Johnson as governor; afterward the colony was under the administration of President Gibbs, Charles Craven, Esq. Robert Daniel, Esq. Robert Johnson, Esq. James Moore, Esq. and Francis Nicholson, Esq. who had been governor of New Scotland, New York, Maryland, and Virginia.

1718. Many pirates were taken, and forty-two of them were executed.

1722. The chiefs of Four Indian Nations came to Charles Town to settle the terms of peace between them and the English, who had suffered much by the irruption of the savages.

1730. Mr. Middleton presided in the government; and in his speech to the assembly declared, that "he could not think but they must be thoroughly convinced of the necessity there was for granting immediate supplies for paying the arrears due to the garrisons, rangers, scouts and look-outs: that they would do well to consider the miserable circumstances of those poor people, who had then three years due to them: that he would be glad to know wherein consisted the prudence and policy of deferring the payment of public debts year after year, until the burden became heavy, and the country became bankrupt: that he had no occasion to tell them the Indians were no longer their friends than the English kept them in fear; and who would credit the public in time of danger, when they would pay nothing of what they owed in time of tranquillity; and that he must put them in mind of humbly addressing his Majesty with thanks, for purchasing the soil, and taking the colony under his immediate protection."

About this time there were about 28,000 negroes in the province, of whom 10,000 might be able to bear arms. They were much superior in number to the whites, whom they intended to massacre by a general insurrection, which was seasonably discovered, and happily suppressed.

C H A P. II.

The charter surrendered to the crown. A geographical description of Carolina; with an account of the climate, and the divisions of the province in general.

THE colonists were annoyed by the Indians, and unsupported by the proprietaries; therefore they applied by their deputies to the crown, and prayed that the surrender of their charter might be accepted, and the colony be put under the protection of his Majesty.

This surrender was made by the proprietaries to Edward Bertie, Samuel Horsey, Henry Smith, and Alexias Clayton, Esqrs. in trust for the crown. The proprietaries, in their own right or in trust, were these, Henry Duke of Beaufort, William Lord Craven, James Bertie, Esq. Mary Danfon, Elizabeth Moor, Sir John Colliton, John Cotton, Esq. and Joseph Blake, Esq. who were possessed of seven-eighths of the propriety of the province, and sold it to the crown for 17,500 *l.* each proprietary, who had a whole share, having a whole share of 2500 *l.* The outstanding quit-rents, and other incomes due to the proprietaries from the colonists, amounting to above 9000 *l.* also were sold to the crown for 5000 *l.* which was paid to the above-mentioned proprietaries, after the sale and surrender had been confirmed by an act of parliament in 1728, intituled, "an act for establishing an agreement with seven of the lords proprietaries of Carolina, for surrender of their title and interest in that province to his Majesty."

It will appear by the following clause in the act of parliament, that the remaining one-eighth of the propriety, and arrears of quit-rents, were reserved to the Right Honourable John Lord Carteret, afterward Earl Granville: "Having and reserving always to the said John Lord Carteret, his heirs, executors, administrators and assigns, all such estate, right and title, to one-eighth part of the share of the said provinces or territories, and to one-eighth part of all arrears."

This being settled, his Majesty appointed Robert Johnson, Esq. to be governor of Carolina; but Sir Alexander Coming induced the Cherokees to submit to his Britannic Majesty, and brought six of their chiefs over with him to England, where they solemnly ratified the same.

1729.

VOL. II.

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Governor

1731. Governor Johnfon arrived at Charles Town in 1731, and made a fpeech to the afsembly, whom he addreffed on the advantages they might expect on being taken under his Majefty's immediate protection.

Carolina has been long divided into two feparate governments; the one called North Carolina, and the other South Carolina; but the latter is more populous, and generally retains the name: therefore both may be put together in the geographical and hiftorical account of the whole.

Carolina contains all the coaft of North America, between 31° and 36° north latitude. It is about three hundred miles in length; but its breadth is not to be computed, as King Charles II. granted the proprietors all the land weftward in a direct line to the South-feas. It is bounded by Virginia on the north; and, including the new colony of Georgia, is about 500 miles in length from north to fouth; but has no determinate limits to the weftward. Of thefe, North Carolina lies moft northward, South Carolina in the middle, and Georgia on the fouth; each of them being now a royal government, and the whole under diftinct governors.

North Carolina contains about 35,000 white inhabitants, and about 5000 negroes. The principal town is Newbern, fituated on Neufe River, in the center of the province. The foil is different in the northern and fouthern parts; the former being a rich mould, and the other moftly fandy, which makes their produce different.

The commerce of the fouthern diftrict confifts chiefly in pitch, tar, turpentine, and lumber, as alfo indigo and rice.

The northern diftrict chiefly produces tobacco, beef and pork, which they falt, and fend to the Weft Indies; alfo Indian corn, very good Englifh grain, fome lumber, and naval ftores; befide, they raife hemp and flax, which muft become a confiderable article of their trade. The timber is fo plentiful and good, that the building of veffels muft turn to great account; and they have produced fome famples of excellent filk.

A few years ago it was almoft fcandalous to be known for a native of this country, which was the jeft and fcorn of the other colonies; but this province is now a growing rival, fo as to become an object of their envy and jealousy. The port of Cape Fear is for the fouthern divifion, and the port of Ococock for the northern diftrict. In the year 1751 two hundred and fixty-three fhips and veffels were entered inward, and two hundred and eighty-eight were cleared outward.

South

South Carolina has so kindly a soil, that almost all species of trees and plants will grow there to perfection; but rice, cotton, and indigo are more peculiarly the commodities cultivated there.

As to the climate, we are told, "that Carolina is the northern part of Florida; that is, from 29° to 36° , which is the center of the habitable part of the northern hemisphere *."

Carolina, North and South, was divided into six counties, of which two are in North Carolina, Albemarle and Clarendon; and four in South Carolina, called Craven, Berkeley, Colliton, and Carteret counties.

1. Albemarle county borders on Virginia, and is watered by Albemarle River. In this part of the country lies the Island of Roanoke, where Philip Amidas and Arthur Barlow landed in the reign of King James I. When Carolina was first settled, Albemarle was better planted than any other of the English settlements, and consisted of near three hundred families; but the plantations upon Ashley River grew in time upon it so much, that most of the planters removed there. This river is full of creeks on both sides of it, which for breadth deserve the name of rivers, but they do not run far into the country; and at Sandy-Point it divides into two branches, Noratoke and Notaway. Near to this is Pantego River, and between them is Cape Hatteras; and Neuse River is next.

2. Clarendon county is next, in which is the remarkable Promontory, called Cape Fear, at the mouth of Clarendon River, called also Cape Fear River. Watery River, or Winyarn, is about twenty-five leagues distant from Ashley River; and between this and Clarendon River is a small river called Wingon.

3. Craven county is well inhabited, and watered by the Rivers Lantee and Sewec. The French had a settlement on the former, and some families from New England settled on the latter, where they repulsed an invasion from the French in 1706.

4. Berkeley county was soon well settled, on account of the two great rivers, Cooper and Ashley. On the north coast there is a little river, called Bowal; which, with a creek, forms an island; and off the coast are several isles, named the Hunting Islands, and Sillivant's Isle. Between

* Archdale's Description of Carolina, p. 6.

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the latter and Bowal River is a ridge of hills, called the Sand Hills. The River Wando waters the north-west parts of this county, and has several good plantations upon it. It runs into Cooper River, and they both unite their streams with Ashley River at Charles Town, the capital of this province, and now a very flourishing place of trade.

Charles Town is built on a narrow neck of land between Ashley and Cooper Rivers, in 32° north latitude, about two leagues from the sea: but the town lies mostly on Cooper River; having a creek on the north-side, and another on the south. The whole product of the province is brought here for sale. The situation is delightful, and the adjacent country fruitful and agreeable; but it is unhappy in a bar, that admits no ships of above 200 tons. There are several handsome streets, and some beautiful buildings; particularly the principal church, and the Public Library, which owes its rise to Dr. Bray. There is also a French church, and different meeting-houses for the Dissenters and Quakers. In this town the governor generally resides, the assembly sits, the courts of judicature are held, and the business of the province transacted.

The neck of land between Cooper and Ashley Rivers is about four miles over, and the banks of both are well planted; as also is Goose Creek. Back River falls into Cooper River, about two miles above Goose Creek, and its western branch a little higher. Here another church was proposed to be built.

There are several fine plantations on each side of Ashley River; and on the south-west is the Great Savanna.

In this county is Dorchester, a small town, but well inhabited, with a meeting-house belonging to the Independents. Next to it is Stono River, which divides Berkeley from Colliton county.

5. Colliton county is watered by Stono River, which is joined by a cut to Wadmoolaw River, and these rivers form an island, called Boone's Island, a little below Charles Town, which is well planted and inhabited. The two principal rivers in this county are North Edisto and South Edisto, which are full of plantations on both sides for several miles up to the town of Wilton, or New London, which is well inhabited.

6. Carteret county is generally esteemed to be the most pleasant and fertile part of the province. This and Colliton county are distinguished from

from the other counties by the name of the Southward Carteret County, is watered by the River Cambage, which joins the River May, and both form the Island of Edelano.

The country upon the River May was inhabited by an Indian tribe, called the Westoes, who advised the English not to settle there, because the Spaniards would disturb them: however, the Scotch settled there, under the Lord Cardross, but were soon obliged to abandon the place.

Port Royal River lies about twenty leagues from Ashley River, to the south, and has a bold entrance; having seventeen feet low-water at the bar. The harbour is large, commodious, and safe for shipping; it runs through a fine country, and discharges itself by various branches into other rivers.

C H A P. III.

An account of the soil, produce, trade, and inhabitants.

CAROLINA is in general a plain open country, having no considerable hills for the space of many miles along the coast, within one hundred miles of the sea: there are, however, many risings, or gentle ascents, from five to seventy feet above the level of the highest tide. Behind these extensive plains are the vast Apalachian mountains, from the foot of which to the sea is about two hundred miles. These mountains run almost parallel with the sea-coast, behind Florida, Carolina, Virginia, and Maryland; and the sources of most of the great rivers in those provinces are in these hills.

The soil is of a sandy kind, which near the sea appeared more barren than it proved to be. There was a great quantity of vines in many parts of the coast, which bore abundance of grapes; but within land the soil is more mixed with a blackish mould; its foundation generally clay, and good for bricks.

Their timber-trees, fruit-trees, plants, and animals, are much the same with those in Virginia. Every thing generally grows there that will grow in any part of Europe, particularly nectarines, apricots, apples, and pears, in great perfection, and in such plenty, that they are frequently given to feed the hogs. The country is also beautified with odoriferous woods, as pine, cedar, and cypress, which afford a perennial verdure.

All sorts of grain will thrive in Carolina, which produces large quantities of the best rice in the world. They have also pitch, tar, rosin, silk, and furs.

One good account says, that the many lakes they have in different parts breed a multitude of water-fowl, but particularly to the southward. All along Port Royal River, and adjacent to it, the air is so temperate, and the seasons of the year so regular, that there is no excess of heat or cold, nor any troublesome variety of weather; for though there is every year a kind of winter, yet it was both shorter and milder than at Ashley or Cooper Rivers, and passes over insensibly. This sweet temperature of air causes the banks of the river to be covered with various kinds of lovely trees, which being perpetually green, present a thousand land-

scapes to the eye, so diversified, that the sight is intirely charmed with them.

The season of sowing Indian corn in this colony is from the 1st of March to the 10th of June; and one acre produces from eighteen to thirty bushels.

The seed-time for rice is from the 1st of April to the 20th of May. It is sowed in furrows, about eighteen inches distant. A peck usually sows an acre, which yields seldom less than thirty, or more than sixty bushels; but on a medium, as the land is better or worse. It is reaped in September and October: the crop in a good year affords 80,000 barrels of 400 lb. weight, which will employ above 10,000 ton of shipping, and may return to Great Britain about 80,000 l. a year.

Silk-worms in Carolina are hatched from the egg, about the 6th of March; at the same time that the mulberry leaves, which are their food, begin to open. Being attended and fed six weeks, they eat no more, but have small bushes set up for them to spin themselves into balls, which are thrown into warm water, and wound off into raw silk.

Rosin, tar, and pitch, are all produced from the pine-trees. Rosin, by cutting channels in the standing green trees, that meet at a point at the foot of the tree, where a receiver is placed. The channels are cut as high as a man can reach with an ax, and the bark is peeled off from all those parts of the tree that are exposed to the sun, that the heat of it may more easily force out the turpentine, which being taken from the receiver and melted in kettles, becomes rosin.

Tar is made thus: they prepare a circular floor of clay, declining a little toward the center, from which is laid a pipe of wood, whose upper part is even with the floor, and reaches ten feet without the circumference; under the end the earth is dug away, and barrels placed to receive the tar as it runs. Upon the floor is built up a large pile of dry fine wood, split in pieces, and surrounded with a wall of earth, which covers it all over, except a little at the top, where the fire is first kindled. After the fire begins to burn, they also cover that with earth, that there may be no flame, but only heat sufficient to force the tar downward into the floor. The heat is tempered as they please, by thrusting a stick through the earth, and letting the air in at as many places as they see convenient.

Pitch

Pitch is made by boiling tar in large iron kettles, set in furnaces, or by burning it in round clay holes made in the earth.

Black cattle have greatly increased since the first settling of the colony, and some people have 1000 in number. The cows graze in the forests, and the calves are kept in inclosures.

Here are hogs in abundance, which feed in the woods, and return in the evening to the plantations. The beef and pork that are raised here find a good market in the sugar islands, and are very advantageous to the colony.

It was formerly said, that the trade between this province and England employed, one year with another, twenty-two sail of ships. A considerable trade is also carried on with the neighbouring colonies, Madeira, the Western Islands, and the African settlements.

In the year 1755, no less than 104,682 barrels of rice were exported, which might employ 16,000 ton of shipping, and return to Great Britain upward of 100,000*l.* annually. The same year there were also exported 216,924 *lb.* of indigo, 460 hogheads, 114 bundles, and 508 loose deer skins, 5869 barrels of pitch, 2396 of common tar, 547 of green tar, and 2171 of turpentine, 1560 barrels of pork, and 416 of beef, 16,428 bushels of corn, and 9169 of pease, 4196 sides of tanned leather, 1,114,226 shingles, 206,432 staves, and 395,190 feet of timber; beside several other articles of the growth and manufacture of this province, as also a great many more imported from the Bahama and West India Islands.

The inhabitants are now reckoned to amount to upward of 100,000.

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
BRITISH EMPIRE
IN
NORTH AMERICA.

BOOK IX.

An Account of the Colony of GEORGIA.

CHAP. I.

*The original settlement of this colony, under the care of General Oglethorpe;
with his account of the neighbouring Indians.*

GEORGIA is situated between South Carolina and Florida, containing about 124 miles in length, and 200 in breadth.

The colony was established by the royal charter, granted in 1732, by King George II. in the fifth year of his reign.

In August 1732, Sir Gilbert Heathcote acquainted the court of directors of the bank of England, that his Majesty had granted a charter for establishing a regular colony in Georgia; that the fund was to arise from charitable contributions, which he recommended to them, by shewing the great charity of the undertaking, and the future benefit arising to Great Britain by strengthening her American colonies, and by increasing the trade and navigation of the kingdom. The directors gave a handsome benefaction, collections were made throughout the kingdom, and the parliament gave 10,000 *l.* which enabled the trustees to entertain many poor people that offered, and to make provision for their

their transportation and maintenance until they could provide for themselves.

The persons chosen by the trustees to be sent over, being about 100, embarked at Gravesend, on the 6th of November, on board the *Anne* of 200 tons, commanded by Captain Thomas. They had with them all manner of tools, utensils, arms, and ammunition; and James Oglethorpe, Esq. one of the trustees, embarked on board the same ship, to go and see the first settlement made.

1733. The ship arrived at Carolina on the 15th of January following, from whence she sailed to Port Royal, and Mr. Oglethorpe went up the Savannah River, and pitched upon a convenient spot of ground to form a settlement, which appears in the best light from his own account, as following:

"That the river there formed a half moon, around the south side of which the banks were about forty feet high, and on the top a flat, which they called a bluff. The plain high ground extended into the country five or six miles, and along the river about a mile. Ships that drew twelve feet water could ride within twelve yards of the bank. Upon the river side, in the center of this plain, he had laid out the town, and opposite to it was an island of very rich pasturage. The river was pretty wide, and the water fresh. From the key of the town might be seen the whole course of the sea, with the Island of Tybee, which formed the mouth of the river; and the other way, the river might be seen for about sixty miles up into the country. The landscape is very agreeable, the stream being wide, and bordered with high woods on both sides. The whole people arrived there on the 1st of February, and at night their tents were got up. A fortification was raised, and the woods felled." The town and common was marked out; and Mr. Oglethorpe called the town Savannah, the name also of the river. The Indian nation there was before called Yamacrane, and Tomochichi was their chief.

After Mr. Oglethorpe had made the first settlement, he went to Charles Town to solicit assistance for his colony, in which he had success, and then returned to Savannah, where he was met by the chiefs of the Lower Creek nation, who claimed from the Savannah River as far as St. Augustine, and up Flint River, which falls into the Bay of Mexico. A treaty of alliance and commerce was made and signed with them.

Mr. Oglethorpe also concluded a treaty with the two nations of the Cherokees and Chickasaws, relating to their part of the same province; and from that time the Indians never molested the English settlements in Carolina for many years.

A provisional treaty was also concluded by Mr. Oglethorpe with the governor of Augustine and general of Florida, relating to the boundaries between the English and Spaniards, till the pleasure of the two crowns could be known; by which the River St. Matheo, called St. John's by the Spaniards, remained the limits between the two nations; being the same river mentioned in the grant of King Charles II. and lies in $30^{\circ} 10'$ as the River Savannah does in 32° . Mr. Oglethorpe returned to England, and brought with him some of the Indian chiefs, particularly Tomochichi and his family, who were graciously received by the king, well entertained by the trustees, and returned to their native country full of the utmost respect for their British friends and allies.

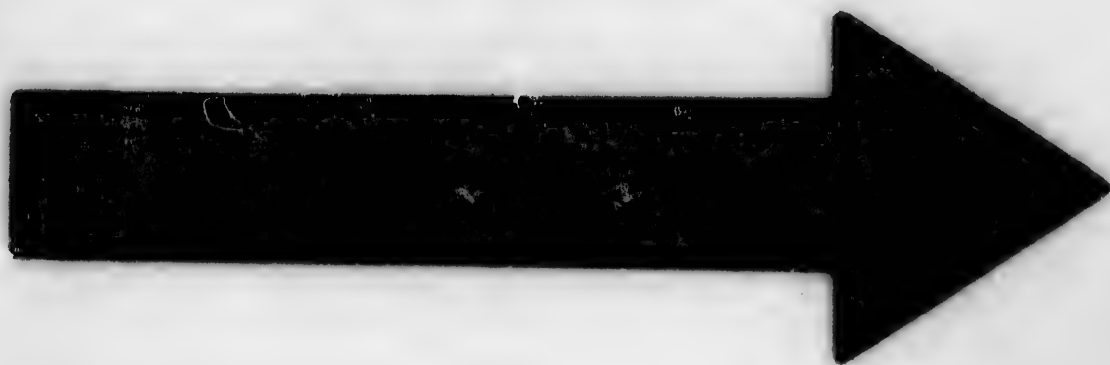
1734.

Upward of 14,822 *l.* had been received by the trustees since the date of their charter for establishing their colony; out of which they had expended 8,202 *l.* for that purpose. The Colonists were 376 British, and 115 foreigners; in all 491 persons, sent by the charity; beside 21 masters, and 106 servants, gone at their own expence. Thus the whole number of persons at that time embarked to settle there, amounted to 618, of which 320 were men, 113 women, 102 boys, and 83 girls.

The Indian nations of Georgia were afterward attached to the British interest; therefore it may be proper here to give some description of their state and manners, for the better explaining of those actions in which they were ulteriorly concerned, especially as this may be depended upon to be the most natural and perfect account of these nations that has hitherto been delivered into the hands of the public.

Indians.

In this province there are three considerable nations; the first called the Cherokees, inhabiting among the mountains from whence the River Savannah descends: These are not the most warlike, nor of the larger stature; but are more accustomed to labour and live upon the corn, than to procure their sustenance by hunting: They have about 5000 warriors, or hunters; for the Indian nations are divided into two kinds of men; and those who they call warriors, or hunters, are like the ancient gentlemen of Europe, whose single profession was arms and the chase. The second nation is the Chickasaws, a warlike and bold people; large of stature, patient of fatigues, and of generous and noble sentiments;



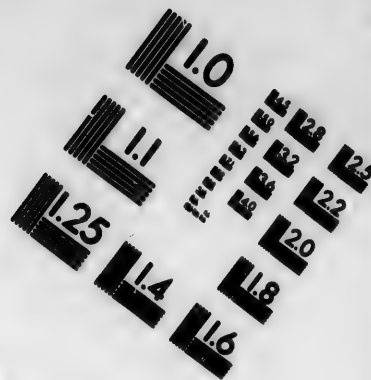
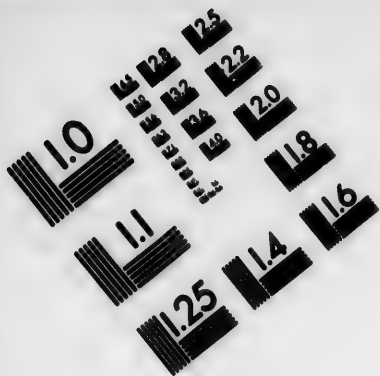
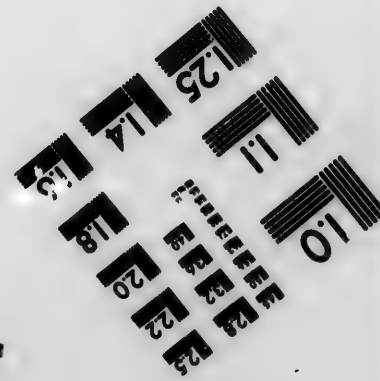
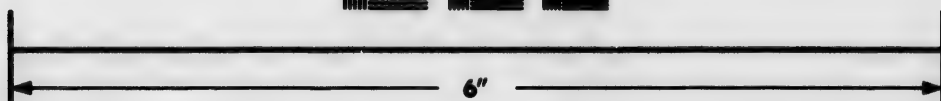
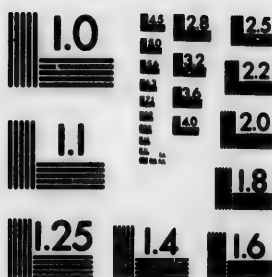


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who disputed the Mississippi River with the French, and, after many bloody engagements, still kept possession of the banks of that river, so as to hinder the free communication of the French in Canada with those of Louisiana. The third nation are the Indians called Creeks by the English, because their country lies chiefly among rivers, which the American English call Creeks; but the real name of these is Uschefees: their language is the softest and most copious of all the Indians, and is looked upon to be the radical language; for they can make themselves understood by almost all the other Indians of the continent: they are divided into three people, Upper, Lower, and Middle Creeks; the two former governed by their respective chiefs, whom they honour with a royal denomination; yet they are nevertheless, in the most material part of their government, subordinate to the chief of the latter, who bears an imperial title: their country lies between Spanish Florida and the Cherokee Mountains, and from the Atlantic Ocean to the Gulph of Mexico: They are a tall, well limbed people, very brave in war, and are, as it were, the Spartans of that part of the world; being as much respected in the south, as the Iroquois are in the north part of America.

These Indians look upon the end of life to be, living happily; and, for this purpose, their whole customs are calculated to prevent avarice, which they think embitters life; and nothing is a severer reflection among them, than to say, that a man loves his own. To prevent the rise and propagation of such a vice, upon the death of any Indian, they burn all that belongs to the deceased, that there may be no temptation for the parent to hoard up a superfluity of arms and domestic conveniences for his children: They strengthen this custom by a superstition, that it is agreeable to the souls of the deceased to burn all they leave, and that afflictions follow those who use any of their goods. They cultivate no more land than is necessary for their plentiful subsistence and hospitality to strangers. They use neither horses or ploughs in their agriculture; but, instead of plowing or digging, hoe their fields by common labour.

The rest of the year they spend in hunting; and when they are injured by any neighbouring nation, as supposing one of their own nation to be killed, they send to demand satisfaction; but if this is refused, they make reprisals upon the first they can take of the nation that committed the injury; and thus their wars begin, which are very frequent; and carried on with great rage; there not being any people in the world who have more courage, or are more dexterous in the use of their arms, and manner of fight, among woods and bushes, mountains and swamps; none more patient of labour, or swifter of foot.

C H A P.

CHAP. II.

The principal settlements, towns, inhabitants, and public affairs; the expedition against Saint Augustine in 1740; soil, produce, and trade.

TOMOCHICHI, and the other Indian chiefs, re-embarked from England to Georgia, where they safely arrived in 1734, on board the Prince of Wales, commanded by Captain Dunbar, who also carried over some Saltzburghers, and other German Protestants, to settle in the colony.

Towns.
1734-

Settlements were made upon the coast of Thunderbolt and Skidaway. In May 1735, a fort and many houses were finished in the town of Savannah, where, in January 1736, about 150 Scotch Highlanders arrived, and formed a settlement by the side of the River Alatamaha, about twelve miles from the sea. They there erected a little fort, a guard-house, store-house, a chapel, and several huts; and gave the name of Darien to their new settlement.

1735-

On the 5th of February Mr. Oglethorpe arrived with two ships, which had three hundred passengers on board, and the colony began to proceed in a prosperous way. Materials were provided for building a church, and a wharf for landing of goods; as also for finishing the fortifications, and clearing the roads.

1736.

Old Ebenezer was abandoned by the Germans, who erected the town of New Ebenezer, by the consent and under the direction of Mr. Oglethorpe, who then visited the Scotch at Darien, and then went to the Isle of Saint Simon, which is in the mouth of the River Alatamaha, about thirteen miles long, and three or four broad, about twenty leagues north of Saint Augustine.

The fort and town of Frederica were built upon the island, which was soon greatly improved. Saint Andrew's Fort was also erected on Cumberland Island, at the mouth of Jekyl Sound. Amelia Island was discovered by General Oglethorpe, who also caused the town of Augusta to be built, about 236 miles by water from the mouth of Savannah River. There are several plantations to the southward of Savannah, and two villages, called Highgate and Hampstead, about four miles distant from it; as also many other villages throughout the colony, which have been put under a proper form of government.

When

1737. When the Spanish court in 1737 still aggravated their differences with the English, Don Thomas Geraldino, the Spanish ambassador at the court of London, presented a memorial, demanding all the land to thirty-three degrees and thirty minutes of north latitude in North America, and required the government to order the English subjects to withdraw; but if this could not be done, insisting that at least no troops should be sent there; and particularly remonstrated against the return of Mr. Oglethorpe, who was then in England; for the Spaniards dreaded the military abilities of that accomplished gentleman, who had served under the illustrious Prince Eugene, both as secretary and aid-de-camp to his Highness in the Turkish wars, and that at the particular recommendation of the great John Duke of Marlborough.

At the same time, intelligence was received from Commodore Dent, who commanded his Britannic Majesty's ships at Jamaica; and from Governor Bull, who commanded in Carolina, that the Spaniards at the Havana * were preparing embarkations, and three thousand men, to invade Carolina; whereupon his Britannic Majesty immediately appointed Mr. Oglethorpe general of his forces in Carolina and Georgia, ordered him to raise a regiment, and repair there. His Excellency arrived in time to prevent the execution of the Spanish designs, although a considerable number of their troops had already got to Augustine.

1739. When reprisals were known to have been published by his Britannic Majesty against the King of Spain, a party of the garrison of Augustine came up, and surprized two Highlanders upon the Island of Amelia, cut off their heads, and mangled their bodies with great inhumanity.

General Oglethorpe went immediately in pursuit of them, and with such expedition, that he followed them, by land and water, above a hundred miles in less than twenty-four hours; but they escaped. The general, however, by way of reprisal, passed the River Saint Mathea, or Saint John's, into Florida, drove in the guards of Spanish horse posted upon that river, and advanced as far as a place called the Canallas; at the same time sending Captain Dunbar with a party up the River Saint Mathea, to reconnoitre a fort called Pickalata, near that river, upon the lakes of Florida, twenty miles from the sea, which they attacked, but were repulsed, having no artillery; however they accomplished the intentions of General Oglethorpe, as they had well reconnoitred both that place and another fort, called Saint Francis, upon the same lakes.

* A port-town, and the capital city of the island of Cuba, situated on the north-west part of the island, at the entrance of the Gulph of Mexico, about 200 miles south of Cape Florida.

General

General Oglethorpe in January returned to Frederica, where he met with Captain Warren *, who was lately arrived with the Squirrel man of war. When their consultation was concluded, Captain Warren went and cruised off the Bay of Augustine, while General Oglethorpe, with a detachment of troops on board of the boats, and some artillery, went up the lakes of Florida, rowing by day and sailing by night; so that he attacked the two forts of Pickalata and Saint Francis, which he took the same day.

1740.

From the information of the prisoners, which confirmed the other accounts the general had of the weak condition of Augustine, he sent up to Charles Town to desire the assistance of the people of Carolina, and to consult measures with the commanders of the men of war, in order immediately to block up Augustine before the Spaniards could receive provisions and assistance from Cuba, which, if properly executed, the place must be soon reduced in all probability.

Augustine was then the principal town of strength in Spanish Florida, situate at the mouth of the River Matanzas, about twenty leagues south of the River Saint Mathea, or Saint John's, the boundary of Georgia. The Spanish inhabitants had shewn great indications of their inclination to infect the people of Carolina; for, by ungenerous artifices, they had long been attempting to raise an insurrection among the slaves of that colony, which was effected in September 1739; and twenty-three of the white inhabitants massacred in a most cruel and barbarous manner: but the provincial militia repelled the Indians, who were openly encouraged by the Spaniards, so that the British Colonists looked upon Saint Augustine in the same manner their mother-country had formerly done by the African Sallee, as a den of thieves and ruffians, and the receptacle of debtors and slaves, to whom, by a proclamation published at Augustine, they had promised freedom and protection, upon their desertion from the English.

Such a proceeding awakened the attention of all the inhabitants of Carolina, where all those who had life and property at stake were sensibly shocked at such a danger daily impending over their heads.

To aggravate their concern, they had information that the remainder of the preparations made at the Havanna in 1737 for invading Carolina were then ready for that purpose. Prompted by such strong incentives, the lieutenant-governor, the council, assembly, and inhabitants of Caro-

* The late Sir Peter Warren, an excellent officer.

lina, seemed very ready to assist General Oglethorpe upon an enterprize so promising of success, and so likely to destroy all their fears from the incursions of the Spaniards in those remoter parts of the British North American continent.

The Indian nations, before-mentioned, with difficulty were gained by General Oglethorpe to assist in the war against the Spaniards; and the obstacle was so much the more, because the Creeks had frequent intercourse and friendship with them; but the general, by sending them the marks of blood shed by the Spaniards, and acquainting the Indians that the Spaniards had killed some of his men upon the land which the Creeks had by treaty conceded to the English; those Indians conceived themselves injured in their right of hospitality, and sent to demand justice of the governor of Augustine, who ill-treated their messengers; upon which they solemnly engaged to assist the English in the war against their Spanish enemies.

When the war broke out, there was but one regiment of regular troops, consisting of six hundred men, commanded by General Oglethorpe; and the country, to be then defended, was of above four hundred miles extent, upon the sea-coast. In Carolina there was a militia of about three thousand men; and the armed people of Georgia were about fifteen hundred; but as there were about forty thousand negro slaves in Carolina, it was esteemed a difficult task to contain such a number of negroes in their duty, if the Spaniards should actually invade.

General Oglethorpe therefore thought that the most prudent way of defending such a great extent of country was, by attacking the Spaniards; in which opinion the assembly of Carolina concurred; for if that small body of troops were to be dispersed to defend all parts of the country, they would have been but a handful, easily subdued in each place; and the slaves of Carolina might have revolted, if favoured by an invading enemy; but if the British Colonists acted offensively, the slaves would not be able, nor think of stirring, when they saw their masters had power to invade their enemies; the Indians would join them, and the Spaniards be prevented from attacking, by being forced to defend.

There still subsisted among the Spaniards in America a strong party for the House of Austria. Some of these were men of quality of Mexico, and then officers in Augustine, sent there because they were in disgrace; a command at that distance being, among them, in the nature of a banishment.

General

General Oglethorpe had frequent intercourse with some of those principal officers, whom he had influenced intirely to his interest; and, at that time, received intelligence, by some considerable people in the garrison of Augustine, of the state and condition of the town, which was then in want of provisions, and their half-gallies were gone to Cuba to carry over men and provisions; so that the river of St. Augustine was undefended, according to those accounts.

General Oglethorpe, in January, acquainted the assembly, that if they could, by March following, join the troops upon the River Saint Mathea, or Saint John, with six hundred white men, a troop of horse, another of rangers, and six hundred negroes for pioneers, with a proper train of artillery and necessaries, as they had promised to do, there might be a probability of taking Augustine; at least a certainty of preventing the Spaniards from undertaking any thing against Carolina, provided the men of war would block up the port of Augustine from receiving succours by sea.

When General Oglethorpe imparted this material intelligence to the assembly of Carolina, they voted to support him with a sum of money equal to what was wanted; but delayed so long, that the general was obliged to go up himself to Charles Town and hasten them in their resolutions.

Captain Warren came also into the port of Charles Town with his squadron, to consult measures for the expedition; but the assembly, through their supinity and inactivity, delayed them so long, that the month of March was passed before they had concluded any thing; so that by the time they had passed their act, and before they would permit the general to set out, the ship of war, which had been posted there until Captain Warren's return, left the station off the bar of Augustine, and the half-gallies got into the harbour, with succours of provisions and men from the Havanna; which was certainly the principal thing that contributed to the preservation of the place.

Captain Warren, uninformed of the arrival of the gallies, went and lay off the port of Augustine, to prevent their coming in; but, in the dark of a calm night, six half-gallies came out from Augustine, and attacked him, to his great surprize. Notwithstanding the great superiority they had, by the weight of their cannon, which carried double the shot his guns did, the number of their men, and the advantage a calm gives to rowing vessels, Captain Warren defended himself beyond all expectation or hope;

but the wind sprung up in the morning, when he sunk one of the gallees, and drove the others into port.

General Oglethorpe set out from Charles Town, greatly disgusted at the dilatory proceeding of the assembly, which was influenced by the Spanish party, and had confined him so long from the proper time for action: but upon his arrival in Georgia, he immediately draughted five hundred men out of his regiment, and left the rest to take care of the coast: he also raised a company of one hundred men from the highland part of the colony, two troops of rangers of sixty men each, and one hundred boatmen from the other inhabitants.

The general crossed Saint John's River, with a party of his regiment, and some Indians, as did those headed by Molochi, son to Brim, the late emperor of the Creeks; the Raven-war-king of the Cherokees; and Tooariahowi, nephew to King Tomo-Chichi. They landed in Florida upon the 10th of May, expecting the levies and pioneers from Carolina. They not arriving, and as the first thing necessary to be done, was to take the forts that kept open the communication of the Spaniards with the country, the general, impatient of losing time, after a march of thirty miles, invested and took Fort Diego, about three leagues from Augustine, among meadows which were well stocked with cattle, and commanded a pass upon the River Diego, half-way between Augustine and the River Saint Mathea.

After a smart skirmish for some hours, the garrison surrendered prisoners of war, and delivered up the fort, with eleven pieces of cannon. The garrison consisted of a captain, and fifty-seven regulars, beside Indians and negroes, who dreaded the attack.

Soon after, four hundred men, commanded by Colonel Vander Duffen, arrived from Carolina; but without any horse, rangers, negroes, or pioneers. About that time arrived a body of Cherokee Indians; as also Captain Dunbar, with a party of Chickesaws, and the rangers and Highlanders from Georgia, under Captain M'Intosh.

In the mean while, Commodore Pierce in the Flamborough, Captain Warren in the Squirrel, Captain Fanshaw in the Tartar, and Captain Townshend in the Phoenix, of twenty guns; with Sir Yelverton Peyton in the Hector, of forty guns, Captain Laws in the Spence, and Captain Dandridge in the Wolf sloop, arrived off Saint Mathea, or Saint John's River, to assist upon the expedition. The general went on board the commodore,

commodore, where a consultation was held, and it was agreed to anchor off Augustine, and to attempt an entry into the harbour. The general immediately marched by land, and in three days arrived at Moofa, a fort which the Spaniards had built for the deserted negroes from Carolina, and given them some adjoining lands. His Excellency made a forced march, with a small detachment, because he had received private intelligence from his party among the Spaniards, that he might have the town delivered to him; but he insisted upon hostages from them before he would risque to send a party into the castle to take possession of it. They had agreed to this proposal, and appointed the place of meeting near to Coovo, in a wood, about a mile from Augustine, and two miles from Moofa. The general went there, with a select party of men, who continued there until the appointed time was long elapsed; but as no persons appeared, the general went to reconnoitre as far as the works of Augustine, and found that the lines from Coovo to the town were all full of troops, very alert; so that finding the design disappointed, though then not knowing how, he returned to his party, ordered the drums to beat, that those who had promised him might know that he had not failed on his side, and then marched back to Moofa.

Upon the break of day, the general saw that the men of war did not come into the harbour, and the provisions that were to come up had not arrived, upon which his Excellency marched back to the head-quarters at Diego, and sent on board the commodore to know what had occasioned the disappointment of their not mastering the harbour. The commodore acquainted him, that there was a battery upon the island of Anastasia, which defended the entry; therefore he desired the general to send a body of troops to land, under favour of the men of war, upon the island; and he would send the small vessels into the harbour, which was too shallow to admit the men of war.

The general then marched to the point, and embarked with a party of two hundred men. He had before sent the highlanders, rangers, and a party of Indians, under Colonel Palmer, with orders to lie in the woods near Augustine, and hinder the Spanish parties from coming out by land; but with positive orders not to come to any general action, if they could avoid it; nor to lie two nights in the same place. His Excellency also posted the Carolina new raised men at Point Cartel, which makes the mouth of the harbour opposite the island of Anastasia; and this he did, because they would be safe there, being divided from Augustine, and covered from any sally that could be made by the garrison. The general then came up to the commodore, with whom he held a consultation; after

which, Captain Warren generously offered to land, with a party of seamen; and, to prevent all difficulties of rank, the general gave him a commission to command as lieutenant-colonel.

The Spaniards made a disposition to defend the island; for they had about 1100 men in garrison, out of which they could pass over as many as they thought proper to Anastasia; but the English had not boats enough to land above 500 men at once. The general, however, resolved to carry the landing. He saw the Spaniards were advantageously posted behind the sand-hills, covered by the battery upon the island, and the fire from the half-gallies, which lay in shoal-water, where the men of war could not come; therefore his Excellency ordered the heavy boats to stay, and seem as if they intended to land near them, while he, with Captain Warren and the pinnaces, rowed with all the speed they could to the southward, for about two miles. The Spaniards ran behind the sand hills to strive to prevent them; but before they could come up in any order, the boats got near enough to the shore. The general and Captain Warren, with a party of seamen and Indians, leaped into the water breast-high, landed, and took possession of the sand-hills. The Spaniards retired in the utmost confusion to the battery; but were pursued so vigorously, that they were drove out of the battery into the sea; some sheltering themselves on board the half-gallies, which retired under the castle of Augustine, while the English boats and small craft entered the harbour.

Being masters of Anastasia, it was found that the river which runs between that island and the castle, near which the town lies, was too wide to batter in breach; but the town was not fortified on the water-side, as the Spaniards were convinced that the island could not be taken, and expected the attack to have been from the land-side, where they were well fortified and prepared for defence. It was then resolved to attempt to cross the river, and land near the town. What the general had said was now proved, "that if the attempt had been begun before the half-gallies came from Cuba, the English troops would have found no difficulty in landing on that part of the town where no entrenchments were made; but now the half-gallies were a floating battery, in a wide ditch; so that there was no possibility of landing, without first taking or driving them away."

Many consultations passed for this purpose, but none could take effect, although General Oglethorpe offered to attack the enemy with the boats of the squadron.

Little hopes were then conceived but from famine; for the Spaniards, who were in the Austrian interest, and intended to deliver up that place, had been suspected, if not discovered; and it is strongly suspected, by the means of a field-officer, afterward punished in England for exhibiting a malicious charge against his general *. This was one great disappointment; but the half-gallies and succours got in from Cuba was a much greater impediment.

Thirty-six pieces of cannon, together with planks for batteries, and all other necessaries, with 200 pioneers, were to have come from Carolina, but only twelve pieces of cannon arrived; which, for want of planks for batteries, being obliged to fire upon the sand, soon broke their carriages to pieces, and could not be repaired.

The Spaniards, on the other side, had surprized the party sent to watch them under Colonel Palmer, who had indiscreetly, and against orders, lodged themselves, and continued in the fort of Moosa, which the general had demolished, purposely that no refuge should be taken in so weak a place. Beside, this detachment was intended for a scouting party, to shun any engagements, and prevent the Spaniards from driving cattle into the town.

The Spaniards took several prisoners at Moosa, basely insulted the bodies of the dead, and would have inflicted cruelties on their prisoners; one of whom was an Indian, named Nicolausa, whom they delivered over to the Yaeassie Nation, to burn him alive; but General Oglethorpe, on that account, sent a drum, with a message to the governor from the Indian King of the Cherokees, acquainting him, that if he burnt Nicolausa he would burn a Spanish horseman whom he had taken prisoner; the general also mentioned, "that as the governor was a gentleman and a man of honour, he was persuaded that he would put an end to the barbarous usage of that country; and expected, from the generosity of a Spanish gentleman, he would prevent insults to the bodies of the dead, and cruelties to prisoners: and he rather wished it, lest he should be forced, much against his inclination, to retaliations, which the governor must know he was very able to make, since his prisoners greatly exceeded those made by the Spaniards." Upon which, the governor submitted not to hurt Nicolausa,

* It is certain those old Spanish revolutionists were detected in their design to deliver up the castle to General Oglethorpe, as above-mentioned; but before the time of meeting, as appointed, the Spanish gentlemen were massacred in the castle, to the eternal disgrace of some persons whom General Oglethorpe had honoured with his confidence, and a principal officer in his own regiment.

though

though the Spanish Indians pretended to charge him with desertion. It was agreed, that the Indians on both sides should be treated as prisoners of war; so that an end might be put to their barbarous custom of burning the unhappy wretches that unfortunately fell into their hands.

General Oglethorpe continued bombarding the place until the regular troops came over from the island to the land-side, and the Carolina militia were removed from Cartel to Anastasia.

It was agreed, on the 23d of June, that Captain Warren, with the boats from the men of war, the two sloops hired by General Oglethorpe, and the Carolina vessels, with their militia, should attack the half-gallies; and that, upon a signal given, the general should attack the trenches upon the land-side.

This was a desperate measure; yet it was pursued; for the whole troops belonging to the besiegers, including even the seamen, were much inferior in number to the garrison. The town was also covered on one side by a castle, with four bastions and fifty pieces of cannon, from whence they run an entrenchment, flanked with several salient angles, to Fort Coovo, which lay upon the River Saint Sebastian. This entrenchment crossed the neck of land from the River Anastasia to that of Saint Sebastian, and intirely covered the town from the land. Upon this, the general drew in all the strength he possibly could, and sent for the garrison he had left at Diego. Being joined by them and the Creek Indians, and having made a sufficient number of fascines, short ladders, provided all other necessities for attacking the entrenchments, and brought up thirty-six cohorts, he received notice that the commodore had resolved to delay the attack.

Sickness had spread among the troops, and the commodore was obliged to quit the coast. The Spaniards had received a strong reinforcement from Cuba; and upon this, all hopes of taking the place by famine ceased. The squadron sailed; the Carolina troops marched away, and the general brought up the rear. The garrison made an unsuccessful sally: but the general demolished the Spanish forts, which were erected in proper passes to hinder the invasions of the Creek Indians, whereby all the plantations were destroyed and laid open; so that the Spaniards could not possess any thing out of the reach of the cannon of Augustine.

In the year 1702, Colonel Moor, then governor of South Carolina, invaded Florida with a much greater force than that commanded by General Oglethorpe;

Oglethorpe; and after he had invested Augustine for three months, was obliged to raise the siege. But though General Oglethorpe was defeated in his principal aim, he succeeded in his other views, which were to intimidate the Spaniards from invading Georgia or Carolina, and to give those provinces the seasonable and happy opportunity of enjoying their properties, free and undisturbed from the invasion of a revengeful enemy. The Spaniards, instead of making continual excursions, dreaded the abilities of so able a commander, and remained inactive within their own territories until the year 1742, when they collected a powerful body of troops, and invaded Georgia, where they committed many ravages, but were obliged to quit their enterprize, by the bravery and conduct of General Oglethorpe.

As the latitude of Georgia is between 29° and 32° , it shews the happiness of the climate and soil for planting and habitation. The soil consists of four different sorts; pine-barren, which is a sandy soil; oak and hickory, which is good land, fit for most sorts of grain; swamps, which, lying low, are clay or fat mud, and is the richest and best; savannas, where wild grass and cane are plentiful, and also good grass in many places for feeding cattle, which are much increased in the colony.

There is a good proportion of all these sorts of lands; but the higher in the country the better. Beside, the soil has also been found proper for all kinds of English grain, as well as most of the European and Asiatic fruits.

They have white oaks, beech, pines, cedar, elms, walnut, chefnuts, cypress, myrtles, vines, and mulberry trees. Among their commodities are, pitch and tar, hemp and flax, pot-ash, bees-wax, myrtle-wax, bear's-oil, furs, skins, and leather; drugs, simples, and dyers goods of several sorts; as also Indian corn, and European grain; vegetables and fruits.

The colony was speedily and populously inhabited; and the Indians supplied it annually with 10,000 *lb.* weight of deer-skins, beavers, and other furs, which were chiefly paid for in woollen goods and iron of the produce and manufacture of England: beside, the colony gave the strongest indications of amply rewarding her mother-country, with a considerable produce of silk, cochineal, indigo, olives, oil, and cotton; as also wine, if properly cultivated.

The raising of the silk manufacture is practicable even in Great Britain, but much more so in her American colonies, particularly Georgia
and

and Carolina, where both the climate and soil are excellently well adapted to the nature of the silk-worm, and the propagation of the mulberry tree, whose leaves are the natural food of this insect; inasmuch that they have been often found feeding thereupon naturally or spontaneously.

It was principally upon account of promoting this branch of trade that the colony of Georgia was originally established; and the British government annually granted a considerable sum of money for that purpose: but in 1751 the trustees resigned their right to the crown, and the province is now a royal propriety.

In the year 1755 no less than 104,682 barrels of rice were exported from Carolina and Georgia; beside many other commodities, as before-mentioned: and upon the whole it appears, that about 800 ships have been annually employed to all the British provinces upon the continent of North America, which may be greatly increased.

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BOOK X.

The History of FLORIDA;

Containing its original and present state.

THE Spaniards gave originally the name of Florida to all that part of the continent of North America, which lies north of the Gulph of Mexico, and bounded on the east by the Atlantic Ocean: but this country now is known by many different names, as before described. Within these limits, according to the Spanish claim, were included most of the British Colonies in North America; as also those countries which the French have denominated Louisiana and New France. But all that retains the name of Florida at present is that peninsula between the colony of Georgia and Cape Florida, in 25° and 30° of north latitude, and 81° and 85° of west longitude.

Augustine and Pensacola were and are the principal places in this province, which was ceded to the British Crown by the treaty of peace in 1762, and afterward subdivided into two provinces.

With regard to that part of Florida, confining on the Gulph of Mexico, it appears that the Crown of Great Britain had an indubitable right to it,

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ever since the reign of Henry VII. by whose commission Sebastian Cabot discovered all this coast.

The air of Florida is temperate, and the country somewhat healthful; but it is subject more to heat than cold; though this is tempered by the sea-breezes; and toward the Appalachian mountains, the air is generally cold.

The coast is sandy in general, but the interior part of the country has an excellent soil, where meadows abound with grass, and fields are fertile of grain.

The natives are rough and indelicate in their manners and customs; like other Indians, they are idolaters and savages.

Pensacola is a safe port, and has a communication by land with Apalchy. It was taken in 1719 by the French*, but afterward restored to Spain, and now subject to the British government, by whom it was claimed in 1739, and obtained in 1763, when it was divided into the two provinces of East and West Florida, as will be afterward shewn.

The colonies of Pensacola and Dauphin Island were on the decline in 1719; the inhabitants having removed to settle at Mobile and Biloxi, or at New Orleans, where the lands were much better; for at first the soil is chiefly sand, mixed with little earth. The land, however, is covered with woods of pines, fir, and oaks, which make good trees, as well as at Ship Island. The road of Pensacola is the only good port thereabout for large ships, and Ship Island for small vessels, which may ride in safety in fifteen feet, and a good holding ground; the other ports are all only open roads, exposed to the south, and from west to east.

Pensacola is in north latitude $30^{\circ} 25'$; and is the only road in the Bay of Mexico where ships can be safe from all winds. It is land-locked on every side, and will hold a great number of ships, which have good anchorage in holding ground of soft sand, and from twenty-five to thirty-four feet of water. Before a ship enters the harbour, she should bring the fort of Pensacola to bear between north and north-east, and keep that course until she is west, or somewhat south-east from the fort on the island of Saint Rose; that is, till that fort bears east, and east $\frac{1}{2}$ north. Then she must bear away a little to the land on the west-side, keeping about

* See M. Le Page Du Pratz, vol. I, p. 188.

mid-way between that and the island, to avoid a bank upon the latter, which runs out to some distance west north-west of the island.

If there are any breakers on the ledge of rocks, which lie to the westward of the bar, as often happens; if there is any wind, that may serve as a mark for ships, which steer along that ledge, at the distance of a good musket-shot, as they enter upon the bar; then keep the course above-mentioned: but sometimes the currents set very strong out of the road; of which particular care should be taken, to prevent vessels being carried upon those rocks.

As there is but half a foot rising on the bar of Pensacola, every ship of war, if it be not in a storm, may depend upon nineteen or twenty feet of water to go into the harbour, as there are twenty-one feet on the bar: but ships that draw twenty feet must be towed in.

The French took Pensacola from the Spaniards in 1719; but have given different accounts of the country, and much has been said of it, particularly that it can never prove beneficial, because the French have made so little of it.

No country can produce any thing without labourers; which, it is certain, the French have never had in Louisiana, in any numbers at least, sufficient to make it turn out to any greater account than it has hitherto done.

The reason of this appears not to be owing to the country, but to their proceedings and misconduct in it: by which means the French had few people in Louisiana, but convicts for criminal offences, who, looking on the country only as a place of exile, were disheartened at every thing in it; and had no regard for the progress of a colony, of which they were only members by compulsion; and neither knew nor considered its advantages to the state *.

The Cape of Florida lies in 25 degrees 20 minutes of north latitude, and in 80 degrees twenty minutes of west longitude.

* Laval, Bellin, Charlevoix.

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BOOK XI.

The History of LOUISIANA.

CHAP. I.

Geographical description of Louisiana; its climate, rivers, soil, first discovery, and settlement by the French.

LOUISIANA is that part of North America which is bounded on the south by the Gulph of Mexico; on the east by Carolina, and by a part of Canada; on the west by New Mexico; and much by Canada on the north. In part it extends, without any assignable bounds, to the *Terra Incognita*, adjoining to Hudson's Bay. Its breadth is about two hundred leagues, extending between the Spanish and English settlements; but its length is undetermined, as being altogether unknown; however, the source of the Mississippi will afford some light on this head. This is the account given by a modern writer*, who resided in Louisiana several years. According to Savary, this large tract of land extends upward of eighteen hundred leagues, and has received the name of Louisiana, because discovered by the French in the reign of Louis XIV. but other

* Du Pratz, vol. I. p. 200.

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authors differ about the boundaries, which some say are too extensive to be known; while others assert the contrary.

The climate of Louisiana varies in proportion as it extends to the north: but all that can be said of it in general is, that its southern parts are not so sultry as those of Africa in the same latitude; and that the northern parts are colder than the corresponding parts of Europe. This difference of climate from that of Africa and Europe has been ascribed to two causes: the first is, the number of woods, which, although scattered up and down, cover the face of this country: the second is, the great number of rivers. The former prevent the sun from warming the earth; and the latter diffuse a great degree of humidity.

Few days pass in Louisiana without seeing the sun; but there are frequently sudden showers of heavy rain: the dews are so very plentiful, that they often advantageously supply the deficiency of rain. It may therefore be well imagined, that the air is very good, the inhabitants healthy, and subject to few diseases, especially in the vigour of life.

The rivers in this country are, 1. The Mississippi, which divides it from north to south almost into two equal parts. The first discoverers of this river called it Colbert, in honour of that minister: but by some savages of the north it was called Meact Chassipi, or the ancient father of rivers; of which the French have corruptly formed Mississippi, or Mississipp. Other Indians called it Balbancha; and the name of Saint Louis was at last given to it by the French.

The sources of this river were discovered by M. de Charleville, a Canadian, and are now well known. He went up the river three hundred leagues to the north, above the Illinois, where he was stopped by the fall called Saint Anthony's, which is a flat rock across the stream, that gives it only a fall of about nine feet. He caused his canoe to be carried over that place, embarked again above the fall, and proceeded farther up the river one hundred leagues more to the north, and met with a nation called Sioux, who were surprized at seeing him there, and told him of the difficulties of his enterprize, because it was as far to the source from the fall as from the last to the sea. He did not see the source of the Mississippi; but learned that a great many rivers emptied their waters into it.

2. The River Saint Peter is the first from the fall; and some leagues lower down is, 3. the River Saint Croix; both of them capacious streams; and several others are met with of less consequence. 4. The Moingona,

Moingona, which comes from the west, about 250 leagues below the fall; it is somewhat brackish, and above 150 leagues in length. 5. The Illinois comes from the east; takes its rise on the frontiers of Canada, and its course is about 200 leagues. 6. The Missouri comes from a source about 800 leagues distant; runs from north-west to south-east, and discharges itself into the Mississippi, about four leagues below the Illinois; from which to the sea are computed about 500 leagues; and from the Missouri to the Wabache an hundred leagues. This last is more generally known by the name of the Ohio, by which is the passage from Louisiana to Canada. This voyage is performed from New Orleans by going up the Mississippi to the Ohio, which they go up in the same manner quite to the river of the Miamis, near Lake Erie, from whence they go down the River Saint Lawrence to Quebec in birch canoes.

From the Ohio to Manchac upon the River Iberville, there are few rivers to be seen which fall into the Mississippi, and those small ones, altho' it is about 350 leagues from one to the other; which appears somewhat extraordinary: but it should be remarked, that in all this part of Louisiana, which is to the east of the Mississippi, the adjacent lands are so high, that in many places the rain-water runs off from the banks of the Mississippi, and discharges itself into rivers, which fall into the sea or into lakes.

In continuing to go down the Mississippi, there are small rivers from the Wabache to the river of the Arkansas. 7. The most considerable is that of Saint Francis, upon which the hunters of New Orleans go every winter to prepare salt provisions, tallow, and bear's oil for the supply of the capital.

8. The river of the Arkansas, which is thirty-five leagues lower down, and two hundred leagues from New Orleans, is so denominated from the Indians of that name, who dwelt on its banks, a little above its confluence with the Mississippi. It runs three hundred leagues, and its source is in the same latitude with Santa Fè, in New Mexico, in the mountains of which it rises.

9. Below this river is that of the Yafous, sixty leagues lower down: it runs about fifty leagues, but will hardly admit of a boat for a great way. 10. The next is Red River, called at first the Marne: it rises in New Mexico, and has a course of two hundred leagues: but about ten leagues from its confluence with the Mississippi, it receives the Black River,

River, or the river of the Wachitas, which takes its rise near that of the Arkansas.

Twenty leagues below the Red River is the Little Cut Point; and a league below that point are the Little Cliffs. From the Red River to the sea are only some small brooks; but on the east-side, twenty-five leagues above New Orleans, is a channel, called Manchac. This is the River Iberville, which is now to be the boundary of the British dominions: it discharges itself into the Lake Maurepas, and from thence into that of Saint Louis*. It receives, 1. the River Amite, which is somewhat large, and runs through a fine country for about twenty leagues.

A small river falls into the Lake Maurepas, to the east of Manchac. In proceeding eastward, they pass from this lake into that of Saint Louis, through a river formed by the waters of the Amite: in going to the north of this lake, they meet the little river Tandgi Pad; afterward the river Quefoncte, which comes from the Chactaws; and then the Castin Bayouc. Afterward they may quit the lake by the channel, which borders upon the same country; and proceeding eastward, they meet with Pearl River, which falls into this channel.

Farther up the coast, which lies from east to west, they meet Saint Louis's Bay, into which a little river of that name discharges itself. Farther on, they meet the river of the Paska Ogoulas; and at length they arrive at the bay of Mobile, which runs upward of thirty leagues into the country, where it receives the river of that name, which runs about 150 leagues from north to south.

At a little distance from Manchac they meet the river of the Plamequines; and four leagues lower down is the Fork, or a channel running to the west of the Mississippi, through which a part of the inundations of that river run off. These waters pass through several lakes, and from thence to the sea, by Ascension Bay; but the names of the other rivers to the west of this bay are not so well known.

The coast is bounded to the west by Saint Bernard's Bay, where M. de la Salle landed: into this bay a small river falls; and there are some others which discharge their waters between this and Ascension Bay: but the

* Dumont, ii. p. 297. Du Pratz, i. p. 210.

planters seldom frequent that coast. On the east, the coast is bounded by Rio Perdido, or Lost River, called so by the Spaniards, because it loses itself under ground for a considerable space, afterwards reappears, and discharges itself into the sea, a little to the east of the Mobile.

From the Fork down to the sea, there is no river: but about eight leagues from the principal mouth of the Mississippi, they meet the first pass; and a league lower down, the Otter Pass; from which it is all a bog down to the sea. There also they find a point, which parts the mouths of the Mississippi; that to the right is called the South Pass, or channel; the west point of which runs two leagues farther into the sea than the point of the South East Pass, where vessels first entered; but ships now enter at the East Pass.

At each of these passes or channels there is a bar, and these bars are three-quarters of a league broad, with only about nine feet water; but there is a channel through each bar, which good pilots may pass in safety; and the channel at low water is about eighteen feet in depth.

The Mississippi is generally muddy after its junction with the Missouri; and no ship can enter when the waters are high, on account of the prodigious number of trees, and great quantities of dead wood, which the river carries down.

Louisiana may be divided into the higher and lower, on account of the difference there is between the two principal parts of this extensive country. The higher might be called that part in which they find a fine freestone, particularly between the river of the Natchez and that of the Yafous; and that part might be terminated at Manchac, where the high lands end. The Lower Louisiana might be extended from thence down to the sea. The bottom of the lands on the hills is a red clay; and so compact, as might afford a solid foundation for any building whatever. This clay is covered by a light earth, which is almost black, and very fertile. The grass grows there about knee deep; and in the bottoms, which separate these small eminences, it is above six feet high. Toward the end of September, both are successively set on fire; and in eight or ten days the young grass will shoot up half a foot. The flat country is watery, and appears to have been formed by every thing that comes down to the sea, whose bottom is a chrysal sand.

The month of September is the best season in the year for beginning a journey into this country, when travellers will meet with fine plains, in-

termixed with thickets; and delightful meadows, interspersed with hills. The more they advance toward the north, the more beautiful and fertile the country appears, abounding in game of every kind. The herds of deer are numerous; and buffaloes are frequently seen from five to six hundred in a drove.

The coast, which was first inhabited, extends from the River Perdido to the Lake of Saint Louis. This ground is very sandy, so as not to produce any thing but pine, cedar, and some ever-green oaks.

The Mobile rolls its waters over a pure sand; but its banks and neighbourhood are not very fertile from its source down to the sea. The lands and water of the Mobile are not only unfruitful in all kinds of vegetables and fish, but the nature of the waters and soil contributes also to prevent the multiplication of animals.

From the sources of the Pacha Ogeulas to those of Quesonada, the lands are light and fertile; but somewhat gravelly, on account of the neighbourhood of the mountains, that lie to the north. This country is intermixed with extensive hills, fine meadows, numbers of thickets, and sometimes of woods, thick set with cane, particularly on the banks of rivers and brooks.

To the north of this chain of mountains lies the country of the Chickasaws, very fine, and free of mountains; having only rising grounds, shady groves, and fertile meadows, which are covered with wood-strawberries in the spring: the plains exhibit a variety of flowers in the summer; and produce great quantity of mushrooms in the autumnal part of the year.

All these countries are stored with game of every kind: the buffalo is found upon the hills, the elks in forests, and the deer in all parts; pheasants, partridges, doves, and ducks, are plentiful; with all sorts of aquatic birds, and variety of fish.

At a distance from the sea, the land is of a good quality, and fit for agriculture; being a light soil, though somewhat gravelly. The coast to the north of the Bay of Saint Louis is of a different nature, and much more fertile. The lands at a greater distance to the north are better than those to the east of this bay.

All the passes and entrances of the Mississippi are as rude to the eye as the interior part of the colony is delightful to it. The quagmires continue

runs about seven leagues going up the Mississippi; at the entrance of which is a bar, about three-fourths of a league broad.

All the west coast resembles that from Mobile to the Bay of Saint Louis: it is equally flat and sandy, formed with a bar of liles, which lengthen out the coast, and obstruct a descent. The coast continues thus to Ascension Bay, where the soil affords a general prospect of sterility.

New Orleans is the capital of the colony, and is situated on the east of the Mississippi, where the soil is good, but rather too much of an oozy quality; and from thence to Manchac the lands are of the same kind.

To the west above the Fork the lands are flat, but free from inundations. To the east the lands are higher, with a light mould about three feet in depth. All these high lands are generally meadows, and forests of lofty trees, with grass up to the knee: along Gullies they prove to be thickets, in which wood of every kind is to be found, and also the natural fruits.

The tall forests are of oak and hickory; about which are mushrooms and morels. The meadows are full of flowers and plants, agreeable to the eye, grateful to the smell, and pleasant to the taste. Indigo grows along the thickets without culture; and tobacco grows wild. Cotton is cultivated to advantage. Wheat thrives well, and flax better. In fact, those high lands to the east of the Mississippi, from Manchac to the Ohio, may contain some particular mines.

Louisiana in general contains a great deal of saltpetre, and all cloven-footed animals are extremely fond of salt: and thus it is not to be wondered at, if the buffalo, elk, and deer, have a greater inclination to some places than to others, though they are frequently hunted there.

The French fort of the Nachitoches is built upon an island, formed by the Red River; but this island is full of sand, and fit only for raising potatoes, pompions, and maize.

At the distance of seven leagues from the French post, the Spaniards settled one, where they resided a long time. Above the Nachitoches dwell the Cadodaguious, whose scattered villages assume different names; and near one of these were some good signs of a silver mine, whose metal lies concealed in small invisible particles, in a stone of a chefnut colour,

spongy, light, and easily calcinated; however, it is said to yield more than it shews.

The Black River discharges itself into the Red, ten leagues above the confluence of this last with the Mississippi. The lands to the north of the Red River may be distinguished into two parts, which are on both sides the Black River, as far as the Arkansas. It is called the Black River, because its depth gives it that colour, which is heightened by the woods that line it throughout the colony. All the Rivers have their banks covered with woods; but this river, which is narrow, is almost covered by the branches, and rendered of a dark colour on the first view.

The lands found in going up the Black River are much the same, as well for the nature of the soil as the goodness of their qualities. They are rising grounds, extending in length, and in general may be considered as one very extensive meadow, diversified with little groves, and cut only by the Black River and little brooks, bordered with wood up to their sources, where buffaloes and deer are seen in numerous herds.

About thirty leagues up the Black River is a brook of salt water, which comes from the west; and near it are some lakes of salt. Between the Red River and that of the Arkansas are some quarries of marble and slate: but some connoisseurs have been disappointed as to their expected discovery of particles of gold, and spars of emeralds.

The river of the Arkansas is stored with fish; has much water, with a course of two hundred and fifty leagues, and can carry large boats up to the fall, where it receives the White River, which discharges itself into the curve. In the whole north tract of the Arkansas are plains that extend out of sight, intersected by groves, and plentiful of game, as buffaloes and deer.

Though this country has very extensive plains, yet it has some hilly grounds; and in approaching New Mexico, some mountains are seen of a considerable altitude.

Thirty leagues above the river of the Arkansas is the River Saint Francis, on the same side of the Mississippi and to the north. The adjoining lands are always covered with herds of buffaloes, notwithstanding they are hunted every winter in those parts; for it was to this river that the French and Canadians came to make their salt provisions for the inhabitants of the capital.

The

The land which lies between the Mississippi and the River Saint Francis is full of rising grounds and mountains of a middle height; which, according to the ordinary indications, contain several mines. The silver mines of Marameg is on the little river of that name, and about five hundred leagues from the sea. There are also other mines; but none appear so rich, nor so easy to be worked.

Above these mines, continuing still on the west side of the Mississippi, the famous river of Missouri falls into it, like a sister stream, which seems ready to dispute the pre-eminence. This river is said to take its rise at eight hundred leagues distance from the place where it discharges itself into the Mississippi. Its waters are muddy, thick, and charged with nitre, which make the Mississippi muddy down to the sea; its waters being very clear above the confluence of the Missouri. The reason is, that the former rolls its waters over a sandy firm soil, but the latter flows across rich and clayey lands. This great river in its long course receives many others, which are not well known, except to such Indian nations as live upon its banks.

On repassing the Mississippi, to resume the description of the lands to the east from the river Ohio, it is to be observed, that this river is near four hundred leagues distant from the sea; and is reckoned to have full four hundred leagues in length from its source to its confluence with the Mississippi. The first river that falls into the Ohio is that of the Miamis, which takes its rise toward Lake Erie, from whence the Canadians come to Louisiana. The river of the Chataenens flows from the south, and also that of the Cherokees; all which empty themselves into the Mississippi. This is what the French call the Wabache, and what in Canada and New England is called the Ohio, which is a beautiful river, greatly abounding in fish, and navigable almost to its source. To the north of this river lies Canada, which inclines more to the east than the source of the Ohio, and extends to the country of the Illinois: but it is of little importance to dispute here about the limits of these two neighbouring colonies. The lands of the Illinois are, however, reputed to be a part of Louisiana, and the French had a post there near a village of that nation, called Tamarouas.

The country of the Illinois is extremely good, abounding with buffalo and other game. On the north of the Ohio are seen the Orignaux, a species of animals which are said to partake of the buffalo and stag. The French post of the Illinois is reputed the best in the colony for the culture of wheat, rye, and such other grain; for the sowing of which it was only necessary;

necessary to slightly turn the soil. Tobacco also thrives there in a tolerable degree; as likewise most kinds of European plants.

It was by the river Illinois that the first travellers came from Canada into the Mississippi; but such as now want to proceed directly to the sea, go down the Miamis into the Ohio, and from thence into the Mississippi.

The whole continent north of the river of the Illinois was not much frequented by the French; but the great extent of Louisiana inclined them to think that there were mines of silver and lead; if so, iron must consequently be there; and as Louisiana is now a province ceded to the British crown, such mines ought to be vigilantly sought after in that colony.

The French entertained great hopes of some of the silver mines in this colony; for, according to their account, upon trial in France, 6 *lbs.* of silver have been extracted from a quintal of the mineral; which is a produce not to be equalled by any of the Spanish mines.

M. Du Mont, in his Historical Memoirs of Louisiana, has some observations concerning its mines, and says, there certainly are some, both of gold and silver; as also fine stones of rock-crystal; quarries of marble and slate. "But with regard to the negligence that the French seem to have shewn in searching for these mines, and in digging them, we ought to take due notice, that in order to open a silver mine, for example, you must advance at least 100,000 crowns before you can expect to get a penny of profit from it; and that the people in the country are not in a condition to be at any such charge." Add to this, that the inhabitants are too ignorant of these mines, and the Spaniards are too discreet to instruct them; and the French in Europe were too backward and timorous to engage in such an undertaking: yet it is certain, that the thing had been already done, and that some particular reasons had caused it to be laid aside.*

When the Spaniards had formed settlements upon the great Antilles, they soon attempted to make discoveries about the Mexican Gulph, about the year 1520: but the French settled there in 1564, under René de Laudonniere, who built Fort Carolin, whose ruins are still to be seen above the fort of Pensacola †, where the Spaniards murdered the French; which insult was revenged by M. de Ouborg in 1567, who attacked the Spanish

* See also Du Plat, vol. i. p. 364.

† "Fort Carolin was the same with Saint Augustine." De Laet.

forts, killed many, hanged others, and returned to France; after which the Spaniards repossessed the whole.

From that time the French seemed to have relinquished all attempts upon that coast; but Hennepin, a Franciscan friar, took an opportunity of ingratiating himself with the Indians, travelled over the country, and called it Louisiana. Providence having facilitated his return to Canada, he gave the most advantageous account of all he had seen: in consequence thereof, M. de la Salle made his discoveries in 1679, returned to France, and renewed them in 1685; soon after which he was murdered in a revolt.

It was generally reported, Louisiana was such a plentiful country, that many persons from Canada came to settle there: but the country was not settled till M. de Iberville went there in 1698, and made the first settlement on the River Mobote, with all the facility that could be wished, but its progress proved slow. The colony was then granted to M. Crozat; and M. de la Motte Cadillac arrived as governor in 1713, when the colony was in great distress; because it was impossible for it to do the laborious works, and make the first advances, always requisite in the best lands.

The Spaniards were jealous of the French, and formed a settlement at the Atlinais: but in 1719 the grant of Louisiana was transferred from M. Crozat to the West India company, or company of Mississippi, which was formed in 1669 by M. de la Salle, and established in 1712; but was afterward united to the India company. M. de la Motte Cadillac was dead, and M. de Biainville succeeded as governor general.

The capital place of the colony was then at New Orleans, where the French had sent eight hundred men from Rochelle, in three ships, on board of one of which embarked M. le Page Du Pratz. The company undertook to transport the adventurers, with their servants and effects, at their expence; as also to lodge, maintain; and convey them to their several concessions or grants. Thus New Orleans became the capital of the colony; and was so called, in honour of the Duke of Orleans, then regent of France.

Biloxi is situated opposite to Ship Island, and four leagues from it, which was an improper place for the capital of such a colony. The grants were those of Mr. Law, who was to have 1500 men to form the settlement: but Mr. Law failed in his extensive scheme; upon which the company

HISTORY OF BRITISH AMERICA.

pany seized on all the effects and merchandize. This grant ruined many persons, and impoverished more.

The West India company being informed that Louisiana produced many simples, whose virtues were well known by the natives, and of great service in medicine; therefore the company ordered M. de la Chaise, the director-general of the colony, to make the best inquiry concerning the same. M. Du Pratz collected above three hundred simples, and sent them to France, where they were planted in a botanic garden, by order of the company.

The settlement at Mobile was the first in the colony, which was then the residence of the commandant-general, the commissary-general, the staff-officers, and others of the government: but it was found inconvenient; and another settlement was made at Isle Dauphine. The settlement of Mobile was ten leagues from its harbour, on the banks of the river of that name; and Isle Dauphine, opposite the mouth of that river, is four leagues from the coast.

Fort Louis at Mobile was built upon the river that bears the same denomination. The fort was about sixteen leagues distant from Dauphine Isle, and strongly built. This post was a check upon the nation of the Chactaws, and cut off the communication of the English with them. Another fort was erected at Tombeché, to check the English on the side of the Chickesaws*.

To proceed up the Mississippi from its mouth, it will be found, that Fort Balix is erected at one of its mouths. The next post is the English Reach, fortified on both sides the river. The distance from this place to the capital is reckoned six leagues by water, and the course nearly circular; but both sides of the river are lined with houses, which afford a beautiful prospect to the eye.

New Orleans, the capital of the colony, is situated to the east, on the banks of the Mississippi in 30° north lat. but for the rest, see Du Pratz.

The Canadians, who are numerous in Louisiana, are chiefly at the Illinois, which they esteem a kind of paradise. It was this that induced the French to undergo so many long and perilous voyages, upward of two

* That fort was only built since the war with the Chickesaws in 1736.

thousand miles, against strong currents, steep cataracts, and boisterous winds on the lakes, to get to this settlement of the Illinois.

The French had several hostilities with the Indians; particularly the Chitimachas and the Natchez, whom they obliged to submit, and carried the latter as slaves to New Orleans, where they were imprisoned, and sent to Domingo, that the whole nation might be extirpated; which was almost effectually done; for most of them were destroyed or taken prisoners, and the rest retreated to the Chickasaws.

C H A P. II.

The language, religion, government, and customs, of the natives of Louisiana.

SOME think this people of Phœnician or Carthaginian extraction, and particularly the Natchez; but their origin is uncertain. The figurative stile, with the bold and Syriac expressions, in the language of the Natchez, seems a kind of proof that they are descended from the Phœnicians; beside, it appears that the Carthaginians practised that inhuman custom of scalping their enemies*: but the Mexicans are said to have been peopled by the inhabitants of Corea in China. When the Natchez arrived in this part of America, they found some nations there who are distinguished among the natives by the name of Red Men; but their origin is very obscure.

As to the nations inhabiting on the east of the Mississippi, they were very populous before their country was discovered by the Europeans. However, by a strange fatality, the arrival of the Spaniards in America seems to have been the unhappy epoch of the destruction of its inhabitants, not only by war, but by nature itself†.

The Iroquois, Chickasaws, and Padoucas, have all ravaged Louisiana; where the small-pox has spread a farther depopulation. The aged died in consequence of their advanced years and the bad quality of their food; and the young, if not strictly watched, destroyed themselves from an abhorrence of the blotches in their skin.

Many are the names by which the inhabitants of this extensive region have been distinguished, and in proportion as we penetrate into the northern parts of Louisiana, interesting discoveries may be certainly made.

The language of the Natchez is in a figurative stile like the Orientals; but in general there are two dialects; the one of the nobles, the other of the people, and both are very copious. Though the women speak the same language with the men, they soften their words, and make them smooth.

* Polybius, lib. i. c. 4.

† Du Pratz, vol. ii. p. 131.

They acknowledge a Supreme Being, whom they call Coyocop-Chiff, or Spirit infinitely Great.

They are brought up in a most perfect submission to their sovereign, particularly the Great Sun, or chief of the Natchez, whose power is equal to that of the Ottoman emperors.

As they are comprized of so many different nations, it cannot be supposed they have a particular uniformity of manners; but those of the Natchez are the best, because they are more sensible and civilized in every respect. When any one of the women of the natives is delivered of a child, she goes immediately to the river, where she washes herself and the infant; she then comes home, and lies down, after having put her child in the cradle, and tenderly taken care of it. The children are white when born; but they soon turn brown, as they are rubbed with bear's oil, and exposed to the sun. They rub them with oil to render their nerves more flexible, and prevent the flies from stinging them in their infancy. They never put them upon their legs until they are a year old; and suffer them to suck as long as they will, or until the mother proves with child. As the children grow up, the parents take care to accustom those of their own sex to the labours and exercises suited to them. The boys, when about twelve years of age, are taught the use of bows and arrows. The children are educated without blows; so that the body is left at full liberty to grow, and to form and strengthen itself with their years. The youths accompany the men in hunting, to learn what is necessary to be practised in the field; but when they are at years of maturity they cultivate the land, and perform all other manly exercises, both in war and peace.

The Natchez begin their year in the month of March; and at every new moon they celebrate a feast, which takes its name from the animals that are then usually hunted, or from the principal fruits reaped in the preceding month.

The first month is called that of the Deer, which is celebrated with universal joy. The second is called Strawberry Moon, as that fruit abounds then in great quantities. The third moon is that of the Small Corn, which is impatiently expected, as their crop of large corn is seldom sufficient to nourish them from one harvest to another. The fourth is that of the Water Melons, and answers to our June. The fifth moon is that of Fish. The sixth that of Mulberries. The seventh is that of Maize, or Great Corn; which is the most solemn feast of all; for it principally

ipally consists in eating publicly of new corn, which had been designedly sown for that purpose, with suitable ceremonies. The eighth moon is that of Turkies. The ninth is that of the Buffalo. The tenth of Bears. The eleventh the Cold Meal moon. The twelfth that of Chestnuts: And the thirteenth that of Walnuts, which is added to complete the year.

Paternal authority is not less sacred and inviolable than the pre-eminence of the men; and it still subsists among the Natchez, such as it was in the first ages of the world. This nation is composed of nobility and plebeians; but the chief of the former are called Suns, to whom the latter pay the utmost servility.

Their nuptial and funeral ceremonies are very singular; but too tedious to be mentioned here.

CHAPTER III.

The natural history of Louisiana.

THE country produces several kinds of maize; which is called Turkey corn in France, and in England Indian corn. They have good wheat, rye, barley, and oats. The rice which is cultivated here was brought from Carolina, and succeeds surprisngly well: it has been sown in the flat country without being flooded, and the grain was rich. Beans, potatoes, melons, and pompions, are fit for this soil. All kinds of greens and roots, which have been brought from Europe into this colony, succeed extremely well when planted in a proper soil.

The country is full of vines of different kinds, some of which afford good grapes; but in general the trees to which they twine are so high, and so thick of leaves, and the intervals of underwood are so filled with reeds, that the sun cannot warm the earth, or ripen the fruit. Peach-trees and fig-trees the natives had from Carolina: orange-trees and citron-trees were brought from Cape Francois; and have succeeded well; yet there have been winters so severe that those kinds of trees were totally frozen to the trunk.

They have abundance of wild apples, whortle-berries, mulberries, olive-trees, walnut-trees, hickory, chefnuts, filberts, and sweet gum, whose balm is highly esteemed.

White and red cedars are common upon the coast; so is the cypress-tree and pine-tree. All the south parts of Louisiana are full of laurel. The sassafras, maple, and myrtle-wax trees are plentiful. The cotton-tree, the acacia, holm, mangrove, and oaks, are also abundant; so are the ash, elm, beech, lime, hornbeam, aspen, willow, alder, and liart, which last grows very large.

The country has flowers peculiar to itself, and in such profusion that the meadows are covered with them from the month of May until the end of summer; beautiful to the sight, and fragrant to the smell: but of all, the flower called lion's-mouth is particularly distinguished, as it forms a sweet nosegay of itself, and is worthy the gardens of kings.

Buffaloes

Buffaloes are in numerous herds, and afford the principal food for the natives, who hunt them in all parts. Deer are found in abundance in Upper Louisiana. The wolf is common in the hunting countries; and the bear appears in winter, when he chiefly lives upon roots and fruits. There is a kind of tiger, of a smaller size than in Asia. There are abundance of foxes, wild cats, rabbits, squirrels, and particularly those called flying squirrels, because they leap from one tree to another at the distance of 25 or 30 feet.

Birds are very numerous; inasmuch that it would take a volume to describe the whole.

They had two kinds of silk-worms; one was brought from France, the other was natural to the country. The tobacco-worm is a caterpillar of the size and figure of a silk-worm: it is of a fine sea-green colour, with an acrimonious sting, near a quarter of an inch long.

Caterpillars, butterflies, bees, and flies, abound; especially the burning-fly, which is small, but gives great pain.

There are abundance of wild apples, whortle-berries, mulberries, and many other fruits, which are very good.

Wheat and corn are common upon the coast; so is the sugar-cane. All the lower parts of Louisiana are full of rice. The country is much and much more fertile than the rest of the continent. The soil is very rich, and the climate is very healthy.

The country is fertile and healthy, and is full of rice. The soil is very rich, and the climate is very healthy. **CHAP.**

C. H. A. P. IV.

The trade and commerce of Louisiana.

DRY buffalo hides are of sufficient value to encourage the Indians to procure them; especially if they were told, that only their skins and tallow were wanted. They would then kill the old bulls, which are so fat as scarcely to be able to go. Each buffalo would at least afford 100 pounds of tallow; the value of which, with the skin, would make it worth the while to kill them: beside, the species of buffaloes would not be diminished, as the fattest are always a prey to the wolves.

Deer skins are well manufactured.

The wax-tree produces wax of some esteem; and there are many timber-trees of use in trade. Masts might be also had in the country, on account of the number of pines which the coast produces; and, for the same reason, pitch and tar would be in common use. There is no want of oak for the planks of ships; and the cypress might be put to the same purpose, with better effects; because it is not injured by the worm.

Elm, ash, and other woods of different species, are common, and good for ship-building. Iron and hemp are to be had there; also saltpetre, saffron, indigo, cotton, silk, tobacco, sassafras, and some drugs.

As to the commerce which the French of Louisiana carried on with their West India Islands, it was of cypress-wood squared for building, of different scantlings; and sometimes they transported houses, all framed, and marked out, ready to set up on landing at their place of destination; bricks and tiles; maize and other corn. The returns were in coffee, sugar, and rum; but the profit was generally cent. per cent. in favour of the Continent.

The ships which came from France to Louisiana put in at Cape Francois; and sometimes there were ships obliged to return by Cape Francois to take in their cargo for France, because they had been either paid in money or bills of exchange.

What relates to the commerce with the Spaniards is as follows: The Spaniards generally brought to Louisiana several commodities; in particular,

ticular, campeachy and brazil wood, cocoa, cochineal, vanilla, indigo, safaparilla, snuff, leather, and tortoise-shell.

"One will, perhaps, be surprised to hear such extraordinary things of a country which has been esteemed so much inferior to the Spanish or Portuguese colonies: but those who reflect upon what constitutes the genuine strength of states, and the real goodness of a country, will soon alter their opinion, and agree that a territory well peopled and cultivated would be more beneficial than a land of mines.*" The passage has been made from Balise in Louisiana, to Rochelle in France, in forty-five days.

The French have told us that the lands of Louisiana are very proper for the culture of tobacco; but it is allowed that the tobacco of the Natchez and Yafous is preferable to the rest †.

The arts and manufactures of the natives are insignificant if compared with those of the Europeans; yet their industry and invention are not to be despised, so far as they affected the necessities and utility of life. Their method of getting fire; forming hatchets of flints, and felling trees; of making their bows and arrows, clothes and habitations, are peculiar to themselves. They erect huts of wood, which are close and strong enough to resist the impetuosity of the wind. These huts are each a perfect square; none of them are less than fifteen feet, and some of them are more than thirty feet in each of their fronts. They erect these huts in the following manner: Several young walnut-trees are brought from the woods about four inches in diameter, and thirteen or twenty feet in height. They plant the strongest of these in the four corners, and the others fifteen inches from each other in straight lines, for the sides of the building. A pole is then laid horizontally along the sides inward; and the other poles are strongly fastened to it by splitted canes. Then the four corner poles are bent inward till they all meet in the center, where they are strongly fastened together: the side poles are then bent in the same direction, and bound down to the others; after which, they make a kind of mud-mortar, and fill up the chinks; but leave no other opening than the door, and cover the mud with mats and cane. The roof is thatched with turf and straw intermixed; and over all is laid a mat of canes, fastened to the tops of the walls by the creep-

* Du Pratz, vol. i. p. 344.

† M. du Mont, who also tells us the way of planting and curing tobacco in this country, of making indigo and tar.

ing plant; so that these huts will endure twenty years without any repairs.

The natives having once erected their habitations, must naturally next apply themselves to the cultivation of the ground; therefore they had fields of maize, and other grain, near all their habitations.

Their women make some earthen ware for domestic utensils, but very coarse. They make kettles of an extraordinary size, and pitchers with a small opening; gallon bottles with long necks; large and small plates in the French fashion; as also pots for their bear-oil, which will hold forty pints. The women also make the men's girdles and garters, the collars for carrying their burthens, as also several works of embroidery with the quill of the porcupine, which is black and white.

The French commodities for this colony were much the same with those sent to Canada, and the French Islands; but those for trading with the Indians were coarse cloths and hats, knives, hatchets, and pick-axes, small looking-glasses, drinking-glasses, and vermilion: beside, there was also a great trade of negroes in Louisiana.

All the labour of agriculture is performed by negroes, especially in the lower part of the colony: and it is for the interest of the planters to give their negroes a small piece of waste ground at the end of the plantation to cultivate for their own profit, that they may be able to dress a little better, by selling the produce of it, which the planters ought to buy from them upon generous terms.

The two principal officers of the colony were, a director, who had full authority over those employed in commerce, navigation, and the public establishments; and a commander in chief of the troops, whose inspection and power extended to all military affairs, as also to the Indian tribes.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

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HISTORY OF BRITISH AMERICA

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THE
HISTORY
OF THE
BRITISH EMPIRE

IN
NORTH AMERICA.

BOOK XII.

The History of CANADA.

CHAP. I.

Description of the country, soil, and produce. Indians; and their trade with the French.

CANADA is computed by some to be as extensive as one-half of Europe, as it extends from 39° to 65° latitude; that is, from Lake Erie to the north of Hudson's Bay; and in longitude from the River Mississippi to Cape Race in Newfoundland*. But others extend it from the 25° to the 53° of north latitude; and from 76° to 93° of west longitude; being bounded on the north by the land called Labrador, or New Britain; on the east by the northern sea, and New England; on the south by Florida; and on the west by New Mexico, with the unknown tracts to the north of it. The great River of St. Lawrence, which is twenty-two leagues broad at its mouth, and whose source is not perfectly known, though traced more than 800 leagues up the country, almost entirely crosses Canada; forming, in its course, several great lakes, some of which are of such an extent, that they may be taken for seas.

* La Hontan.

HISTORY OF BRITISH AMERICA.

Canada, in its largest sense, is divided into eastern and western; the former of which is commonly known by the name of Canada, or New France; and the latter Louisiana. The climate and soil of this country are different in many places; but all that part, which was inhabited by the French, being chiefly along the banks of the great River of St. Lawrence, is very cold in winter, and warm in summer. The other parts of the country are intersected with woods, lakes, and rivers; which render it still colder. There are, however, great quantities of fertile lands, which may produce all kinds of grain and fruit; but the chief product is tobacco, which the country yields in great quantities.

There are abundance of deer, elks, bear, foxes, martins, wild cats, and other creatures in the woods; beside wild fowl and other game. The southern parts especially breed great numbers of wild bulls and cows, small deer, roebucks, goats, wolves, and other animals, both wild and tame. The meadow grounds yield excellent pasturage, and breed great quantities of large and small cattle: And where the arable land is well secured, it produces good crops.

The marshy grounds are full of beavers, otters, and other amphibious animals: the rivers and lakes with fish of all sorts; beside, the mountains abound with some mines of silver and of coal.

The whole country is well watered; but the two principal rivers are those of St. Lawrence and the Mississippi. The entrance into the Bay of St. Lawrence lies between Cape de Retz on the Island of Newfoundland, and the north cape in Cape Breton; but the Mississippi has been already described.

Canada Proper, including all to the north and west of the great river and lakes, contained twenty-eight tribes of Indians. Some of these tribes were numerous and brave, fed themselves by hunting, and sold their skins to the French, who divided the country into the ten following provinces; most of them known by their capital towns or ports: as Gaspé, Saint Jean Isle, Miscon Isle, Richlieu, the three rivers, Montreal, Fort Frontenac, De Conti, Saint Francis, Notre Dame des Anges, Alexis, Saint Michael, and Saint Joseph.

These Indians, the original inhabitants, were almost perpetually at war with each other, constantly jealous of their liberty, and always regretting the establishment of strangers among them.

The

The Iroquois are the bravest of all, and have been already mentioned. Among the other Indians there were several nations in alliance with the French; some even who had embraced Christianity, and fixed their residence in the middle of the French colonies; as the Hurons, who were settled at Loretto; and the Abenakis at Sillery. There were also two villages of Christian Iroquois near Montreal; but for the most part composed of the children taken from these Indians during their wars with the French. It was with these nations, who were less troublesome and suspicious than the Iroquois, that the French traded for skins; which they carried on two different ways: the one was made by the Indians, who came yearly with their castors, and other skins and furs, to the French plantations: the other was made by the French wood-rangers, who brought the necessary European commodities to all the Indian nations of this Continent.

Montreal was the principal place of rendezvous for this commerce; scarce a year passing without the arrival of thirty or forty canoes, conducted each by three of those wood-rangers, and laden with the castors they obtained from the Indians in their huts. The Indians also annually sailed down these great lakes, about which they resided, with a large quantity of furs, which they exchanged for arms, kettles, hatchets, knives, and other commodities; whereby the profits were usually 200 per cent. in favour of the French.

When their canoes were unladen, their huts erected, and their merchandize ranged in order, they demanded an audience from the governor-general; or, in his absence, from the particular governor of the place where they arrived. The governor, having granted their request, placed himself in a two-armed chair in the middle of the public market-place; when each nation, forming its peculiar circle, seated themselves about him, every one with a pipe in his mouth. All being settled, and silence enjoined, the orator of one of the nations, in the form of an harangue, addressed himself to the governor, "That his brethren were come to visit him, and to renew their ancient friendship: that the chief motive of their journey was to be of some advantage to the French, who would be at great difficulties to get beaver skins if the Indians had not made it their business to bring them into their colonies: that they knew how much esteemed beavers were in France, and how inconsiderable the value was of the commodities given them in exchange: that notwithstanding the friendship they had for the French engaged their treating with them; and to be in a condition another year to bring greater stores of their furs, they came to take in exchange fusces, powder, and balls, either to

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make

make the emoluments of their hunting more abundant, or the more to torment the Iroquois, in case of their attacking the plantations of their friends the French: and lastly, that for a pledge of their fidelity, and sincere dealing, they threw down a belt of wampum, with several castors for the Kichiokima, or the general-governor, whose protection they requested in case of being plundered or ill used in the town.

The discourse being finished, and the orator having resumed his seat and pipe, the governor spoke in his turn, and also made his present; after which, the liberty of commerce being granted, the assembly broke up; when the Indians returned to their huts, and prepared themselves for the exchange, which they began the following day.

All this commerce was carried on by truck, where gold and silver never interfered; and, as it was very free, the Indians not brooking the least restraint, all the inhabitants became dealers; nor was any merchandize reputed contraband, wine and brandy excepted, upon account of the quarrels these nations were subject to when intoxicated with such liquors. When their bargains were concluded, and their goods exchanged, each nation returned home, after having taken leave of the governors.

CHAP. II.

The rivers, lakes, towns, and trade; with some remarks on the Indians of Canada.

THE principal rivers in Canada are as followt

1. Saint Lawrence, communicating with the sea at the Gulph of Saint Lawrence.

2. The Christinaux, or Christino, which discharges itself into Hudson's Bay; but there are many others of lesser note that join these in their course from the heights of the country to the sea.

The River Saint Lawrence takes its rise upward of two thousand miles from its mouth, at a lake called by the Indians Nipissong, which in their language signifies a large body of water; and it lies north-west from Lake Superior, in 52 degrees of north latitude. The northerly bank of this lake is a bog or morass, near four hundred miles in length from north-east to south-west, and about one hundred and fifty miles in breadth. North of this bog is a ridge of mountains, extending from north-east to south-west, the whole length of the marshy country, and beyond it to the westward. These mountains are very high and steep: they are called by the Indians the head of the country; meaning thereby that they are situated in the center, and are the highest land upon that continent; which indeed seems to be the case: for, south-east of these rises the River Saint Lawrence, having its course from thence south-easterly; north-east rises the River Christino, and runs north-eastwardly: and from the south and south-west of these mountains rises the Mississippi, which runs southwardly: so that by these rivers the continent is divided into so many departments, as it were, from a center, which is the before-mentioned mountains.

The Indians who inhabit round Lake Nipissong are called the Lake Indians, and are in number about six thousand men. They chiefly live upon the west, south, and south-east of the Lake, and in the islands upon it, where the lands are tolerably good; the other parts being either marshy or mountainous. Their country is of considerable extent, but of difficult access; upon which account they never had much communication with the English or French. They have no fire-arms, but hunt with bows and arrows.

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arrows. They have little or no war or connections with any other tribe of Indians, but live almost as independent as if they had a whole world to themselves.

They sometimes go through the Christinaux country to Hudson's Bay, and purchase some clothing from the company; but their chief attire is the produce of their own country, only skins of beasts. They never shave or cut the hair from their heads, or any part of their bodies; on which account the other Indians esteem them a savage herd in the strictest sense; nor will they keep any correspondence or connections with a people so uncultivated and rude. They never pretend to improve their land by industry, but live upon the wild beasts of the woods, and the plentiful fish in the lakes.

From hence the River Saint Lawrence runs through a rough, broken, desolate and uninhabited country to Lake Superior, having in its course several falls or cataracts; the most remarkable of which is about fifteen miles from the Lake, where the water falls perpendicularly from a considerable height. The river is here a quarter of a mile wide: a rock extends strait across the stream, over which it falls with a noise that may be heard at the distance of several miles. Below these falls is great plenty of fish, especially trout, which are large and good.

At the entrance of the river into the lake is a town of Indians, called the Souties or Attawawas; which nation inhabit all along at the mouths of the rivers that fall into Lake Superior, and on the north of the Lakes Michigan and Huron; where they can raise about 12,000 fighting men. These Indians are more improved than the Nipissongs, as they had a greater intercourse with the French.

They generally change their habitations in spring and autumn, spending the summer season upon the banks of the rivers and lakes, where they fish and raise their corn: they spend their winter among the mountains, sometimes two or three hundred miles distant, for the sake of better hunting, and their food is according to the seasons. They, as yet, make little use of spirituous liquors, nor have they made any kind of beverage, excepting the juice of the maple tree, of which they also make a kind of sugar. They live upon the simple gifts of nature, when in health; and when they are sick, the woods and lakes furnish them with medicines; in the application of which, some are allowed to excel in skill, but receive no fee. Although they have private property, no persons are left to suffer by illness or distress, while their neighbours can supply their wants; and all

all this from the simple natural consideration, that they and their families are liable to the same unhappy circumstances in which they see their friends.

At the north of Lake Superior is another tribe of these Indians, who call themselves the Bulls, who inhabit round the bay, called by the French Merduouft, or North Bay. They differ little from the Souties in their manners; and they can raise about four thousand fighting men. They are originally of the Souties, or Attawawas nation, as evidently appears by the affinity between the two languages. The chief trade of these Indians is to Hudson's Bay, where they carry furs, and exchange for arms.

Lake Superior is upward of two thousand miles in circumference, and very deep, excepting near the west-end, where are several islands, and near where the river joins it is a large island, separated from the main by a strait about six miles in breadth. The soil of this island is very good, and there are several Indian towns upon it. The banks to the north, south, and east, are very high and steep in some places; being more than two hundred feet above the surface of the water, and almost perpendicular; so that it is difficult to land at any place except where the rivers fall in.

Upon the north and east of this lake, the lands are broken and mountainous, intermixing with many ponds and rivulets. Upon the south and west of the lake, the country is level and good quite to the Mississippi, having extensive plains covered with tall grass; there being scarce any trees or underwood for some hundreds of miles: but in other places the oak maple and locust trees are fair, lofty, and excellent. There are likewise some good islands in the north-bay of this lake, of forty or fifty miles in length from north to south, but not near so wide.

The Indians in this territory certainly enjoy in the greatest plenty what they look upon to be the necessaries, and even the luxuries, of life; for here are beasts, fowl, and fish, of every size and kind, common to the climate, in the greatest abundance; nor can any reason be assigned why this might not become a rich and valuable country, should it ever be inhabited by a civilized people. It has rivers, and a kind of sea peculiar to itself; which supply the deficiency of its interior situation, by facilitating trade and commerce, from one part of the country to another, by a conveyance easy and cheap. The Indians seldom neglect these advantages, but make great use of canoes on the rivers and lakes; which vessels they make of the bark of birch, spruce or elm: those made of the former are much

the largest and best; they will carry from five hundred to two thousand weights; and are a kind of vessels well adapted to this country, being so light that two Indians will carry one of a middling size, when they come to any cleft or cataract, until they think proper to take the water again.

The River Saint Lawrence flows from Lake Superior to Lake Huron upward of one hundred and fifty miles, and joins it about twenty miles east of the freights of Michilimakinac. Here the stream is generally very rapid; and has one considerable fall; round which the Indians are obliged to carry their canoes when they pass this way. The land adjacent to the river between the two lakes is broken and hilly; but much of it is capable of being improved to great advantage. The timber is tall and thick. Iron ore is found in great plenty; and there are streams sufficient for any kind of water-works.

A little to the west of where the river joins Lake Huron, is a town of the Attawawas Indians, who came here from the south of Lake Superior, their original country. To the north-east of the lake is another town of the same Indians; and upon the west side of the lake the Saganongs are seated, at the head of a bay, called Saganong Bay. Beside, there are several towns of the Souties or Attawawas upon the rivers flowing into the east and south-east of the lake: but these Indians have much the same customs as those on Lake Superior.

Lake Huron is somewhat of a triangular form; one of the extremities points to the north-east, where a considerable stream flows into it, called the Souties River, from which there is but a short carrying-place to the Attawawas River, that joins Saint Lawrence River near Montreal. Another extremity points to the north-west, at the freights of Michilimakinac: the other to the south, where the River Saint Lawrence issues out as from the point of a heart.

This lake is about nine hundred miles in circumference: the country on the north and north-west of it is rocky and mountainous: on the south-east the land is low, and covered with small timber, such as oak, white pine, walnut, maple, and ash. Upon the south-west, between Lake Huron and the Lake Michigan, the country is level and plain, and the soil is tolerably good, having few trees upon it of any kind.

This wide extended plain is covered with tall grass, among which are deer, elk, bears, and other animals. The country also abounds in a great variety of land and water-fowls; and indeed seems to be destitute of nothing

thing that is necessary to support the natural wants of the human kind. The number of Indians who inhabit round Lake Huron is about 3000, of which 600 are warriors, or fighting men.

Lake Michigan is situated west from Lake Huron, and is much of the same form; excepting that it is longer, extending further to the south. There is a communication between the two lakes by the Streight of Michilimakinac. It is fifteen miles wide, and forty in length, running nearly east from the Lake of Michigan.

Upon the north end of this lake are several towns of Indians; and at the south extremity the River St. Joseph flows into it, about 300 miles west of Detroit.

The country between the two lakes is level, and generally of a favourable soil; well timbered, and plentifully watered. At the point adjoining Lake Michigan the land is of a sandy kind; and so it is from thence for a few miles toward the south. Here stands our fort of Michilimakinac, a good stockade, near twenty feet high. Some French inhabitants still reside here for the sake of trading with the Indians, and for the trout fishery, which is here very valuable; as the trout in these streights are exceeding plentiful, and of an extraordinary size, the Indians from all the adjacent countries annually resort hither for the sake of these fish, yet their numbers seem undiminished.

Upon the south-east side of Lake Michigan are some towns of the Sauties; and at the south-end live the Pottawatamies, who have several villages upon the west side of the lake. The Indians round Lake Michigan amount to about 4000 fighting men. Upon the north-west part of the lake enters another streight from the Green Bay, which is about forty miles wide, and 100 long: There are several islands in it variously transposed, some of which are inhabited by the Pottawatamies, and others by the Attawawas.

The Green Bay is of considerable extent; and into the north-east of it flows a large river that rises between Lake Superior and the Mississippi; which is called Foxes River, because of a nation called the Fox Indians, who reside on its banks, and are about 4500 men. Farther south, the country is inhabited by the Kokabouze, whose number is about 500 men.

The wide-extended country upon this river, the Green Bay, and the streights from thence to Lake Michigan, is uniformly pleasant; the soil

is good, and wants nothing to make it truly delightful but to be properly colonized. It is at present well stored with a variety of wild game, the natural flocks and herds of its savage inhabitants. The timber is tall; but not so thick as to prevent the growth of grass, which is here very luxuriant, and sufficiently indicates the goodness of the soil, where buffaloes, elks, wild cows, bears, deer, and beavers, abound. The air is not less agreeable than the soil; the winters are never severe, and the country wears a verdure the greatest part of the year.

The Indians in this country raise Indian corn, and have plenty of horses; but their cabins, or houses, are like those upon Lake Superior, already described. Here likewise grow spontaneously a great variety of grapes, which are agreeable enough to the palate, and the Indians make a kind of rough claret from them.

This country also produces a kind of wild oats, or rice, which hath already been mentioned as growing upon Lake Superior and Nipissong; but here it thrives most plentiful in the shallowest water, where a canoe may be loaded in a little time. The tassel resembles oats, but the kernel is liker rice; and it grows two or three feet above the water, where it is pleasant to the eye.

From this short account of the Lakes Huron and Michigan, the Green Bay, and the adjacent country, it must appear to be a very valuable territory, capable of rich improvements, and of such national importance as to require an immediate settlement; of which the French were so truly sensible, that they kept advanced posts at the River Saint Joseph, the Green Bay, and the falls of St. Marie, when Canada was ceded to Great Britain, all which have since been destroyed by the Indians; so that the only post the English had left in this part of the country was at Michillimakinac, which is now garrisoned by 100 men.

From the south point of Lake Huron, the River Saint Lawrence runs easterly, inclining to the south about eighty miles, where it flows into Lake Erie, after passing through Lake Sinclair, which is about twenty-five miles above the other lake.

The river at Lake Huron is about 500 yards wide, but much wider before it reaches the other lake, as several streams join it on each side. Where it enters Lake Sinclair the river is divided into several branches, by which are formed six islands of different dimensions.

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The Lake Sinclair is nearly circular, and is about six leagues across. Upon the east side are extensive marshes of eight or ten miles from the water; and near the lower end, upon the east side, a river enters it; from which, by a short carrying-place, is an easy conveyance to Lake Ontario, used by the Indians who are a branch of the Attawawas, and inhabit the banks of this river. The land upon the west side of the lake is also tolerably good, and the timber chiefly maple or beech.

At the fourth side of the lake, where the River Saint Lawrence leaves it, there is a sudden division into two branches, thereby forming an island of considerable extent: The easternmost branch keeps a direct course; but that which turns to the westward forms a spacious bay, leaving a point of land between that and the lake called Long Point. From this bay it returns and joins the other branch, forming the above-mentioned island in the opening of the bay, and from thence keeps its course southwardly to Lake Erie. The land upon each side of the river is level, fertile, and good, intirely from one lake to the other. On the eastward side of the river, a little below Lake Sinclair, is a town of the Attawawas; and further down, upon the same side, toward Lake Erie is a town of Hurons. The river between these lakes is about 800 yards in breadth; and on the west side below the bay is the fort of Detroit, or the Streights. The French inhabitants here are settled on both sides of the river for about eight miles; and Major Rogers says, "That when he took possession of the country soon after the surrender of Canada, they were about 2500 in number; there being near 500 that bore arms, to whom he administered oaths of allegiance, and near 300 dwelling-houses: That our fort here is built of stockadoes, is about twenty-five feet in height, and 1200 yards in circumference *."

The situation of this place is pleasant, and the land very good. The inhabitants raise wheat and other grain in abundance, and have plenty of cattle; but they enrich themselves chiefly by their trade with the Indians, which is here both lucrative and large.

Below Detroit, upon the same side of the river, near its entrance to Lake Erie, is an Indian town of the Pottawatamies; and below that the Red River enters it, opposite the west end of an island, which divides the River Saint Lawrence into two branches as it flows into the lake. The river is here about two miles in breadth; and there are some other smaller islands, which are very beautiful.

* See his account, &c. p. 162.

Lake Erie is near 300 miles in length, from the south-west to the north-east; about ninety miles wide at the westerly end, and near forty at the lower end, where it bends off, before the river leaves it, about seven or eight miles.

The river enters the lake at the north-west corner; and the River Miamce, or Miamis, flows into it at the west end of the lake. This river has an easy communication with the Ohio, by the River Wabach; there being no more than twelve miles of land-carriage between the two rivers: but half-way between the River Miamce and the streights of Sandusky the River Huron flows in, on which there are some valuable springs.

At the south-west corner of Lake Erie, the Lake Sandusky communicates with it, by a streight of half a mile in breadth. The Lake Sandusky is thirty miles in length, and ten miles in breadth. The River Sandusky flows in at the south-west corner of this lake; and upon the banks of this river, as also round the lake, the Huron Indians are settled in different towns, situated in a pleasant fertile country, where are about 700 fighting men, who differ something in their manners from the Souties, or any yet mentioned. They build regular framed houses, and cover them with bark. They are esteemed the richest Indians upon the whole continent, having not only horses in great abundance, but many black cattle and swine. They raise great quantities of corn; not only for their own use, but supply several other tribes, who purchase this article from them. The country of the Hurons extends 150 miles westwardly of the lake, and is 100 miles wide. The soil is not exceeded by any in this part of the world: the timber is tall and fair, the rivers and lakes abound with a variety of fish; and here is the greatest plenty of wild water-fowl any where in the country: The woods abound with game; and the whole territory, if well populated, would be of the utmost utility.

The country on the south side of Lake Erie is claimed by the Five Nation Indians, but not inhabited by them; yet they keep it for the sake of hunting. This also is a fine level country towards the south from the lake, for several miles, having many streams flowing through it into the lake, from the high lands between this and the Ohio.

Our fort at Presque Isle is upon this side of the lake, about 100 miles from the east end; and from this fort is a carrying-place of thirteen miles to the French Creek, a branch of the Ohio. The country from this

this fort down to where the river flows out of the lake, about ten miles south of where St. Lawrence leaves it, belongs to a town of the Five Nation Indians. The country on the northward side of the lake is also lower, and the timber tall, but not near so good as on the south side.

There are several streams which water this country that is much frequented by the Messissangan Indians, who are a branch of the Attawawas, who continue no longer in a place than when they find plenty of game. Upon this side of the lake, and opposite to Presque Isle upon the other side, is a peninsula called Long Point; which extends into the lake 260 miles, and is six miles over in the widest part, but not more than 100 yards where it joins the main.

There are also several little islands in the lake, at the west end, which might be improved to advantage; for though they are somewhat rocky, they are good land. From the east end of Lake Erie, the River Saint Lawrence runs north-easterly, inclining to the north, about fifty miles, to Lake Ontario; and nearly opposite to where it issues out of the lake is a new fort, called Fort Erie, erected on the northern side. Soon after the river forms itself; the current is rapid, on account of the rocks and falls in it, for about a mile; over which vessels may be worked up by windlasses. A little below these ripples are several small islands; and, at about six miles distance, the river is divided in two branches by the south-west end of the Great Island, which extends almost down to Little Niagara Fort, and contains about 40,000 acres of good land. The country on both sides the river to Little Niagara is uninhabited, yet it has the appearance of fertility.

Little Niagara Fort is only a stockade, about two miles from the eastern end of the Great Island, on the east side of the river. Near this fort is a remarkable fall, or cataract, in the river, which deserves a particular description. This cataract is called the Falls of Niagara; and the course of the river here is south-east, being about half a mile wide where the rock crosses it, not in a direct line, but in the form of an half moon. Above the fall is an island about half a mile in length, the lower end of which is near the edge of the fall. The current of the river above the island is very slow; but soon after runs on swiftly, and, before it comes to the fall, with such violence, as often throws the water to a considerable height, especially on the west side of the island; for the whole stream appears in a foam, and the descent is great. When it comes to the perpendicular fall, which is about 120 feet, no words can express the consternation of travellers at the first view; for there they

they see a prodigious body of water falling, or rather violently thrown, from such a precipice, upon the rocks below; that it ascends again to a very great height, appearing white as snow, as all converted into foam. The noise of this fall is frequently heard at the distance of fifteen miles and more. The vapour arising from the fall may be sometimes seen at a great distance, appearing like a cloud, or pillar of smoke, and in it the appearance of a rainbow, whenever the sun reflects it upon the eye of the traveller. Here many beasts and fowls lose their lives by attempting to swim, or cross the stream in its rapids, and are found dashed in pieces below. There are lesser falls in the river for several miles, which renders it unnavigable. The bank of the river on the east side from the fall downward is 300 feet high, until the traveller comes to another English fort, about nine miles distant from Little Niagara; and this length they are obliged to carry by land, upon account of the rapids above, and the cataracts below.

The land upon the other side rises gradually; and it is much frequented by eagles, who feed upon the carcases of beasts. The land upon the west side of the River St. Lawrence, from this fort, or landing place, to Lake Ontario, is owned by the Messissangans, and is tolerably good. The timber is chiefly chestnut; but the easterly side, which is claimed by the Five Nations, is thinly timbered with lofty oaks, which seem artificially transposed. The river enters Lake Ontario at the south-west corner, at which place is Niagara Fort; nobly, strong, and elegantly built.

The form of this lake is oval; it is near 260 miles in length, and in the middle 150 in breadth.

The country on the west and north of the lake, down to the River Toronto, which is about fifty miles, is very good. At the west end a river runs in, from which are carrying-places both to Lake Sinclair and Lake Erie, or to rivers that flow into them.

The country upon the lake, between Saint Lawrence and Toronto, is inhabited or owned by the Messissangans. It has a good soil, and is well wooded with plenty of vines. By one of the branches of the Toronto is an easy communication with the rivers flowing into Lake Huron; and upward of 100 miles from Toronto, at the north-easterly corner of the lake, the River Cataraqua flows into it; but there are several smaller streams between these. From Cataraqua is a carrying-place to the
Attawawas

Attawawas River, which joins Saint Lawrence near Montreal. This country is also claimed by the Messissangans, as far northward as Cataragwa; they likewise claim all the west side of Lake Ontario, and north of Lake Erie; but they lead a roving unsettled life, and literally without any local residence.

At the east corner of the lake the River Oswego flows in, where the English have another fort erected, and a garrison kept up of a considerable force, about two hundred miles from Niagara.

The River Oswego rises from the Oneida Lake, which is about thirty miles in length. At the east end of this lake is a royal blockhouse, which is garrisoned to maintain a communication with the lakes: and on the west end of this lake is Fort Brereton, another post established for the same purpose. About half-way between this and Oswego is another blockhouse, to command a ferry over the Seneca River. The Oneida Lake is distant about fifty-four miles from the Lake Ontario; and from the Oneida is an easy communication with the Mohock River, and consequently with Hudson's, by the way of the Wood-Creek.

The country upon the lake, between Oswego and Saint Lawrence, is level and good for several miles from the lake; but it is claimed by the Five Nations; and there are several rivers flowing through it to the lake. The most considerable is the River Sable, which joins the lake about eighty-five miles east of Niagara, and rises near a branch of the Ohio. There are several falls upon it, and one higher than the falls of Niagara. For a considerable way, it is about two hundred feet wide; but it is very much concealed from the traveller, as he passes it upon the lake, by an island situated before the mouth of it. About one hundred and fifty miles up this river, are those remarkable springs, so much esteemed by the Indians as a remedy for almost every disease: they are called the Oil-springs, upon account of an oleous substance that issues forth with the water, and rises upon the surface of it. The Indians use these springs for consumptions, asthma, and various internal disorders, by drinking the water; and for rheumatic pains, by bathing, with great success.

A little further eastward flow in the rivers Arundel and Chinesee.

In the rivers round Lake Ontario are salmon in great plenty during the summer season; and at the entrance of the River Saint Lawrence, during the winter season, are abundance of what they call white fish, which are peculiar to this place. In summer they disappear, and are supposed to lie

during that season in the deep water, out of soundings: they are about the size of shad, and very agreeable to the palate. Here is great plenty of water-fowl, and game, common to the climate, of all kinds. Upon the whole, the country round this lake is pleasant, apparently fertile, and capable of such valuable improvements as to be of general utility.

The Five Nations have their towns at some distance from the lake, and chiefly on the rivers that flow therein.

The River Saint Lawrence takes its leave of Lake Ontario at the north-east corner of it. Near the lake, it is about eleven miles in breadth; it has several islands; and one, at the head of the north rifts, has a little fortress, erected by the French, and still maintained by their conquerors. A little south of this island, a considerable stream flows in, which rises near Hudson's River, and is called Oswegotchy, which has many falls.

From Lake Ontario to the Cedars, the western boundary of the province of Quebec, is about eighty miles; and from thence to Lake Saint Francis, which may be called the next stage of Saint Lawrence, the distance is much the same.

Upon the south side of the river, at the bottom of the rifts, is a small village of the Five Nations; and another toward Montreal upon the same side. In the river, and in the Lake Saint Francis, are several islands, which are in general settled by the French, belonging to the province of Quebec.

The country upon both sides is tolerably good, and is capable of supporting many thousands of inhabitants.

On the northern side of Lake Saint Francis the Attawawas River flows in, and joins the River Saint Lawrence. The Attawawas rises east of Lake Superior, from a little lake, where is an Indian tribe, who call themselves Roundocks; and opposite to the north-east corner of Lake Huron is another little lake, called Nipissong. The stream which flows from it is joined by another that rises from some lesser lakes among the mountains; and where these rivers unite are many islands, which render the passage difficult to find.

From the head of the west branch of this river, there is but a short portage to another that falls into Lake Huron; by which way the English traders sometimes carry their goods to and from the Indians in this part

part of the country; but this way is greatly more difficult than that of Niagara, being obstructed by many falls, around which they are obliged to carry their canoes and goods.

There is another little settlement of the Roundocks upon the river, between the islands and its junction with the River Saint Lawrence; which junction, after a south-east course, is by three different channels: one flows into the river of Saint Francis, and the other two form the island of Jesus, north of Montreal; after which, they meet and unite with the River Saint Lawrence, at the east end of the isle of Montreal. The country on the banks of this river is broken and indifferent, until you come near the River Saint Lawrence; and the timber is chiefly white pine, of a lofty growth. The winters are cold, and subject to the deepest snows. However, there is great plenty of beaver in this country; and the river, for some way up, abounds with salmon; which two articles are the principal subsistence of the Indians residing here, who pretend not to keep any animals except dogs. Yet even this country, by a civilized industrious people, might be rendered fertile and pleasant, far surpassing many in the world that are well inhabited and very populous.

There are several settlements of the Saint John's, Cape Sable, and other tribes of Indians, upon the streams falling into Saint Lawrence from the south, between that and Nova Scotia, and round the Gulph of Saint Lawrence, between that and the Bay of Fundy, and the coasts of the province of Main, whose chief subsistence is the wild game of the country; for they keep no cattle, and raise but little corn.

There are likewise some Indians upon the north side of Saint Lawrence, near Quebec, called Hurons, but of no considerable account.

About thirty-five miles below Quebec, a river flows in from the north, that heads near Hudson's Bay, or James River; on the banks of which reside some other tribes of the Roundocks: but all the Indians on the lakes, except the Hurons and Five Nations, have an affinity in their language, and appear to be of the same originality.

From this account of the country upon the River Saint Lawrence, above what is now called the Province of Quebec, there seems a prospect in future, not only of a flourishing province, but a great kingdom, exceeding in extent of territory most of the kingdoms in Europe, and exceeded by few in the fertility of its soil, or the salubrity of its air; and, in its present uncultivated state, abounding with many of the necessaries and

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conveniencies of life: and though it has no open communication with the sea, yet great amends are made for this defect by its numerous lakes and streams running to and from them, by which there is an easy communication from one part of the country to another, almost through the whole.

This country will always have the advantage of the fur and peltry trade, upon account of its extensive lakes, and the large uninhabited country to the north-west of it, both of which will tend to support that valuable and lucrative branch of commerce here to the end of time.

If it was not for the several cataracts and water-falls in this river of Saint Lawrence, Canada would lie very commodious for an extensive trade; nor would it be a difficult matter to pass from Quebec to the Gulph of Mexico by the lakes and rivers which join that of Saint Lawrence to the Mississippi, which empties itself into this gulph.

The French of Canada were numerous, most of them substantial, and many opulent; but their principal towns were the three following:

1. Quebec, the capital, situated on the north-shore of the river of Saint Lawrence, about two hundred leagues south-west of its mouth; being divided into the upper and lower town, both of them about three miles in circumference; and defended by a castle, which was on an eminence. In the upper town, there were five churches, beside the cathedral. This city was the metropolis of the French dominions in North America, and a bishop's see. The viceroy, who resided there, assumed the title of "governor and captain-general, both of New France and Louisiana."

2. Montreal is situated upon an island in the river of Saint Lawrence, about 100 miles south of Quebec. The island is about forty miles in length, and ten in breadth; fertile in corn, and plentiful of fruits. The town is finely situated upon the bank of the river, which is about a league broad in that part. It contained about two hundred families, and was secured by a rampart of large beams, flanked by redoubts. The priests of Saint Sulpice at Paris obtained a grant of this town and island in 1663, and they kept three courts of justice here; erected a noble church, and endowed some monasteries, as also a house of knights-hospitallers. This town was the principal frontier garrison of the French against the Iroquois, or Indians under the protection of New York: but the River of Saint Lawrence is not navigable above Montreal, on account of some cataracts.

Montreal.

Montreal used to carry on a great trade with the Indians, who brought thither all sorts of furs, which they exchanged for French commodities of all kinds; and for this purpose a fair was annually kept along the banks of the river in the month of June, when many Indian nations resorted there, and some from the distance of fifteen hundred miles.

3. Trois Rivières is a town so named, from its situation at the confluence of three rivers; one of which is that of Saint Lawrence, and lies almost in the mid-way between Quebec and Montreal. It is a well-built town, and a considerable mart for the Indians. The French colony consisted of many plantations, situated on both sides of the river, from Quebec to Montreal, which being only a musket-shot distance from each other, composed, as it were, two kinds of large villages of near one hundred and fifty miles in length. The least accommodated of these planters had four acres of land in front, and thirty or forty up the country: but for large concessions, which were properly the seignories of the country, whereon the plantations were dependent, they had frequently from ten to fifteen miles in front, with as many as they pleased up the country; of which the person to whom the grant was made, retained only a part for his capital messuage, and farmed the rest to other planters at 2*s*. 6*d*. sterling an acre, or thereabout. There were also plantations in some islands formed by the river; whereof those of the isle of Orleans were in good repute: this island is about four miles from Quebec; is about twenty miles in length, and ten in breadth; being very fertile, especially in the produce of wheat.

A part of the Canada commerce consisted in corn, and legumes of all kinds; as also in planks, and timber for carriages; of which great quantities were consumed in the colony, and exported for the French islands; the return being in sugar, tobacco, and such commodities as were wanted by the colonists, or not cultivated by them. However, skins and furs, particularly castor, made the principal object of the commerce of this colony; a commerce which passed intirely through the hands of the Indians, who received, in exchange for their castor, several European commodities; but the profits were immense upon the French side, though not so great as formerly; especially since the English found a method to treat with these Indians for the same commodity.

Quebec, Montreal, the Three Rivers, Tadouac, Richelieu, and Chamblé, were the principal places resorted to by the Indians for this trade: and Chamblé was formerly in such reputation, that it was the principal rendezvous.

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dezvous of the Soccokis, Mahingans, and Openangos; but they were obliged to trade with the English for fear of the Iroquois.

The most valuable of these skins, and the principal object of commerce with the Indians, are castors; but the different kinds of these make a great difference in their price; because there are winter castors; fat castors, or old coat; moulted, dry, and summer castors; as also white castors, which are scarce.

The beaver, or castor, is an amphibious four-footed animal, sometimes living upon land, and sometimes in water; though some live intirely out of water, where they only go to drink, as other land animals; making holes and dens for themselves, like rabbits and foxes; but these are called sluggish beavers, or land beavers.

The largest beavers measured, between the head and the root of the tail, about twenty-six inches, the head measuring seven: they have a flat oval tail, covered with thin scales, like a fish, measuring fourteen inches; which in all make about four feet. A few are found in some parts of Europe; but they most abundantly breed in Canada: under which denomination are comprehended those that come from Acadia and Hudson's Bay.

The beavers of Canada are of three colours; the brown reddish, the black, and the white. The first is the cheapest; the next is the most valued in England; and the last is the most esteemed in Canada.

The beavers breed once in a year, and have from ten to fifteen in a litter. Their flesh is said to be excellent food; and their skins are principally used in the manufacture of hats and furs. In 1699 an attempt was made in France to employ it in other merchandizes; and accordingly a manufactory was settled in Fauxbourg Saint Antoine, near Paris, where they made cloths, flannels, stockings, and other commodities, of beaver, with a mixture of wool; which manufacture flourished for a while, but soon decayed; it being experimentally found, that the stuffs not only lost their dye when wet; but when they became dry again, were as harsh and stiff as felts*.

Merchants distinguish three kinds of beaver, though they are all the skins of the same animal. These are, new beaver, dry beaver, and fat

* Charlevoix, vol. i. p. 152.

beaver: the first is that taken in the winter-huntings, which is the best and most esteemed for rich furs, as having lost none of its hairs by moulting: dry or lean beaver is got in the summer-huntings, when the animal is moulted, and has lost part of its hair; which, being much inferior to the former, is little used in furs, but mostly in hats: fat beaver, usually called old coat, is that which has contracted a fat unctuous humour, exhaled by sweat from the bodies of the Indians, after they have wore it for some time; but though this is better than the dry, it is only used for hats. After the hair is cut off the skin, the pelt or skin itself is used in various works; as for the coverings of mails and trunks, in slippers, and other things.

Castoreum is a liquid matter, inclosed in bags or purses, near the anus of the castor or beaver, falsely taken for the testicles of that animal. It is used in medicinal compositions; but that of Canada is said not to be the best. Care should be taken that it is not adulterated with honey or other drugs to increase its weight; which is known by squeezing it; the sophisticated being softish, and yielding a faintish smelling honey; but the natural is hard and heavy; of a brown colour, brisk smell, and full of little filaments.

The other furs procured from the Indians of Canada are foxes, black and speckled; martins, and those called sables; otters, some reddish, and others brown; bears, black and white; peiskans, or wild cats; polecats, ferrets and weazels; wolves, squirrels, and musk-rats, with their testicles.

The Indians also supplied the French with the skins of several animals, some green, and others dressed after the manner of the country; such as the skins of elks, deer, goats, and wolves. But it should be observed, that when the Canadian Indians, according to their manner of trafficking, speak simply of skins, without specifying the name of the animal, elk-skins should be understood, as they are the dearest of all those in Canada.

The French of Quebec also sent, during the summer-season, some vessels to trade for the skins of sea-wolves with the Eskimaux, who were so distrustful as never to come aboard the French; so that the commerce with them was carried on in a singular manner. The Indians exposed from their canoes, on the top of a pole, the goods they would sell; demanding, at the same time, what they would have in exchange, as knives, powder, balls, fuses, hatchets, kettles, and other things. The French
reposed

reposed as little confidence in the Indians, and never permitted them to approach too near.

The following is an exact state of the merchandize proper for the castor trade of Canada :

Short and light fufees; gun-powder for fowling; balls and small shot; hatchets and bill-hooks; knives and sheathes; sword-blades for making darts; kettles and pots of all sizes; hooks of all sorts; steel and flints for striking fire; short clokes of blue serge; common linen shirts, and thick worsted stockings; Brazil tobacco; thick whoipoord for nets; sewing-thread of different colours; packthread for nets; drinking-glasses; a few arrows; some broad-swords; a little soap; with some needles and pins. The best commodity, and of most certain vent, was brandy, if not prohibited; yet it was one of those wherewith the canoes of the wood-rangers were not the least laden; in which canoes, made of birch-bark, all the commerce of the great river and lakes was carried on during the summer season; but in winter, sledges were used. Nor should it be omitted, that the commerce of the lakes belonged to such of the planters who obtained permits from the governor-general; and that those permits were fixed at a certain number every year: But this private trade, though lucrative to the monopolizers, was prejudicial to the general trade of the colony; as it hindered great numbers of the Indians from bringing their skins and furs to a public mart, where all the inhabitants might partake an equal share.

What has been thus discussed, regards only the interior commerce of Canada; so that here it seems necessary to add somewhat concerning the trade promoted there by foreign importations.

There were two seasons for the departure of French ships for Canada; one toward the end of April or beginning of May, the other in September: the latter used to arrive there when the ice was melted, and the other before it was formed.

The French shipping destined for this trade paid no duties, except for the Brazil tobacco: and the cargo of these ships was partly the same with that sent to the Caribbee Islands; because tobacco, sugar, and several other commodities from the West Indies were of the number of those imported to Canada, where the soil and climate are improper for their cultivation. There was also some difference in the clothes and stuffs; as the cold coun-

try of Canada required them warmer and thicker than the Caribbees, situated under the torrid zone.

Though great profits accrued from all the commodities imported to Quebec in French bottoms, scarcely amounting to less than fifty *per cent.* yet such as were least necessary, and mostly for ornament or curiosity, sold best; as lace-ribands, watches, snuff-boxes, and a variety of such trinkets; of which a sufficient quantity seldom arrived, though usually sold at four times their just value, on the deduction of every expence.

When ships arrived at Quebec, the merchants there, who kept factors at Montreal and Trois Rivières, loaded some barks with part of the merchandize imported on their account, and sent it to be sold by the retailers. There were several rich traders, however, in these towns, who received various commodities at the first hand; as they came themselves to make their market at Quebec, and freighted several barks which brought back themselves and their merchandize to the place of their residence.

All this merchandize was paid for, either in money or bills of exchange on Rochelle; or in skins and furs, corn, timber, or madder. The returns in furs and skins were the best; but there was never, either of these or any other commodities, a sufficiency to freight all ships that came from France; beside, there were only some privileged ships allowed to have a full freight for their return. The Rochelle ships, not to return empty, frequently took in coals at Cape Breton for Martinico and Guadaloupe, where great quantities were consumed in refining of sugar, of which they afterward made their cargoes of return.

It was in the Lower Town of Quebec that the richest traders of Rochelle had their warehouses and factors; where it was also that the merchants and traders of the other towns, and even of Quebec, not capable of having any correspondents in France, came to supply themselves with all kinds of merchandize. There were likewise merchants of the colony who kept such warehouses at Quebec; but these were furnished with ships of their own, which went and came from Canada to France, bringing backward and forward all necessary commodities.

The French Canada company carried on a profitable trade until the year 1742, when Europeans gave only a pound of gunpowder for four beavers, a pound of shot for one, an ell of coarse cloth for fifteen, a blanket for twelve, two fish-hooks or three flints for one; a gun for twenty-five, a pistol for ten; a common hat for seven, an ax for four, a

check-shirt for seven, a bill-hook for one, and a gallon of brandy for four: all which is said to have brought in a profit of 2000 per cent.

These furs were more esteemed than those sold at New York, and brought from the Canadian lakes. A good Indian hunter will kill six hundred beavers in a season; but they sometimes burn off the fur, and roast the beavers like pigs: beside, they use the skins for bedding and coverings; so that one man seldom brings above a pack, containing one hundred skins, to market.

The nearer the Indians of Canada are viewed, the more good qualities are discovered in them: for most of the principles which serve to regulate their conduct, the general maxims by which they govern themselves, and the essential part of their character, discovers nothing of the barbarian. Beside those ideas, though wholly indistinct, which they still preserve of a supreme Being, these vestiges, now almost effaced, of a religious worship, which they seem formerly to have paid this sovereign Ruler; and the weak traces which may be remarked in their most indifferent actions of the ancient belief, and of the primitive religion, might restore them more easily than is imagined to the true path, render their conversion to Christianity easier than is commonly found, and which is attended with greater obstacles even in the more civilized nations. But when an Indian kills another in his cabin, being drunk, which they often pretend to be, when they harbour any such designs, they content themselves with lamenting the dead. If the crime was done in cold blood, they readily suppose that the person who committed it had very good reasons before he proceeded to this extremity; but if it appears he had none, it belongs to those of his own cabin, as being the only persons concerned, to punish him, which they may do with death; this, however, is seldom done. In short, crimes are punished in such a manner as neither to satisfy justice, nor establish the public tranquillity and security. A murder, in which several cabins should be affected, would, notwithstanding, always have troublesome consequences, and would often be sufficient to set a whole town, or even a nation, in combustion: for which reason, in such accidents, the council of the elders leave nothing undone to accommodate matters as well as possible; and in case of success, it is commonly the public that makes the presents, and takes all the necessary steps with the offended family. The immediate punishment of a criminal would at once put an end to the affair; and the relations of the deceased are at liberty to inflict their pleasure on him, if they can get him in their hands: but his own cabin think it inconsistent with their honour to sacrifice him; and often the village do not think proper to compel them to it.

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The way most in use among all the Indians to indemnify the relations of a man who has been murdered is, to replace him by means of a prisoner of war; in which case the captive is generally adopted, enters into possession of all the rights of the deceased, and soon causes the person whose place he fills to be forgot. There are, however, some particular crimes which are punished with death on the spot; especially what they call witchcraft.

Whoever is suspected of this crime can never be safe any where: they even cause him to undergo a kind of rack, to oblige him to name his accomplices; after which he is condemned to the same punishment with the prisoners of war; but they first ask the consent of his family, which they dare not refuse. Those who are least criminal have their brains beat out before they are burnt: those who dishonour their families are treated much in the same manner; and justice is generally done upon them by their own family.

A plurality of wives is allowed of, among several nations of the Algonquins; and it is common enough to marry all the sisters; which custom is founded upon a persuasion, that sisters must agree better together than strangers. In this case, all the women are upon an equal rank: but among the true Algonquins, there are two orders of wives; those of the second order being the slaves of the first. Some nations have wives in every quarter where they have occasion to reside for a while in hunting-time; but there once prevailed among some cantons a greater disorder; which was, a plurality of husbands.

Among all these nations, there are certain considerable families who can only contract alliances with each other, and chiefly among the Algonquins; but, generally speaking, the perpetuity of marriages is held sacred, and carefully observed among all ranks, and in all families.

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The first of the main points of the plan is to
establish a system of control over the
resources of the country. This is to be done
by the creation of a central authority which
will be responsible for the distribution of
the resources of the country.

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THE
HISTORY
OF THE
BRITISH EMPIRE
IN
NORTH AMERICA.

BOOK XIII.

An Account of NEW BRITAIN, or TERRA DE LABRADORE,
and HUDSON'S BAY.

CHAP. I.

*Description of the country. First discoveries. Royal charter in 1670.
Settlements. Trade. Climate. Attempts to discover a north-west
passage.*

THIS country lies in the northern part of Canada in 80° of west longitude; and between 51° and 63° of north latitude; where the English Hudson's Bay Company have several forts and settlements; from whence they carry on a valuable traffic with the natives for skins and furs.

This Bay is about 300 leagues wide from south to north; but that part of the bay, on the west side, in latitude 57° , is called Button's Bay; and the eastern part, from latitude $55^{\circ} 15'$ to 51° , and the most southern part, is called James's Bay.

Upon the eastern main, or coast of Labrador, are several islands. The continent is very extensive, and inhabited by Indians, who are rude and uncivilized: but the English have several forts and settlements on the west

west main, or New Wales; particularly one at the mouth of Churchill River, in about latitude 59° , and longitude 95° , west from London: Another at York Fort, at the mouth of Nelson's River; one at New Severn; one at Albany River; one at Hayes's Island; and one at Rupert's River.

It was in the reign of Queen Elizabeth that all the English dominions upon the continent of America were discovered, except Hudson's Streights.

1576. Captain Martin Frobisher made his first voyage for the discovery of a passage to China, by the north-west; and, on the 12th of June, he discovered Terra de Labradore in $63^{\circ} 8'$, and entered a streight, which is called by his name. Upon the first of October he returned to England, from whence he made some other attempts to fix a colony, and trade with the inhabitants; but without success.

After this, there were no other adventures until the year 1607, when Captain Henry Hudson discovered as far as $80^{\circ} 23'$; but, in 1611, he perished in attempting farther discoveries, dearly purchasing the honour of having this large streight and bay called by his name.

Sir Thomas Button, fitted out by Prince Henry in 1612, passed Hudson's Streights, and, sailing westward, discovered a large continent, which he called New Wales. Its sea and bay retain the discoverer's name: He could not proceed farther than 65° , and wintered miserably upon that west continent, in 57° of north latitude. In 1616, Mr. Baffin entered the Streights.

In 1631, Captain Thomas James set out from Bristol, and made farther discoveries in Hudson's Bay. He wintered near the bottom of the bay at Charlston Island, in 58° north latitude, and published a good journal of his voyage.

The first eastern discoveries were made at the charge of a company of English merchants incorporated in the reign of King Edward VI. and called "The Merchants Adventurers for discovering Lands unknown." Their principal design was to discover a passage to India and China by the north-east, and to come in for a share of that rich trade with the Portuguese, by a shorter way than by the Cape of Good Hope; or at least to discover some countries where they might establish a trade of equal advantage to them.

NEW BRITAIN AND HUDSON'S BAY.

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The discoveries made by the Dutch in the north-east parts of Asia toward China and Japan, together with those near the polar circle about Nova Zembla, first inspired the English East India Company with a desire of finding a north-east passage to Asia by the great Tartarian ocean, which they several times attempted without success. This naturally led the English navigators, who saw the great advantages arising from such a discovery, to turn their thoughts to the north-west parts of America, where seemed a great probability of obtaining a passage, as the difficulties were less, and the distance between Hudson's Bay in Davis's Streights, and the north-east coast of America above California, no way so great as between Nova Zembla and the supposed Streights of Anian near Japan.

Indeed, from the discoveries already made for this age past on the north-west coasts of America, the general opinion of a passage is so strong, that in the charter granted to the Hudson's Bay Company in 1670, which invests them with very extensive privileges, it is recited as a chief motive for the grant, that they should use all means for the discovery of such a passage; to the success of which their settlement and trade in Hudson's Bay, it was reasonably supposed, would greatly contribute; as will be farther explained.

The capital fund of the company was 10,500 *l.* sterling; and shares were worth 500 *l.* Its privilege is exclusive for all the trade that can be carried on in Hudson's Bay; and in all the seas, streights, bays, rivers, lakes, and passages, in whatever latitude they may be; with the property of all the islands and lands therein, not possessed by any other nation: but the continual wars between England and France, until the peace of Utrecht, sunk the value of the shares.

This company was occasioned by two French gentlemen, who travelled into the country of the Eskimaux, and discovered what a valuable trade might be carried on there: They represented the matter to the French government, who, contrary to their political system, rejected it; whereupon the gentlemen communicated their observations to the English, who settled the trade. This corporation is still under the direction of a governor, deputy-governor, and seven assistants, who have a handsome hall in Fenchurch-street to transact their affairs in.

In 1670, Mr. Baily, with twenty men, was sent over by the company to Rupert River. Port Nelson was the next settlement in 1673; and Mr. Bridge was sent over governor of the west main from Cape Henrietta

Henrietta Maria. In 1683, the factory was removed from Rupert River to Moose River, because the former was too much exposed to the depredations of the French, who soon perceived their error, grew jealous of the English, and at different times dispossessed them of most of their forts, which were restored by the treaty of Utrecht; and from that time the English company has been in a very flourishing condition.

From Tadoussac, thirty leagues below Quebec, upon Canada River, there is water carriage to Lake Mistassin, which communicates with Rupert River. In 1686, the French from Canada, in time of peace, became masters of all the Hudson's Bay factories, Fort Nelson excepted. In 1693, the English recovered their factories; but the French soon after got possession of them again. In 1696, two English men of war retook them; the French took them again in Queen Anne's war; but by the treaty of Utrecht in 1713, the French gave up to the English so far south as 49° north latitude.

Mr. Dobbs says, that this country, called Hudson's Bay, may be esteemed from 51° to 65° of north latitude, and from 78° to 95° west longitude from London. The true definition of it is, from the treaty of Utrecht in 1713, as follows: From a certain promontory on the Atlantic ocean north latitude $58^{\circ} 30'$ run south-west to Lake Mistassin*; thence south-west to north latitude 49° , and from this termination due west indefinitely. The northern boundary may be reckoned Davis's Streights, because of the Danish claim, and otherways north indefinitely.

The entrance of Hudson's Streights at Resolution Island is about fifteen leagues wide. The tide flows four fathom; and the winds are north-west about nine months in the year: it is not free of ice above two months in the year, and the sails and rigging freeze even in July. It is 140 leagues in length to the bay, at the bottom of which is only four feet tide.

Captain Middleton, in twenty-three voyages, never could arrive at the factories above five times before the tenth of August; and it is a standing order not to attempt coming back the same year, unless they can sail from the factories about the middle of September, when it is generally pleasant weather; but August is the proper month for the navigation of Hudson's Bay, where are always good soundings.

This grant is divided into the west main or continent, formerly in charts called New North and South Wales; and the east main called

* This includes the western half of Terra de Labrador.

NEW BRITAIN AND HUDSON'S BAY.

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Terra de Labradore or New Britain. The French claimed the bottom of the Bay, as belonging to Canada; but they disclaimed it by the treaty of Utrecht.

The country is so inhospitable, that no towns or plantations can be settled there; so that it must for ever remain a number of scattered dismal lodges or factories; which consist at different places at the mouths of several rivers for trade with the Indians; particularly on the west continent are Churchill River, Nelson's River, Severn River, Albany River, and Moose River. On the east continent are Rupert River and Slude River.

On Churchill River is the Prince of Wales's fort, which is the most northerly, being in about 59° north latitude, and $94^{\circ} 50'$ west longitude, the most westerly part of Hudson's Bay, where Captain Middleton, upon a north-west discovery, wintered miserably in 1742. At the mouth of this river, the tide comes from north by east two knots; and it is navigable about 150 leagues. The company keeps here about thirty men, who return about 20,000 beaver skins a year.

On Nelson's River is Fort York, in 57° north latitude. It is the finest and largest river in the bay; for it communicates with great lakes, and branches of rivers of Indian trade. The company have here twenty-five men; and the tide is fourteen feet.

New Severn River was called by the French *Saint Huiles*: it is in 55° north latitude; but it has a bar, and therefore little frequented.

Albany River is in 52° north latitude, and $85^{\circ} 20'$ west longitude. It has four feet tide; and, in 1731, 118 canoes came there to trade. From the middle of May to the middle of September the weather is tolerable: And the company have here twenty-five men.

Moose River is in 51° north latitude, and has four feet tide. It is larger than Albany River; and the company have here twenty-five men.

Prince Rupert River is on the east side of the bay, in 51° of north latitude; but is now neglected: but at Slude River, in 52° , the company usually keeps ten men.

The charge of the company is about 120 servants, and about four annual ships. The trade of the country consists in furs, quills, and feathers,

feathers, from which great profits arise; and there is beside a pretty good trade for blubber, in the forts belonging to the English company.

The natives receive in exchange arms, provisions, hand ware, and some groceries.

The commodities for the support of the colony consist generally in all the necessaries of life; the country affording nothing either for the nourishment or clothing of the inhabitants of this rich, but miserable settlement, which cannot properly be called a colony; because the people have no established legislature or house of representatives, and their laws and regulations are made by the company.

A late writer represents in strong terms the ill consequences of the exclusive charter enjoyed by this company, and makes some severe reflections on the manner in which the trade is carried on. From what he says on this subject the following remarks may be extracted.

“ Though the design, which first led our daring countrymen into the dark recesses of the north, failed in its first object, the discovery of a passage that way to China, the attempt failed not of producing other consequences which well repaid to their country, if not immediately to themselves, the fatigue, danger, and expence of it to the bold adventurers, by laying them under a necessity of stopping, when the severity of the climate made the seas no longer navigable, to explore their inhospitable shores, for the support of life, till the return of the season proper for pursuing their project, whereby they opened with the inhabitants an intercourse of commerce, unthought of before, and which, but for this case, would never have been sought for through so many and such discouraging difficulties.

“ The seclusion of these inhabitants from the more informed part of mankind by their situation, and the facility of their country, which confined their cares within the narrow circle of the indispensable necessities of life, without applying a single article that could suggest, much less gratify a thought of any thing farther, necessarily brought commerce with them back to its original, of immediate barter, or exchange of one commodity for another, without the intervention of money, the artificial medium made use of in countries of more extended intercourse and produce, to supply the defects, and remedy the inconveniencies, of such barter.

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" The advantages of such a commerce to a country able to avail itself of
 " them are sufficiently obvious. It takes off such of its produce and
 " manufactures as are most plenty, and cheap, at their real value to those
 " who want, and, not being able to procure them elsewhere, bear not down
 " their price on account of that plenty, nor require such accuracy and
 " ornament in the manufacturing of them, as make them come dearer
 " to the vender without being of greater use to the purchaser; and for
 " any deficiency in which they would be rejected by other purchasers;
 " and brings in return the produce of the country of the barterers, at
 " the low rate set upon it by those who do not want it, who have no
 " other vent for it, and consequently are glad to exchange it at any rate
 " for what they do want, and cannot obtain otherwise; not to swell
 " upon the great national advantage of its being unmanufactured, and
 " thereby affording employment to the various artificers who prepare it
 " for use.

" These circumstances were too striking not to be immediately per-
 " ceived; but their effect was circumscribed in such a manner by the
 " very means injudiciously taken to improve and extend it, that what
 " would have been a most important advantage to the whole nation, was,
 " by the grant of an exclusive charter, confined to a few individuals,
 " who, actuated by the most selfish, sordid, and short-sighted policy, or
 " rather cunning, restrained, instead of extending, that commerce, for
 " fear of its becoming an object of public consideration, and the mono-
 " poly of it taken from them, should the (comparatively immense) pro-
 " fits which it might produce, be known; and thereby with the grossest
 " dishonesty defeated intentionally, the express end for which such char-
 " ter had been originally granted, on the most plausible pretences, and
 " strongest assurance to the contrary, and was still from inattention, or
 " misrepresentation, suffered to remain with them.

" This will be best explained and proved by the following list and
 " estimate of the several articles exported from England to, and imported
 " into England from, this settlement, which are drawn with the utmost
 " exactness, and from the best authority.

Commodities exported from England to Hudson's Bay.

" Coarse woollen cloths, checks, cottons, British linens, fowling-pieces,
 " birding guns, gun-flints, gunpowder, shot, cutlasses, wrought leather,
 " salt, wheaten meal, oatmeal, barley, pease, beans, malt, bacon, beef,
 " pork,

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" pork, butter, cheese, biscuit, molasses, wrought steel, iron, brass, copper,
 " pewter, pipes, tobacco, hosiery, hats, tallow candles, ship chandlery,
 " stationary wares, bugles, groceries, oil, British spirits, wines, all which
 " cost at an average of three years 16,000/.

Commodities imported into England from Hudson's Bay.

" Thirty-four thousand beaver skins, 16,000 marten, 2000 otter, 1100
 " cat, 3000 fox, 5000 wolf, 7000 wolverine, 650 black bear, 40 white
 " bear, 500 fisher, 250 mink, 3000 musquash, 20 cwt. to 50 cwt. bed
 " feathers, 20 cwt. to 30 cwt. whalebone, a few tons of oil, 150,000
 " goose-quills, 2000 lb. cut beaver, 1000 elk, 2000 deer skins, 250 lb.
 " of castoreum, worth, as bought at the first hand at Quebec, at a like
 " average of three years, 29,340/.

" The first view of these lists and estimates will most probably be
 " thought to contradict what has been advanced before of the import-
 " ance of this settlement; but when it is considered that in the above
 " list of exports is included all that the company sends for the support
 " and maintenance of their settlements, and for which consequently
 " there can be no return, as it is immediately consumed by their people.
 " —When it is proved that the commerce of it is kept thus low by
 " design, and the means taken to accomplish that design are shewn, the
 " truth of my position will appear in its full force.

" In estimating the imports from Hudson's Bay, I strike the price of
 " them by that paid for the same articles at Quebec.

" The reason of my doing this is, that the Hudson's Bay Company
 " conduct all their affairs with such impenetrable secrecy, that it is not pos-
 " sible to know at what rate they exchange their goods for those of the
 " natives; an oath of secrecy being imposed upon their servants; and
 " the observation of all, upon whom they cannot impose such an oath,
 " prevented by the most brutal inhospitality and exclusion from every
 " kind of intercourse.

" Nor will the gross quantity of the exports open any satisfactory
 " insight into this mystery; as it is not known, nor can, for the above
 " reasons, be discovered with any degree of precision, how much of that
 " quantity is consumed by the company's servants; and consequently no
 " return for it brought home in the imports.

" This

"This much I know from my own experience, that there is no fixed rate for the barter of any commodity, the company allowing just what they please, at that time; in which allowance, they are so equitable and reasonable, that I myself have seen instances of their being conscientiously content with a profit not above 1000 per cent. upon particular articles.

"These facts therefore only shew what advantage the nation reaps at present, from the commerce of this settlement, under their monopoly. What it would reap were there no such monopoly, with a more particular account of the curious methods taken to keep it in its present state of national insignificance, shall be next shewn.

"I have asserted, that it is capable of such improvement as would make it a considerable advantage to the nation. It remains now that I prove this assertion. In doing this it will be necessary for me to look back for a moment to circumstances not attended to at present, but which have influenced this commerce from its very first institution, and do still influence it, in the most pernicious manner.

"At the time when the Hudson's Bay Company was established, in 1670, the minds of all people of power or property were so fixed upon the intrigues of the court, and the consequences immediately apprehended from them at home, that they would not spare a thought for any thing so remote in situation and effect as foreign colonization, by which means that most important of political enterprises fell to those who were in every respect least qualified to pursue it to advantage.

"Under these inauspicious circumstances, an exclusive charter for trading to the countries confining on the sea, called Hudson's Bay, was, without enquiring into the consequences, granted to a set of private adventurers, who, without support or even countenance from government, undertook, upon the narrow foundation of their own fortunes, to establish a trade, attended with such difficulties in appearance, as would have discouraged any men not fully persuaded of the certainty of success. Nor were they disappointed; the event exceeding their most sanguine expectations in their very first experiment.

"Such success from so weak a beginning shewed to what an height it might be carried on a more extended foundation. But the scheme it suggested was very different: Instead of extending their first plan, and making their success known, to procure an enlargement of

“ their capital; the company turned all their care to conceal the whole,
 “ (which the distractions of the times gave them too good an oppor-
 “ tunity of doing) and keep their profits of the trade, latively to them-
 “ selves, concealed as it was; rather than run the hazard of their being
 “ shared in by others; should it be pushed to its natural extent, a care
 “ which has never been relaxed since.

“ For this sordid purpose, they contented themselves with proceeding
 “ on the low capital, which necessity had at first obliged them to set out
 “ upon; and making a few paltry settlements, barely sufficient to carry
 “ on the restrained trade which such a capital could support. The event
 “ has in this also too well answered their design. The inconsiderable
 “ amount of their exports, and consequently of the returns, have kept
 “ the trade in such obscurity as to escape beneath the attention of govern-
 “ ment, whereby it has remained; according to the letter, however con-
 “ trary to the spirit of their charter, exclusively in their own hands.

“ It must be owned, that the temptations to this conduct were power-
 “ ful. Without hazarding, or even advancing more than a comparative
 “ trifle, they have long reaped, and do still reap a profit, which a capi-
 “ tal ten times as large could not produce in any other channel of com-
 “ merce; a reason, which too many instances prove sufficient, in the
 “ present times, to over-balance national advantage, and justify breach
 “ of faith; for by no other name can so manifest a violation of the
 “ professions of promoting that advantage, upon which all such charters
 “ are granted, be called, without as manifest a violation of truth.

“ I am aware, that it will be objected to this, by those who are inte-
 “ rested to keep these affairs in their present state of darkness, that the
 “ imports prove the sufficiency of the capital for the trade, and that it
 “ is absurd and unnatural to think any men should be so blind to their
 “ own advantage, as not to make large exports could they have adequate
 “ returns for them. The latter of these objections has been already ob-
 “ viated. I shall now shew the fallacy of the former, and in what
 “ manner the imports are kept down to their present low stand; low, I
 “ mean as to what they might be, for they are high beyond all parallel,
 “ considering what they cost.

“ Though the natives of the vast countries around Hudson's Bay,
 “ with whom the traffic of the company is carried on, are still in that
 “ state of natural ignorance, which people more informed, have arro-
 “ gantly presumed to call savage, heaven has not denied them the know-
 “ ledge

ledge necessary for the few purposes of their narrow sphere of life. They were not long engaged in this traffic, therefore, before they discovered some of the gross impositions practised upon them, though they could not possibly form even a conception of the whole.

"I have observed that the commerce of the Hudson's Bay Company consists in bartering some of our manufactures and commodities, the cheapest and worst of their kinds, with the natives for their furs. The first thing which reason would suggest to be done in such a traffic, by those who had the lead in it, must be to fix the rates of the several articles to be brought by them for barter, at such a standard, as should obviate their being ever under a necessity of altering it, and thereby raising a suspicion of injustice in the others, who being neither able to judge of these terms, nor of the incidental circumstances which might at particular times make an alteration in them necessary, were they struck with exactness, would certainly take offence at such alteration, though they could not avoid submitting to the first establishment, in the making of which I have not presumed to mention the least regard to justice."

"But instead of this, a new standard is arbitrarily imposed by the company every season, not on pretence even of any alteration in the value of their own commodities, or those of the natives, but solely according to the quantity of the latter, the whole of which, be it more or less than on other years, they calculate so as to get for their own, whose quantity is nearly the same every season. Such an imposition was too glaring to escape unnoticed even by savages; who, though they could not shew their resentment of it in the same manner as people in other circumstances, by discontinuing the trade, yet did not fail to take the obvious means of preventing it for the future, by bringing no more furs than their little experience had taught them would suffice to procure in exchange all the commodities of the company, the quantity of which they also knew by experience. The remainder, for in their huntings for food they slay many more of the various animals than they bring the furs of to market, they either consume themselves in uses they might dispense with, could they turn them to any better use, or actually throw away; practising out of resentment the same policy with the Dutch, in regard to their superfluous spices."

"The cause and consequences of the conduct which has been invariably pursued by the Hudson's Bay Company, ever since it was established,"

" established, having been considered; let us now consider what would
 " be the effect had they adopted a different system, or rather had no
 " such establishment been made from the beginning, but the trade left
 " open in its natural state; indeed the only state in which any trade can
 " prove beneficial to a nation, all monopolies by their principles counter-
 " acting the public interest, and setting up a private one in opposition to
 " it. The only trade (or at least the only one worth taking any notice of)
 " carried on at present by the Hudson's Bay Company is the fur trade.
 " But beside this, there are others already discovered, which, if pushed
 " to their proper extent, would very soon not only equal, but most pro-
 " bably even excel that; not to mention the probability of discovering
 " still more.

" The first of these which I shall mention, and which, to the surprize
 " of reason, has not hitherto been thought of any consequence, is the
 " fishery. I will take upon me to say, that the whale and seal fisheries
 " in Hudson's Bay and Baffin's Bay are capable of affording sufficient,
 " and sufficiently profitable, employment to several hundred fishing
 " vessels. Nor is this a vague assertion. I speak it from experience,
 " having been some years personally engaged in the Greenland fishery,
 " after my being at Hudson's Bay, and gained a clear insight into every
 " branch of it.

" The advantages which would necessarily result from this are most
 " obvious. It would increase the number of our seamen and shipping;
 " and every branch of commerce which does that, increases the essential
 " strength of the nation. And it would not only supply us with a suf-
 " ficiency of the produce of these fisheries for home consumption, but
 " also give us the command of the trade so effectually, as to enable us
 " to undersell all rivals in it at foreign markets. That it is impossible
 " for such a trade to be carried on properly under the unnatural restraints
 " of an exclusive charter, even were the company to make the attempt,
 " is too evident to require proof; and how much the nation suffers by
 " being secluded from it, may be judged from this one circumstance,
 " that instead of several hundreds of vessels, and thousands of seamen,
 " which this single trade would employ, if laid open to public emulation,
 " the whole trade of the Hudson's Bay Company employs no more than
 " four ships, and 130 seamen.

" Another most valuable article of commerce, which those countries
 " would supply in the greatest plenty, is copper. In the year 1744,
 " I myself discovered there several large lumps of the finest virgin copper,
 " which,

" which, in the honest exultation of my heart at so important a discovery, I directly shewed to the company; but the thanks I met with may be easily judged from the system of their conduct. The fact, without any inquiry into the reality of it, was treated as a chimerical illusion; and a stop arbitrarily put to all farther search into the matter, by the absolute lords of the soil.

" The advantages which would arise from a sufficient supply of this metal are also obvious to every capacity. It would afford employment to all our various artificers who work in it; and enable us to undersell all competitors at foreign markets; and this at a time when our internal supplies of it seem to be nearly exhausted, and the use of it is daily increasing in all parts of the world.

" I have said that copper is to be found in plenty in those countries, for this reason: Wherever any metal is found in lumps, on or near the surface of the earth, it is a certain proof that the earth abounds with it deeper down; such lumps being protruded from the body of the metal like sparks from a large fire. Nor is it unreasonable to expect that metals still more valuable might be found in the pursuit of this; the richest gold mines in the east being intermixed with those of copper, as copper itself is with gold, in proportion to the fineness of the former; and finer than the lumps I found there have I never seen.

" It must not be objected to what I have here advanced that the intensity of the frost in those climates would defeat all attempts of mining, or at the best render them so difficult and destructive to the lives of the miners, as to make it not worth the attempt. This is only a vulgar error. It is known that frost penetrates but a little way into the earth; no farther than the immediate action of the atmosphere; where the sphere of that action therefore ceases, frost ceases of course; and the most ignorant labourer knows, that the deeper he can work into the earth, the warmer air he will breathe *."

As for the climate of Hudson's Bay, Captain Middleton observes, in the journal of his north-west discovery voyage in 1741 and 1742, he arrived in Churchill River on the 10th of August: the first snow was on the 1st of September, when the geese fled to the southward; and on

* The American Traveller; or, Observations on the present State of the British Colonies in America, 4to. 1769.

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the 27th the thermometer was as low as in London during the great frost. On the 21st of October, ink and water froze by the bed-side; and in the beginning of November, a bottle of spirits full proof froze in the open air; after which it was for some time too cold to venture abroad with safety. On the 2d of April it began to thaw in the sun; about which time the ice at the ship was ten feet thick, with thirteen feet snow over the ice. The falling snow was as fine as dust until the 10th of April, when it came down in large flakes, a sign of the winter's being spent. No rain had happened for seven months preceding the 22d of April, when there fell a gentle shower; and the geese began to re-appear on the 2d of May. Upon the 13th, they got the ship into the stream; and, on the 1st of July, he sailed upon the north-west discovery. He proceeded no farther north than $66^{\circ} 44'$, because, the beginning of August, he perceived to the south-east, at about twenty leagues distance, a streight covered with an impenetrable solid body of ice, therefore no communication with the eastern sea; and the tide of flood coming from thence, he had no hopes of passing that way into the South Seas, and bore away to the southward on the 8th of August.

It has been said, that the English company avoid making any discoveries to the northward of Churchill River, or extending their trade that way, for fear they should discover a passage to the western ocean of America, and by that means tempt the English merchants to lay open their trade. Indeed, it is strongly presumed that such a passage may be discovered, and the British parliament have encouraged the attempt.

Upon this presumption, about the year 1730, Arthur Dobbs, Esq. a gentleman of letters and fortune, a member of the Irish parliament at that time, and afterward governor of North Carolina, having drawn up reasons for a passage to the South Sea by the north-west part of Hudson's Bay, and the many advantages arising to Great Britain from such a discovery, communicated them to Colonel Bladen, one of the commissioners for trade and plantations, with a view of engaging the South Sea Company to try the Welcome, which is the most north-west part of Hudson's Bay, and where a passage appeared to him most likely, from the accounts of former adventurers: but Sir John Eyles being then gone out of the government, and the company having relinquished the whale fishery in Davis's Streights, the affair slept until the year 1733: when Mr. Dobbs shewed his manuscript to Sir Charles Wager, then first Lord of the Admiralty, who, on perusing it, seemed satisfied of the probability of the discovery, and the propriety of attempting it.

As

As the Hudson's Bay Company, from their charter, appeared the most proper body to be consulted; Sir Charles Wager mentioned the affair to Mr. Jones, formerly a deputy-governor of that company, and at that time an elder brother of Trinity House; who, as much as possible, discouraged Sir Charles from the design; relating to him the disaster the company had in the loss of two sloops fitted out for this purpose, under Mr. Barlow, in 1719. Mr. Dobbs, not satisfied with this, got Sir Charles to introduce him to Mr. Jones, who was still against the attempt: but notwithstanding these discouragements, Mr. Dobbs accomplished his desire; but whether there is a north-west passage, or not, is still a matter of uncertainty.

However, by the statute of the 18th of King George II. * it was set forth in the preamble, that the discovery of a north-west passage through Hudson's Straights, to the western American ocean, would be of great benefit to the trade of Great Britain: And therefore it was enacted, that if any ship or vessel, ships or vessels, belonging to any of his Majesty's subjects, should find out and sail through any passage by sea between Hudson's Bay and the western or southern ocean of America, the owner or owners thereof, or their assigns, should receive as a reward 20,000 l. And that all persons being his Majesty's subjects, and residing where the adventurers should come, in prosecution of such discovery, should give them all aid requisite, and should noways obstruct, or refuse them reasonable succour in any distress.

In 1740, his Majesty was pleased to approve the scheme, and two vessels were ordered to be fitted out, the command of which was given to Captain Middleton, who sailed in the summer of 1741; but it was the end of July before he could pass Hudson's Straights; so that he found himself necessitated to winter at the Prince of Wales's fort in Churchill River, where he was accused of employing his men in the company's service; but he pleaded such employment was necessary to keep them in health. Here he was detained by the ice until July 1742, when he sailed, and got as far north as lat. $65^{\circ} 30'$, where he found a headland, which he called Cape Dobbs, and abreast of it a fair large opening, or inlet, which he called Wager River. Here he got his ships into a bay called Savage Sound, and sent his boats about sixty miles up, who found a deep channel with a strong current against them, and high land on both sides, the water salt or brackish. Captain Middleton, upon

* In 1745.

the 2d of August, left this river or streight, and proceeded to 66° 44' of north latitude, where he saw a cape, which he judged to be the most northerly point of North America, the land falling off to the north-west; but the following day he found himself embayed on all sides, and gave it the name of Repulse Bay. Into this bay, he observed a tide come from the great ocean, west of Greenland, by a passage he calls the Frozen Streights; though Mr. Dobbs has asserted, that these Frozen Streights are imaginary, and that Cape Frigid is joined to the north continent, to which Captain Middleton gave the name of Prince William's Land, in honour of his late Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland. From hence Captain Middleton withdrew to the south, and traced the shore until the 15th of August, when he bore for England, having made no effectual discovery.

C H A P. II.

Disputes concerning a north-west passage; climate; Indians.

A Passage by the north-westward, or Davis's Streights, seems to be given up or relinquished by all European adventurers; but the passage by the southerly branch, or Hudson's Bay, is still in prosecution.

It has been alleged in favour of a north-west passage, as follows:
1. The whales found in plenty on the west-side of Hudson's Bay; as there is no mention of whales in Hudson's Streights, they do not come that way: they cannot come from Davis's Streights by the Frozen Streights of Middleton, because of a wide and large field of ice; for whales cannot pass under a large track of ice; as they cannot live without blowing at times in the open air; therefore these whales must come from the western or pacific ocean, by some streights or passage in Hudson's Bay. It may be probable, however, that the great whales in Davis's Streights, when the sea begins to be frozen there, pass into the ocean, or deeper water, because warmer: and thus the cod-fish upon the coast of New England in very cold winters retire into deep water.

Mr. Dobbs affirmed, that Captain Middleton saw no whales near Cape Hope or the Frozen Streights: he judged the Frozen Streights to be chimerical; therefore the whales in Button's Bay must come from the westward.

2. Wager River, where Captain Middleton made his principal inspection, in north latitude $65^{\circ} 24'$, and west longitude $88^{\circ} 37'$, from seven miles wide at its entrance, farther up increased to eight leagues in breadth, and from fourteen to eight fathom water. Whales were seen twenty miles up the river; and Mr. Dobbs conjectured that these whales came from the western ocean, by some streight or passage, south of Wager River, from north latitude 65° to 62° , where the Eskimaux Indians followed whaling, and traded with captain Scroggs in 1722.

3. Captain Middleton, from some undue influence, did not well inspect the coast, where the greatest probability was of a passage: that he designedly kept too great an offing, and descried pretended land and mountains in the clouds: so that, concluding there were no passages, he did not send his boats ashore to try for inlets: but Captain Fox, sailing on this

this coast, discovered much broken land and some islands, as also plenty of whales at the end of July in 1632.

4. That Captain Middleton's officers said, the tide was three hours sooner at the mouth of Wager River than at Cape Frigid; therefore the tide did not come from the Frozen Streights and Baffin's Bay eastward, but from streights westward. The same officers also assured Mr. Dobbs, that the higher up Wager River the water became the saltier, and the flood was from west south-west; but Captain Middleton said the tide came from the north-east.

To evince the impracticability of a north-west passage, it was then said,
1. That the French, very inquisitive, and regardful of their interest, appeared to have given up any prospect of this passage; because, by the treaty of Utrecht, they readily renounced for ever to Great Britain the sole and exclusive benefit of a north-west passage to China from Hudson's Bay, or Davis's Streights, when discovered.

2. That the whales upon the west-side of Hudson's Bay by the Frozen Streights came from Davis's Streights, where they are numerous.

3. Captain Middleton says, that Indian travellers have gone by land from Churchill River, as high as the Arctic Circle, but met with no passages. His northern Indians, which he took on board in Churchill River, were chiefly designed to shew him the copper-mines.

4. That the farther up Wager River, the tides ride less; the water from salt becomes brackish, and the higher the more fresh.

5. Capt. Middleton alleges, that from his own experience, there is no passage thro' Churchill River in north lat. 59° to the north lat. 67°; and farther north, if there be any streights or passage, it cannot be clear of ice, if ever clear, above a week or two in the year; and therefore impracticable: that from the River Wager to north latitude 62°, he stood into every bay, and searched the coast narrowly.

6. That as the winds there are generally from the north-west, and excessively cold, there must be a long continued tract of land westward, covered with perpetual snow and ice, and therefore impracticable: beside, if there is any such strait, it must be narrow and long; so that the adventurers would run a certain risk of being frozen up, and of perishing with cold and want.

Captain

Captain Middleton, in his too minute Journals of his voyages from England to Hudson's Bay, observed, that in Hudson's Bay, in the same longitudes from London, in sailing north, the variations increase faster than in any known part of the earth; for instance, in one of his voyages he observed, that in about 84° west longitude from London, the variations increase thus:

In north lat. 50 d. variation was 19. d. W.

55	25
61	30
62	40

But Captain Scroggs in 1722 traded with the Indians for whale-bone, at Whale Bone Point, in 65° of north latitude, where the tide flowed five fathoms at least.

In 1745 a new trial was intended at a north-west passage; and an act of parliament was passed "for granting a public reward to such person or persons, his Majesty's subject or subjects, as should discover a north-west passage through Hudson's Straights to the western and southern ocean of America."

The committee chosen in 1746 for putting in execution the undertaking to find out the north-west passage were, Thomas Lord Southwell, Arthur Dobbs, James Douglas, Henry Douglas, and Rowland Frye, Esqrs. Capt. John Tomlinson, Mr. Robert Macky, Mr. William Bowden, and Mr. Samuel Smith, who was also their secretary: but nothing was afterward done.

There is a great advantage that the European western north latitudes have of the American eastern north latitudes. Thus it may be observed, that in fifty degrees, for instance, of north latitude, in the north-easterly parts of America, it is as cold as sixty degrees or upward of north latitude in the north-westerly parts of Europe; because the ocean and its mellow vapour are to the windward of Europe; but a rude, frozen, and rigorous continent is to the windward of the other; which may be seen by the following instances:

1. From Churchill River Fort there was no going abroad without being frozen in winter: whereas in Torneo from Lapland in 1736, nearly under the polar circle, to investigate the length of a degree of latitude, there the French academicians, in the severity of the winter, were sixty-three days in the desert, procuring a complete set of triangles.

5

2. The

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2. The bottom of Hudson's Bay is scarcely habitable in winter, though hardly so far north as London, which has a most agreeable air.

3. In the Orkneys * there is good wintering; barley, pease, and oats; cabbages, roots, and pot-herbs grow kindly; nor is there much snow or ice, although the Orkneys are a little north of Churchill River.

In the northern factories, the great thaws begin the end of April; and the waters inland are frozen up from the beginning of October to the coming in of May.

In North America, the people judge of the inclemencies of their several climates, by the times of the flights of their passage-birds: wild geese and swans fly southward about the beginning of October, and fly northward about the beginning of May.

The deer are very large in these parts, some from twelve to thirteen hands high. Here are also white bears, foxes, hares, and rabbits, which in October change their native colour, so as to become snow-white, and continue so for six months, until the season produces a new coat. The same happens to the partridge; beside which, there are swans, ducks of several kinds, and other water-fowl.

In their meadows they have only moss, sorrel, and scurvy-grass. There is seldom a night in winter without an aurora borealis; and the wind blows from the north-west about nine months in the year. The cold fogs and mists also damp the pleasure of their short summers; and they have nine months ice and snow.

As to the Indians, their manners, customs, language, government, and religion, are much the same with the Indians of Canada; and La Hontan has described them very naturally, excepting that he has raised Nature, and made her too delicate in this barbarous clime.

The Indians about Rupert's River, and other places in the bay, are more simple than those of Canada, who have had longer commerce with the Europeans: they are generally peaceable, and not given to quarrel with themselves or others, except the Nodways, a wild barbarous people, on the borders of Hudson's Streights. The Indians of certain districts,

* "Here the Hudson's Bay ships call in to hire men and boys at 5 to 20 l. sterling per annum, according to the years of their intended continuance. They are called north-west men." Douglas, vol. i. p. 283.

bounded

bounded by particular rivers, have each an Okimah or captain over them, held in esteem for his prudence and experience. He has no authority but what they think fit to give him upon certain occasions. He is their speech-maker to the English; as also in their own serious debates, when they meet every spring and fall, to settle the disposition of their quarters for hunting, fowling, and fishing. Each family has its boundaries adjusted, which they seldom quit, unless they have little success, and then they join with some successful family. Every man has commonly two wives, whom they keep in great subjection, and make them act all kinds of slavery; while the men only hunt and kill the game.

Their notions of religion are very simple; for they assert, there are two monetoos or spirits; that the one sends all the good things they have, and the other all the bad. Their worship consists in songs and dances at their feasts, in honour of the monetoos who have favoured them; but if they are sick or starved, they hang some little bauble on the top of a pole near their tent, to pacify, as they conceive, the spirit offended.

Let the learned say all the fine things that wit, art, and eloquence can inspire them with, of the simplicity of pure Nature, its beauty and innocence; these poor people are a glaring instance; that this reputed innocence is absolute stupidity; this pretended beauty a strong deformity, which puts the human species on an equal footing with the beasts of the chase.

It is worth observing, that the French had so good an opinion of their American colonies, as to take not only all lawful, but all unlawful means to preserve and enlarge them; contemptible as they were in themselves; whereas the English had been as negligent of theirs as if they were not worth keeping.

The Chevalier de Troyes, on the 8th of July 1686, came before the fort of Albany River, where the governor then resided; and, after some defence, a capitulation was made, and a treaty concluded upon. The fort was accordingly surrendered; but the French paid little regard to the articles of capitulation.

King William III. in his declaration of war against the French King, took this particular notice of de Troyes' invading Hudson's Bay, and destroying the English factories there; as the French had done in other places: "But that the French King should invade our Charibbee Islands, and possess himself of our territories of the province of New York and

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Hudson's Bay, in a hostile manner; seizing our forts, burning our subjects ships, and enriching his people with the spoil of their goods and merchandizes; detaining some of our subjects under the hardship of imprisonment, causing others to be inhumanly killed, and driving the rest to sea in a small vessel, are actions not becoming even an enemy; and yet he was so far from declaring himself so, that at that very time he was negotiating here in England, by his ministers, a treaty of neutrality and good correspondence in America."

This insult was retaliated in 1696 by the English: the articles of surrender are too prolix and numerous to be inserted here; but by the peace of Utrecht it was ordered as follows:

"Article X. The most Christian King shall restore to the kingdom and Queen of Great Britain, to be possessed in full right for ever, the Bay and Streights of Hudson, together with all lands, seas, sea-coasts, rivers and places situated in the said Bay and Streights, and which belong thereto; no tracts of land or sea being excepted, which are at present possessed by the subjects of France: all which, as well as any buildings there made; and likewise all fortresses there erected, either before or since the French seized the same, shall, within six months of the ratification of this treaty, or sooner, if possible, be well and truly delivered to the British subjects, having commission from the Queen of Great Britain to demand and receive the same, intire and undemolished, together with all the cannon and cannon-ball which are therein, as also with a quantity of powder, if it be there found in proportion to the cannon-ball, and with the provision of war usually belonging to cannon. It is, however, provided, that it may be intirely free for the company of Quebec, and all other subjects of the most Christian King whatsoever, to go by land or by sea, whithersoever they please, out of the lands of the said Bay, together with all their goods, merchandizes, arms, and effects.

"Article XI. The most Christian King shall take care that satisfaction be given, according to the rule of justice and equity, to the English company, traders to Hudson's Bay, for all damage and spoil done to their colonies, ships, persons and goods, by the hostile incursions and depredations of the French in time of peace."

These northern countries produce nothing wanted in Great Britain, and are intirely unfit for the purpose of cultivation, as appears not only from the nature and reason of things, but from the experience of more than a century and a half. Neither the soil nor the climate will admit of any improvements, and

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and there is nothing to be done against Nature. The length and severity of the winters, the late and backward springs, and shortness of the summer-season, are unavoidable obstacles to all improvements in agriculture. Were they to make any thing but the necessaries of life in their short summers, they would all perish in their long and hard winters, which last for five or six months, and longer in the northern parts.

These severe colds are occasioned by the violent north-west winds, blowing from the frozen regions of Hudson's Bay, which rage with such fury all over the continent, that they bring the climate of Hudson's Bay even to Virginia and Carolina by one blast; and as these winds blow with great violence about the vernal and autumnal equinoxes, they occasion a second winter, as it is called, at that time of the year, when a warm spring might be expected in the latitude of these northern colonies, which lie between forty and forty-three degrees.

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
BRITISH EMPIRE
IN
NORTH AMERICA.

BOOK XIV.

The History of NOVA SCOTIA.

CHAP. I.

Situation and extent of this province. Grant to Sir William Alexander in 1621. French settlements, and different revolutions there, until the province was ceded to Great Britain by the treaty of Utrecht in 1713, and confirmed by subsequent treaties.

NOVA SCOTIA, or New Scotland, comprehending Acadia, is bounded by the Bay and River of Saint Lawrence on the north-east and north-west; by the Atlantic Ocean on the east; by the same ocean and the Bay of Fundi on the south; and by part of Canada, and part of New England on the west; lying between 43° and 51° of north latitude, and between 63° and 70° of west longitude; being about 500 miles in length from north to south, and about 300 miles from east to west.

This country was called Nova Scotia by Sir William Alexander, secretary of state for Scotland; who obtained a royal grant on the 10th of September 1621. He was afterward created Lord Alexander, Viscount of Canada, and Earl of Stirling in 1633. The French called it L'Acadie, an abbreviation

abbreviation or corruption of Arcadia, in the Morea of Greece: but until the year 1749 it could not be called a colony, because it was only an impotent British garrison in an ill-regulated French settlement.

The French had early settlements in Nova Scotia; and in 1613 Captain Argol from Virginia visited Port Royal and Saint Croix, from whence he brought away two French vessels. M. Biencourt was then governor of Port Royal: Argol broke up some French settlements in Sagadahock and L'Acadie, called part of New France, or Terra Canadensis. Afterward the country north of Saint Lawrence River retained this name only; and this expedition of Argol's made way for the patent granted to Sir William Alexander, who admitted some associates in 1623, and they sent over a ship with some settlers; but they all returned to England the same year, and the French proceeded in their settlements.

King Charles I. in 1625, upon his marriage with the Princess Henrietta-Maria of France, relinquished Nova Scotia to the French; since which there have been many revolutions in the property and dominion of it.

1. In 1627 and 1628, Sir David Kirk and his associates, upon a private adventure, but commissioned by the crown of England, conquered the French settlements in Canada and Nova Scotia; after which patents were obtained, whereby the lands called Canada, north of the River of Saint Lawrence, were granted to Sir David Kirk; and all the land called Nova Scotia, south of that river, were confirmed to Sir William Alexander.

2. Sir William sold the property to M. Claude de la Toure d'Aunay, a French protestant; and England ceded it to France by treaty in 1632.

3. Oliver Cromwell sent Colonel Sedgwick to reduce it in 1654, and it was confirmed to England by treaty in 1655; but M. St. Estienne, son and heir of Claude de la Toure made out his claim, and had the property surrendered to him. Afterward he sold that property to Sir Thomas Temple, who was governor, and in possession of the property until 1662, when it was delivered up to the French; who built a stockaded fort at Port Royal, and another at Saint John's River.

4. The French of L'Acadie being troublesome neighbours, Colonel Phipps invaded them from New England in 1690, and reduced the inhabitants to the subjection of England: but by the treaty of Ryswick in 1697 it was receded to France.

Major Church in 1704, with five hundred volunteers, visited Penobscot, Passamaquady, and Les Mines: they brought off one hundred prisoners; but attempted Port Royal in vain.

In 1706 Captain Rowse of Charles Town made a ridiculous attempt upon Annapolis: but in 1708 an expedition from New England was undertaken against Port Royal, under Colonel March, which had no effect, although attempted with two regiments of militia, and two ships of war. Another attempt was made by Colonel Nicholson in 1710, which succeeded, and the country was confirmed to Great Britain by the treaty of Utrecht, and thus it remains to this day, reconfirmed by the treaty of 1748, and finally ceded in 1763.

Annapolis was not much bettered in changing its name; but the reduction of this country was indubitably a good piece of service; because Port Royal was then a nest of privateers, and a Dunkirk to the American trade; beside, it was the head-quarter from whence parties of French and Indians issued out, and fell upon the parts of New England.

This made it of such importance to the English *, that it was well for them the French had little opinion of it; for the managers of the Utrecht treaty would have complied with yielding the country up. Indeed, it was then thought inhospitable, unsusceptible of cultivation, and rude. Time evinces the contrary, in some eminent degree.

Colonel Nicholson went to England, and was appointed governor of Nova Scotia and Annapolis Royal; as also commander of all the British forces there, and in Newfoundland.

* See Dummer,

C H A P. II.

A particular description of the country.

AS to the country of Nova-Scotia in general, its harbours are so numerous and fine, as not to be exceeded in any part of the world. It abounds with salmon, trout, eels, and several other sorts of fresh-water fish; with a great plenty of wild-fowl of different sorts. Its woods are stocked with deer, rabbits, and an uncommon variety of furred animals; particularly bears. Its soil is very fertile, producing all kinds of grain and provisions. The country is covered with ash, beech, elm, cedar, maples, firs, and pines, fit for naval uses. It also abounds with lime-stones and fine quarries for building.

Cape Breton, lying a little to the eastward of that tract, is neither so fertile nor so capable of improvement; as it is rocky, sterile, and cold; abounding neither with furs, or timber for building of ships. Its principal, if not only advantage, consisted in its situation and harbours, which were in the center of all the fishing-banks on the North American coasts*.

We have been authentically told, that there is very little difference in the temperature of the air in the several parts of New England; so its several products, and aptness for different improvements, vary but in a few particulars; the southernmost being best for corn; the northern for grazing, and affording a much greater quantity of timber and fish.

The West India islands are furnished from the northern colonies with horses and several kinds of live stock; also flour, bread, pease, salted beef, and pork; codfish, mackarel, and herrings; cyder and butter; onions, oil, and turpentine; ships, timber, masts, yards, planks, boards, shingles, staves, and hoops.

In these colonies, the lands which were already cleared of timber, and improved for tillage and pasture, were far from yielding such profit to the owner, as they were capable of, for want of manuring, and being properly subdivided into smaller allotments, which the great price of labour made impracticable: but as Nature has furnished the country with

* Mr. Little, p. 33.

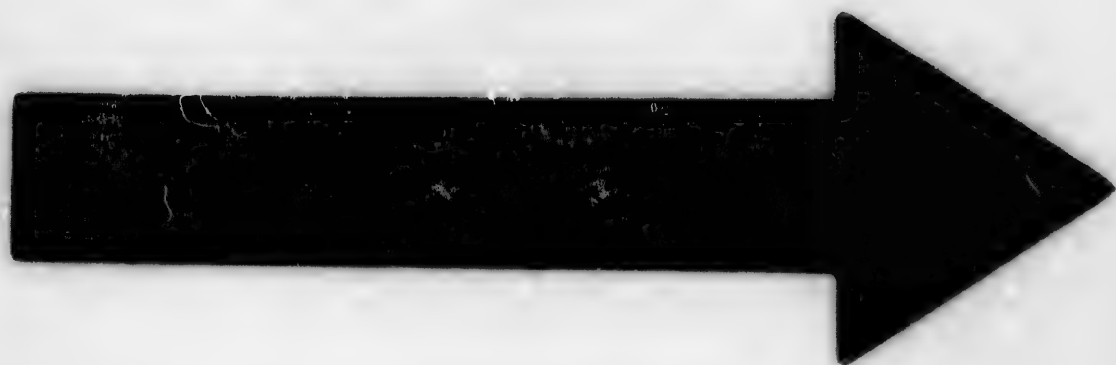
several sorts of marle and sea-ware, whenever the farmer has been able to enrich the soil with them, the produce of his lands has paid his expence, and greatly raised their value; yet, by reason of the scarcity of labourers, few can bear the charge of such a necessary cultivation: but, by increasing their number, the country might be enabled to do it, and consequently to supply the West India islands at a cheaper rate.

It was imagined, that any considerable number of inhabitants, settled on the uncultivated lands in Nova Scotia, would not be able to furnish themselves with provisions for the first year: but as the country is full of fine harbours, lakes, and rivers; the lands well covered with timber; and the sea-coast plentifully stocked with fish and wild-fowl, it would soon be in their power to support themselves*.

Farther, it was said, that it would be of great consequence to the first settlers in Nova Scotia, that, in clearing and subduing their lands, they would be paid for their labour, by converting their produce into ship-timber, masts, planks, deal-boards, shingles, staves, and hoops; all which might be carried from their plantations to market, by vessels that would supply them with horses, cattle, swine, and other necessaries, to stock their improved lands. That, with these advantages, it was easy to foresee how soon it was practicable to bring forward new settlements in a country which was so well furnished with supplies, and was so near Boston, a market that would always take off their produce, and soon enable them to raise their provisions, build their houses, and stock their plantations; so as in a few years to export many valuable commodities in vessels of their own, while they were promoting the trade of the colony: which actually proved true.

But the zeal and attachment of the Nova Scotians to the Romish faith, it was thought would always prevent the settlement of Protestants in the country, unless it was done in compact bodies, and under the cover of fortifications; but until this was accomplished, it could no more be said that the province belonged to the Crown of Great Britain, because it was possessed of Annapolis Royal, than of the kingdom of Spain, from our possession of Gibraltar. It was thought therefore absolutely necessary, for the safety and interest of the British colonies, that some speedy and effectual measures were taken to put these Nova Scotians on a different

* The French King had commonly defrayed the charge of transporting his subjects to America, and maintaining them a year after their arrival: therefore the interest of Great Britain never called for a more necessary expence than that of settling Nova Scotia with Protestants.



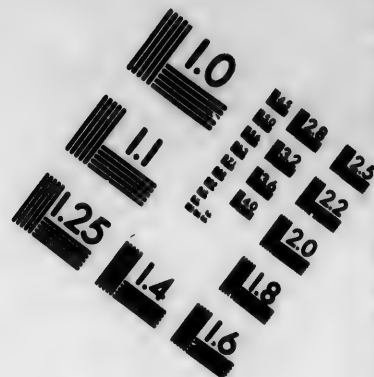
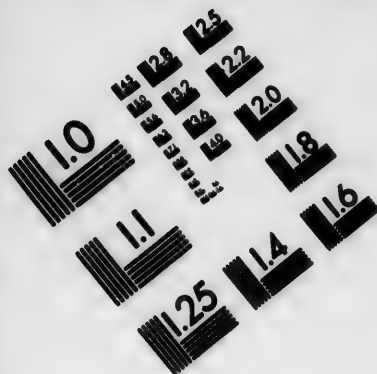
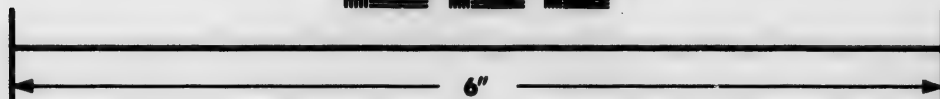
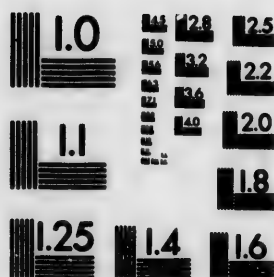


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footing, or to remove them: the latter could not well be done at that time, though it was afterward; and the former in nothing better than by encouraging a considerable number of foreign Protestants, and others, to settle among them; which was more effectually done by British emigrants. This would not only be of immediate service, but in a few years would produce various good effects; for, as the country abounded with pines and furs, it would be capable of supplying Great Britain with the finest deal-boards and timber of all kinds, in vessels of its own, which were then imported from Norway and the Baltic in foreign bottoms, and drained the nation of immense sums of money. This was not only practicable on the first settlement of the country, but in the course of a few years would become an useful and permanent branch of business. If none of these good consequences ensued, yet settling the province with Protestants was of the greatest importance, as the French would otherwise continue to support their own inhabitants until they exceeded the number, and were of more consequence than those of Canada. It required no long time to effect this, in a country whose inhabitants were not only very healthful, but very prolific. Surely then it must be deemed impolitic to suffer such a colony of French bigots to be reared up under the kindly influence of a British administration, to massacre the English Protestants whenever the popish priest should consecrate the knife. In the mean time, they had on all occasions manifested a contempt of the British government when they could do it with impunity, or were too remote to fear the resentment of that garrison. It therefore highly concerned Great Britain that some steps might be taken to prevent their future growth and defection: but it was difficult to attempt, and almost impossible to effect, their removal, without bloodshed; and if they were dispossessed, it was then apprehended they would remove to Canada: but this was afterward precluded by proper preventive means.

Their estates were held by patent from the French King, for which they paid a small acknowledgment: their right was reserved to them by the articles of capitulation at the reduction of Annapolis, and was finally ratified by the treaty of Utrecht: but as no civil government had ever been established, they had no more to do with their new masters than to pay their quit-rent, which in the whole province did not amount to forty pounds a year.

When the form of government was established, the instructions to the governor and council were copied from those of Virginia; whereby the power of granting lands was vested in them, and restricted to such conditions as proved a great discouragement to the colonists; for the pa-

tantee was not only obliged to pay a penny sterling per acre for the whole, but was subject to a penny more whenever the government should demand it; and unless he had built a house, and brought part of his lands under improvement, within three years from the date of his grant, he forfeited his title. This, attended with the constant obstructions, which both the French and Indians had made to any Protestant settlements, when compared on the easy terms upon which lands were granted in other parts of North America, evidently accounted for the situation of the colony. But since it was apparently for the public interest, that the growing state of those Nova Scotians should be checked; that they should either be rendered useful, or prevented from becoming dangerous to the other colonies, it was thought this could not be more effectually done than by erecting such fortifications as would keep their most populous towns in subjection, and at the same time serve as a protection to the proposed settlements in the colony; a more particular description of which seems necessary to elucidate the plan that was afterward adopted, pursued, and executed, under the direction and protection of the Earl of Halifax *.

About seventeen leagues north from Cape Sable, the entrance of the Bay of Fundi commences, where it is about twenty leagues wide; and extending near forty leagues, divides itself into two branches; one of which terminates in several rivers, that discharge themselves into Minas Bay; and the other running more northerly to Chignecto, forms an isthmus of that name, between this branch and the Bay of Vert, which empties itself in the Gulph of Saint Lawrence.

Twelve leagues from that entrance, on the south side of the Bay, lies the Gut of Annapolis, which is about three-quarters of a mile wide and half a league in length, on each side of which the land is very mountainous and rocky. The tides are so impetuous, as often to render this a dangerous passage for large vessels; but when they are once in, a most delightful harbour presents itself in view, called the Basen of Annapolis, from the gradual declivity of the lands surrounding it, being about three leagues in length from north-east to south-west, and two in breadth, with safe and commodious anchorage in most parts of it for a numerous fleet of ships †. Upon its south side are two small rivers of little consequence, and the land is mountainous and rocky. On the north-east side a little

* It had always been found impracticable to settle in Nova Scotia without entering into a contest with the French, who claimed the spot; and if that failed, the Indians were sure to challenge the property as lords of the whole: and indeed it was difficult to determine what right the inhabitants had, or how extensive it was, without a special inquiry and survey.

† "All the ships in England," says Mr. Little, p. 53.

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island forms the entrance of Annapolis River, which continues navigable for large vessels on that course about ten leagues. At the mouth of this river were several small French villages, from whence it is about two leagues to Annapolis Royal; which stands, on a point of land, formed by this, and another small river that ranges about south-east.

The situation of this fortress being elevated sixty or seventy feet above the level of the river, and standing on its bank, renders an attack from ships almost impracticable; because the strength of the tides makes it difficult for them to moor, unless it be in the eddy, or counter-tide, which brings them too near the shore to do execution. As it is situated on a level with the campaign, there was nothing to prevent the regular approaches of an enemy on two sides of the garrison. Upon both sides of this river, several pleasant villages were scattered for thirty miles; containing about three hundred families, who, being awed by the garrison, were the most tractable inhabitants in the colony.

Annapolis is situated in 44° and $40'$ of north latitude; it lies upon a fine basin, where the tide is twenty-three feet; but the rapid tides in the Bay of Fundi make a difficult navigation. From Cape Anne, near Boston harbour, to Cape Sable, are eighty-seven leagues; and from Cape Sable to Annapolis are thirty leagues; but it has been sailed in twenty-four hours.

On the south-east side of the Bay of Fundi, about thirty leagues from the entrance of Annapolis, is the Bay of Minas; a name derived from the report of some valuable mines having been discovered in its neighbourhood; being twelve leagues in length, and three in breadth; into which the Rivers Canard, Caobegat, Pisegat, and others, discharge themselves.

Upon the other branch, and at the head of the Bay, are several villages; and about three leagues up a deep and narrow river, stands the town of Chignecto, or Chignectico; a corruption, as it is said, from Le Chignon du Col. There were about two hundred families in this place: the country is very healthy and pleasant; surrounded with fine meadows, which on its west side are more extensive than any thing of the kind in this part of the world: it abounds with rivers, that at high-water are navigable for large vessels: to the northward of this place runs the most rapid and the longest branch of the Bay of Fundi, about north north-east into the main-land, which the French called Gaspasia, where were some small villages; but on account of the badness of its navigation, they were little known.

Upon

Upon the north side of the Bay, about eight leagues below Chignecto, and upon a navigable river, lies a village called Chipotee, which contained about seventy families; from whence, about forty leagues afford neither harbour nor river that is navigable for large vessels; the sea-coast being very mountainous, and skirted with rocks and precipices, affords a disagreeable prospect to navigators.

North from the entry of Annapolis lies the fine River of Saint John, with a capacious road for ships at its entrance; on the north side of which is a narrow streight, not a pistol-shot over, through which there is no passing but at the top of the tide, when the water is upon a level; at other times, the fall is so considerable, especially at low-water, as to make a descent of near thirty feet, being lined on both sides by a solid rock, and having more than forty fathoms of water in the middle. This river spreads itself about half a mile in breadth, and with a gentle current toward its outlet admits of a delightful navigation for large ships fifty or sixty miles into the country, and much farther for smaller vessels. From its several branches the Indians traverse this vast part of the continent, by transporting their canoes by land across some short spaces, called by them carrying-places. Here, in 1748, were no more than four French families; the forces from New England having destroyed all their settlements, so that most of the inhabitants removed to the other side of the Bay.

A few leagues farther westward are several fine harbours, among which is harbour L'Etang, so called from its resemblance of a Pond, as it is surrounded with high lands; its entry being deep, narrow, free from danger, and its surface always unruffled. This is near the River Saint Croix, the western boundary of the province; from whence to New Hampshire, the sea-coast is covered with islands that almost form a continued harbour for near two hundred miles.

From the entrance into the Bay of Fundi to Cape Sable, there are several fine rivers and harbours, and two villages. From Cape Sable, so called from the sand-banks on its shore, to Canso, the islands and harbours are so numerous as not to admit of either description or mention; but the most considerable were Chebucto, Malegash, Port Rossignol, Port Mutton, Port le Have, Port Rozoir, Liscombes harbour, Canso, and others; which then served only as a retreat to fishing vessels, and others, in bad weather, or to wood and water. A few straggling savages, who shifted their habitations as the seasons for fishing and hunting varied, were the only inhabitants upon this extensive coast.

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From Canso, a navigable streight, called from it the Gut of Canso, parts the island of Cape Breton from the continent, and leads into the Bay of Saint Lawrence; on the south-west side of which is Tatamagauche, a very good harbour, where the French formerly received their supplies of cattle and provisions from the Nova Scotians for Louisburgh; and it was one of the safest and shortest communications they could have with those inhabitants.

From thence, about ten leagues north-west, lies the Bay of Vert, before-mentioned, on which and the eastern side of the province, as far as the mouth of Canada River, lies a great variety of fine rivers and harbours, little known at that time, as no person had been employed by the government to attempt a particular discovery of them.

From this description of the country, several places appeared necessary to be fortified, of which the most convenient, as well as those which were most commodious for bringing forward the proposed settlements, were pointed out as follows:

Canso and Chebucto, upon the sea-coast of this province, naturally presented themselves first to consideration; the former from its having been a long time improved in the fishery, and having once had a wooden block-house, as also a small detachment of troops for its protection: the latter for its spacious and fine harbour, having on this account been made the rendezvous of Duke d'Anville's squadron.

Canso was conveniently situated for the cod-fishery; yet claimed the preference to the latter only for having been earlier known, and already improved: but Chebucto greatly exceeded the former in several respects, as to its situation, its harbour, and aptitude for agriculture.

Its situation was such, that it had a short and easy communication by land with all the settlements on the Bay of Fundi; was equally commodious for the fishery with Canso; and was more in the way of all ships passing to and from Europe to New England, that might occasionally, or by stress of weather, seek a port for shelter or relief.

Its harbour gave place to none in the world; and by its natural form, with an island at its entrance, was capable of being well defended by a regular fortification.

Its

Its soil exceeded that of Canso; and by the vicinity of several fine harbours, must afford great conveniencies to the first inhabitants; which particular advantages it might boast beyond any other place on that side. Whereas Canso, though then possessed for near forty years, could shew no improvements but upon some small islands, which produced little more than a few kitchen gardens; beside, its harbour was complained of, as not being defended from hard gales of wind; had a very rocky and difficult entrance, and the communication from thence to the inland parts of the province was through Chebucto or Tatamagauche. This last seemed also to claim some share of attention, and was thought, upon a critical survey, that it might be found suitable for a settlement.

Leaving this side, and the sea-coast of the province, we should return to the Bay of Fundi again, where the soil and manner of improving lands differ from all other parts of North America; and where two or three different fortresses would there be necessary to awe the French and Indians, as also to protect the proposed settlements from their insults.

In all parts of this Bay, the rivers are of great length and very numerous. The ebbing and flowing of the tides is from four fathom at the entrance to ten or eleven at the head of its longest branches. Between their banks and the verge of the upland, are fine and large tracts of salt marsh, in many places extending themselves upon a plain for thirty or forty miles without interruption. In the Bays of Minas, Chignecto, and their branches, were millions of acres never improved.

The French, to save themselves the labour of subduing the lands that were covered with forest-wood, and interspersed with morasses, surrounded part of these marshes with dykes*, without which they would often be flowed at high water, and always by spring tides: they were afterward ploughed up; produced all kinds of grain in three years; and when fallowed ran into fine grass. This land, by reason of its natural richness, required little manuring; and was not only easy of tillage, but afforded a beautiful prospect: their gardens, with some patches for particular uses, being all the upland they had under improvement.

It was obvious from this account, which seemed far from being exaggerated, that no country was better calculated to yield an easy support to its infant colonies, with more certainty and less labour, and affording them a comfortable subsistence in the intermediate time.

* This term by custom was applicable to the bank as well as the ditch, and was always used for both in Nova Scotia.

The high lands which lie commonly near the sides of the sea-coast and the Bay of Fundi, are rocky, and covered chiefly with firs; but produced plenty of grass when brought under cultivation. The level country is covered with several other kinds of wood useful in building; and when subdued and fitted for tillage, discovers a fine rich mould, producing all things in perfection that are natural to the climate. This will serve as a general description of the province; for although some parts of the Cape Sable and Canso shores are rocky and unfit for tillage, they are intermixed with valuable tracts of low lands, navigable rivers, and many islands, where fish may be taken all the year, as the harbours are seldom obstructed with ice.

On the north side of this Bay, Saint John's River seemed to be the fittest place for erecting a fortress, and making a settlement. About fifty miles from its entrance, the most judicious and considerable, though not the most numerous tribe of Indians on this part of the continent were settled; and in the war of 1744 had a slight fortification erected by the French for their defence.

Here the land is fertile, and lies nearly on a level very far into the country; and a gradual declivity only toward the river, that serves to direct the course of several large branches into its sides.

By the information of the natives, the inland parts of this country are capable of the highest improvements: and although there is little marsh-land, the goodness of the soil makes ample amends for the want of it; beside, there were no claims of any significancy to prevent the settlement of it.

In order to shew what places in the Bay of Fundi were most proper to be fortified, it was thought necessary to begin with this, as it is not only a valuable country, but is commodiously situated for the fishery. From hence the direct intercourse with Canada was maintained through the country, and continued across the Bay to Minas and Annapolis, from which places it is not more than twenty leagues distant.

Within and near the streight, the land seemed conveniently elevated to erect a fortress that would command the entrance; and, in time of war, a boom-chain would effectually secure the passage. This place might not only serve to protect ships in the road below, but would be a sufficient defence to a new settlement; and, if properly garrisoned, might cut off the correspondence between the Nova Scotians and Quebec.

It was apprehended, that the Indians of the Saint John's tribe might on this occasion attempt to interrupt a settlement; but as they were in a state of hostility with the English, and by the treaty of Utrecht their lands were given up by the French to the British crown, no peace ought to be concluded with them but upon dictatorial terms; for they were actually the aggressors, by joining the enemy in the siege of Annapolis, contrary to several treaties they formerly entered into with the province of the Massachusetts Bay.

From this place to Chignecto, the country has only two or three harbours, and but little known; but the sea-coast was very mountainous, and the natives boasted of the fertility of the inland parts.

Chignecto forming the peninsula, which the French called Acadie, was commonly mentioned as a necessary place to be fortified, to cut off the communication of Canada in time of war, the Isthmus not being there above two leagues wide. The foregoing reason would have more weight, if the French transported any baggage or train with them upon those occasions; but that was not practicable, and therefore they commonly crossed the rivers below in canoes with their small arms and ammunition; their larger stores being landed out of vessels from Canada at Tatamagouche. Several places here seemed well situated for erecting a fortress; upon one of which, an eminence surrounded with marsh, and commanding both the river and the town, appeared to be the most eligible place for that purpose: beside, it was well known that many of the inhabitants of this place had actually born arms in conjunction with the French and Indians, and were concluded to be with them when they attacked the auxiliary troops at Minas in the winter of 1746. M. Jonquier, who commanded the French fleet at Chebucto after the Duke d'Anville's death, furnished all persons in the province, who were fit for service, with arms and ammunition, to assist him in the reduction of Louisburg.

From Chignecto by land to Caobegat on the Bay of Minas it is near twenty leagues; and from thence to the town of that name it is near twenty. As Minas was then the principal place in the province, and the center of all the settlements, it seems to require a more particular description, as following:

It was composed of some villages and many farm-houses, extending six or eight miles in length, and, including some towns a little more remote,

mote, contained about 1000 families. It is not hereby meant so many housekeepers, but such as would be thus denominated among the English; for here it was customary, when one of a family married, to enlarge the mansion-house; and, by the addition of new apartments, they made room for the expected progeny. From this practice, it was common to find three or four generations under one roof; and it was computed they amounted to 7000 people. Had the inhabitants been industrious, they might have produced immense quantities of corn; because the soil of their marshes, being subject to the periodical overflowing of the spring tides, was composed of the fat and slime that had been washed from the interior and mountainous parts of the country by rains, and the melting of snow for ages past; upon which account, it admitted of a long improvement without any manure.

Whenever it happened that any of their dykes were accidentally broken down, the overflowing of the tide rendered the marsh incapable of bearing any corn for three years; but afterward, by means of the new recruit of salt which was incorporated with the mold, the soil was renewed, and produced as fine crops as ever. Thus nature seemed by accident to have pointed out a process, whereby its fertility was restored, without any expence to the owner; which lands, after some years improvement, produced several kinds of grass, and served all the various uses of husbandry.

The inhabitants made a joint business of dyking many extensive tracts, which served first as common fields; and, being afterward subdivided into smaller allotments, were capable of improvements.

Their dykes were made of large sods of marsh cut up in square pieces, and raised about five feet higher than the common surface, of a competent thickness to withstand the force of the tides, and soon grew very firm and durable; being overspread with grass, and had commonly foot-paths upon their summit, which were both convenient and delightful.

Upon the different branches of Minas Bay were scattered several other towns and villages, whose inhabitants pursued the same methods of improving their lands.

There was one thing peculiar to these people, which secured their allegiance during the war of 1744; that was, the dread of having their dykes cut down, and their estates destroyed. They felt the severe effects

fects of this practice before, when the lands were thus exposed by the New England forces; the remembrance of which was strongly impressed on the old inhabitants, and had a good effect on their posterity.

Minas is so situated as to have a short and easy communication with the extreme parts of the province, being within a day's march of Chebucto, on the southern shore; and not farther by land from Annapolis; is about thirty leagues by water from Saint John's River, and not much farther from Tatamagauche.

From this account of the country and its inhabitants, it appears that Minas was not then only considered the best part of it, but was most properly situated as a metropolis.

Nova Scotia was divided into several little districts, each of which annually sent one deputy to be approved by the governor at Annapolis; but there was, in fact, no civil power, either legislative or executive.

As the French were restored to Cape Breton, by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748, it was necessary for the English to think of colonizing their long neglected settlement of Nova Scotia. The Earl of Halifax promoted this valuable scheme; and the lords commissioners for trade and plantations, in 1749, gave proper encouragement for settling the colony, and establishing a civil form of government in the province; whereby the new colonists were to have a due proportion of land allotted to them, and to be subsisted for twelve months after their arrival, with utensils for husbandry, and arms for their defence. The following were the particular terms, as dated at Whitehall, March 7, 1748-9.

"That a proposal had been presented unto his Majesty, for the establishing of a civil government in the province of Nova Scotia in North America, as also for the better peopling and settling the said province, and extending and improving the fishery thereof, by granting lands within the same, and giving other encouragements to such of the officers and private men lately dismissed his Majesty's land and sea service, as should be willing to settle in the said province: And his Majesty having signified

* The British parliament, in 1747, "Granted 235,749*l.* for reimbursing our American Colonies their expences in taking Cape Breton, as follows: to Massachusetts Bay 183,649*l.* to New Hampshire 16,355*l.* to Connecticut 28,863*l.* to Rhode Island 6,332*l.* and to James Osborn, Esq. 547*l.*" *History of our National Debts and Taxes*, part iv. p. 150.

his royal approbation of the purport of the said proposals, the right honourable the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations did, by his Majesty's command, give notice, that proper encouragements would be given to such of the officers and private men lately dismissed his Majesty's land and sea service, as were willing to accept of grants of lands, and to settle, with or without families, in the province of Nova Scotia.

" That fifty acres of land would be granted in a fee simple, to every private soldier or seaman, free from the payment of any quit-rents or taxes, for the term of ten years; at the expiration whereof, no person to pay more than *1 s. per annum* for every fifty acres so granted.

" That a grant of ten acres, over and above the said fifty acres, would be made to each private soldier or seaman having a family, for every person, including women and children, of which his family should consist; and further grants made to them, on the like conditions, as their families should increase, or in proportion to their abilities to cultivate the same.

" That eighty acres, on like conditions, would be granted to every officer, under the rank of ensign, in the land service, and that of lieutenant in the sea service; and to such as had families fifteen acres over and above the said eighty acres, for every person of which their families should consist.

" That 200 acres, on like conditions, would be granted to every ensign, 300 to every lieutenant, 400 to every captain, and 600 to every officer above the rank of captain in the land service; as also the like quantity of 400 acres, and on the like conditions, to every lieutenant in the sea service, and 600 acres to every captain; and to such of those officers as had families, a further grant of thirty acres would be made, over and above their respective quotas, for every person of which their families should consist.

" That the lands would be parcelled out to the settlers, as soon as possible, after their arrival, and a civil government established; whereby they would enjoy all the liberties, privileges, and immunities, enjoyed by his Majesty's subjects in any other of the colonies and plantations in America under his Majesty's government; and proper measures would also be taken for their security and protection.

" That

"That all such as were willing to accept of the above proposals, should, with their families, be subsisted during their passage, as also for the space of twelve months after their arrival.

"That they should be furnished with arms and ammunition, as far as would be judged necessary for their defence; with a proper quantity of materials and utensils for husbandry, clearing and cultivating their lands, erecting habitations, carrying on the fishery, and such other purposes as should be necessary for their support.

"That all such persons as were desirous of engaging in this settlement should transmit, by letter, or personally give in their names, signifying in what regiment or company, or on board what ship they last served; and if they had families, what number of persons belonging to such families they intended to carry with them, distinguishing the age and quality of each person to any of the officers appointed to receive and enter the same in the books open for that purpose. And that proper notice would be given of the said books being closed, so soon as the intended number should be completed, or at latest on the 7th of April.

"That it was proposed, that the transports should be ready to receive such persons on board on the 10th of April, and be ready to sail on the 20th; and that timely notice would be given of the place or places to which such persons were to repair in order to embark.

"That, for the benefit of the settlement, the same conditions that were proposed to private soldiers and seamen, should likewise be granted to carpenters, shipwrights, smiths, masons, joiners, brickmakers, bricklayers, and all other artificers necessary in building or husbandry, not being private soldiers or seamen.

"That the same conditions as were proposed to those who had served in the capacity of ensign, should extend to all surgeons, whether they had been in his Majesty's service or not, upon their producing proper certificates of their being duly qualified."

"It was then foreseen that the Bay of Chebucto and the river that falls into it would become the principal port of Nova Scotia, and the seat of its metropolis. Nor was it forgot that these new Adventurers would be altogether free from the difficulties which usually attended others in the like circumstances. They were not going in search of an unknown country

country to settle in; no new seas to explore, or untroubled climates to wander in; no inhabitants to fight with and drive away, and very little, if any, uncertainty to encounter with. On the contrary, they were to set out to a country long since discovered, well known, and familiar to many Englishmen, within the moderate distance of six weeks sail from London; in a great measure settled and peopled already with Europeans, to the number of 7000 or 8000, and consequently improved in some proportion; a wholesome climate, well agreeing with a British constitution, abounding with all necessaries of life, the sea and rivers with stores of excellent fish, and the woods with plenty of all kinds of game; the soil very capable of improvement, inasmuch that the husbandman and fisherman might well vie with each other for success in their respective vocations, and set their industry in competition, to attain a comfortable retreat for the decline of life.

The parliament the same year granted 40,000*l*.^{*} to settle this colony; and the next year they granted the further sum of 76,234*l*.† for supporting and enlarging the settlement. About 4000 families were carried from England to establish the colony; with two † regiments of soldiers, and Colonel Cornwallis, who was appointed their governor. They sailed from Portsmouth in May, and arrived in Chibouctou harbour in June, after a short and pleasant passage of between five and six weeks. Few persons died on the passage, or upon their arrival. Their health and preservation was greatly owing to the prudent and wise measures taken by those who had the direction of this salutary work, in having ventilators and pipes put on board the ships; and rice and provisions furnished for the use of the sick, as well as the lying-in women and young children.

Colonel Cornwallis arrived in the *Sphinx* of twenty guns, and on his arrival gave proper orders for transporting the English garrison from Cape Breton to Chibouctou, because the former place was then repossessed by the French pursuant to the treaty of peace. The assistance, as well as the security, that the adventurers might receive from the troops, must greatly forward the settlement; the officers having brought all their furniture with them, with a great number of milk cows and other stock, beside military stores and ammunition of all sorts. A company of rangers also arrived from Annapolis, commanded by Captain Goreham,

^{*} History of the National Debts and Taxes, part iv, p. 161.

† Ibid. p. 164.

† Hopson's and Warburton's.

who encamped near the other troops, and gave great assistance to the adventurers.

Some thousands of German Protestants followed the British Colonists, and the infant province began to shew a cheerful countenance. The town of Halifax was set out at the head of Chibouctou harbour, in the center of the southern coast of the province, having Annapolis Royal on the left, and Canso on the right; which gave insupportable discontent to the French.

It now fully appeared that the harbour of Chibouctou might justly be reputed one of the finest upon that continent, with the best conveniences and advantages for a noble fishery. The entrance into the harbour is from the south, with an island of an irregular form, lying on the north-east side. They called this Cornwallis's Island, which is about two miles in length from north to south, and about one from east to west. Between this island and the opposite shore on the south-west is a channel, wide and deep enough for the largest ships. This harbour, as well as a smaller one lying higher up the harbour which they named George Island, is very commodiously situated for a fishery, and has conveniences of all sorts proper for drying and curing the fish.

About two miles higher up the harbour, on the south-west side, is a river, with a small harbour at its entrance, for the reception of shallops and other small vessels. They called this Sandwich River, which is at the mouth about as wide as the Thames at London bridge, and as deep; having salt water for about four or five miles up, where it terminates at the fall of a small fresh water rivulet into it from the north.

From the mouth of Sandwich River, to the opposite side of the harbour, is about two miles, with good anchoring ground for the largest ships in any part of it, and a fine watering-place upon the north-east side.

The land on both sides is every where pretty high, rich, and fertile, but was then, as well as other parts, covered with wood.

About five miles north from Sandwich River is a narrow entrance of half a mile into a large bay of about twelve miles in circumference, which they named Bedford Bay: This has several small creeks at the bottom of it, abounding with excellent salmon: There are also some islands.

islands in it; and a great quantity of pines fit for masting grow upon the western side of it.

This bay, with the harbour and Sandwich River, form a peninsula, containing about 3000 acres of land, upon which the adventurers settled; and began to erect the town of Halifax, in honour of the earl of that name.

The best account given of their transactions soon after their arrival is as following: The first care of the governor, after sending for the gar- rison of Louisburg, and Lieutenant-colonel Mascarene from Annapolis, was to pitch upon a proper spot for their first settlement; and as the peninsula appeared to be the best place, as well upon account of its commodious situation, as the fertility of its soil, which is a red clay, with plenty of oak, ash, beech, and birch; the able-bodied men on board each ship were employed in clearing ground for a town at the south point of the peninsula, and at the entrance of Sandwich River, which at first appeared to be the best spot, being defensible, and having the advantage of the river navigable up a considerable way: but upon examination the strongest objections were found against this place; because a shoal off the point, which made it very convenient for a fort, was however apprehended to be dangerous so near a town, being so shallow; that, at a cable's length from the shore, small vessels strike upon the rocks; beside, it was evident, from the breach, that a prodigious sea must come in winter. The soil also proved bad, stony near the shore, and swampy behind; therefore another spot was chosen by the governor, about a mile and half north of it, on the harbour side.

This spot was upon the side of a rising ground that commanded the whole peninsula, and would shelter the town from the north-west winds: the beach was a fine gravel, convenient for small boats; the anchorage was every where good, within gun-shot of the town, for large ships, and there were navigable rivulets of fresh and wholesome water round about it.

The adventurers soon cleared about twenty acres of land, and every man had a hut by his tent. Their work was carried on expeditiously; and the method of employing the people in ships companies had a good effect in creating an emulation among them, every one striving who should do most. Several wharfs were built, and one saw-mill erected; public storehouses were begun, and grain of various sorts were sown.

The

The new town was laid out, and called Halifax, in honour of that great and noble lord, to whom this settlement owed its beginning; and from whose well known and indefatigable zeal for the honour and interest of his country, the adventurers hoped in time to become a most useful and flourishing colony.

The town of Halifax was divided into thirty-five squares, each containing sixteen lots, of forty by sixty feet; one established church, and one meeting-house; with some houses out of the regular streets, which were fifty-five feet in breadth. The town was surrounded by picketings, and guarded on the outskides by forts. Along the river, to the southward of the town, several buildings were erected; as also to the northward on the river, about one mile; and behind these, particular lots of fifteen acres distributed. The River Chibouctou is about three miles in breadth at Halifax, opposite to which is a small town called Dartmouth, up a cove, which was thinly inhabited, because the Indians were excited by the French to many outrageous acts.

At length it was thought necessary to settle the civil government of the province upon a regular and permanent equality. Accordingly, it was resolved, on the 30th of January, 1753, by the governor and council, according to the royal instructions, "That a house of representatives of this province be the civil legislature thereof, in conjunction with his Majesty's governor and commander in chief for the time being, and his Majesty's council of the said province. The house to be elected and convened in the following manner, and to be stiled "The General Assembly," as following: That there should be elected for the province at large, until the same was divided into counties, twelve members; for the township of Halifax four members; two for the township of Lunenburg; one for the township of Dartmouth; one for the township of Lawrence Town; one for the township of Annapolis Royal; and the rest for the township of Cumberland."

As to Cape Breton, it has been already observed, that the place is barren, compared with Nova Scotia, and will never admit of any considerable improvements.

It was alledged, that the truth and reason of these facts were very obvious. Cape Breton was as soon known as Nova Scotia or Newfoundland; but was never thought to be of any value to the possessors of those places, and it was the exclusion from them that put the French upon fortifying, and induced their settlement of it: but notwithstanding a long

possession, its produce, exclusive of fish, would not support 100 families. Its winters are very long, and extremely cold; it being common for the frosts to continue till the latter end of May, and it is near the middle of the month before it is free of ice: For as this island forms an eddy to the current setting through the Gulph of Saint Lawrence, it draws such quantities into the harbours as to obstruct the fishery, and render the navigation dangerous. During the summer, it is so frequently subject to fogs, as to have neither heat nor sun-shine sufficient to ripen its corn and fruits.

An accurate judge of this country says, he could not undertake to assign a philosophical reason for the difference in the temperature of the air in two places, lying in the same latitude, and so near together as Nova Scotia and Cape Breton; but he observed, that as the duration, and several degrees of cold, moderate, and warm weather, in all places, vary with, and depend upon the prevailing winds in the several seasons of the year; so in this they commonly blow from such points in the winter as bring on storms of snow and frost; but in the summer, those are most frequent that blow directly from the banks, accompanied with thick fogs and mists: And although some parts of Nova Scotia are subject to them, it is neither in degree nor duration sufficient to affect the produce of the earth, nor to interrupt the course of business by land or sea.

It is well known, that notwithstanding the situation of Cape Breton, four-fifths of the French fishery were prosecuted in other places: that their bankers, which amounted to more than 200 sail of ships in time of peace, and cured their fish in pickle, commonly called mud-fish, made their voyages on the banks of Newfoundland without entering a port in America.

Nova Scotia was fully confirmed to the English by the twelfth article of the treaty of Utrecht, which is of such importance that it ought to be inserted here, and is as following: "That the most Christian King should take care to have delivered to the queen of Great Britain solemn instruments, by virtue whereof it should appear, that all Nova Scotia, or Acadia, with its ancient boundaries; as also the city of Port Royal, then called Annapolis Royal, and all other things on those parts which depended thereon; together with the dominion, propriety, and possession of the same; and all right whatsoever by treaties, or by any other way obtained, which the most Christian King, the crown of France, or any the subjects thereof, had hitherto had to the same: And the inhabitants of the same were yielded and made over to the queen of Great Britain, and

and to her crown for ever, as the most Christian King had done; and that in such ample manner and form, that the subjects of the most Christian King should thereafter be excluded from all kind of fishing in those seas, bays, and other places on the coasts of Nova Scotia, that is, on those which lie toward the east, within thirty leagues, beginning from the island commonly called Sable, inclusively, and thence stretching along toward the south-west *."

However, by the thirteenth article of that treaty, it was agreed, "the island called Cape Breton, and all others whatsoever, situated in the mouth and gulph of the River Saint Lawrence, should remain the property of France."

The Isle of Sable, and Cape Sable banks upon this coast, are so commodiously situated as to admit of a fine fishery in the winter, whenever the country was settled and stocked with provisions. At that time, the fishermen from New England made three fairs there in a year; the first of which, as it was prosecuted in March, was worth both the other; because the fish taken then were the best; and if they could be landed and cured in the winter months, five fairs might have been yearly made instead of three, and the two former additional ones equal to the best of the former, which, in a few years, would have been of more consequence to Great Britain than any thing that could support the rivalry of the French.

At last, in order to rival the French in the cod-fishery, it was thought necessary to confine them to the limits stipulated by the treaty of Utrecht, which would have excluded them from all the banks of Nova Scotia; nor did it appear by that or any other treaty, that they had a right to fish to the southward of Cape Bonavista or Newfoundland, between whose banks and the former there are no others of any note or consequence. This would have deprived them of a great part of their fishery, which employed near 200 sail of ships in time of peace, and furnished the markets in France, Spain, Portugal, and the Streights, with mud-fish: beside, as to the remaining part, the settlement of Nova Scotia might soon have enabled them to catch and export larger quantities, better in quality, and cheaper than the French could possibly afford their own; whereby the whole would be of little value to them except for their own consumption. If this point had been well attended to formerly, the

* See "The Report from the Committee of Secrecy, the 9th of June, 1715." p. 37. and 63. folio edition. See also the appendix, p. 34.

French fishery might soon have been reduced to a poor situation: the case, however, was so different, that they not only fished where they pleased, but they commonly insulted the British vessels wherever they met with them; and, excepting some of their fishermen, who were seized by Captain Smart upon the Canso station for fishing without their limits contrary to treaty, they never met with any interruption; therefore, to prevent such accidents for the future, as the British ships were earlier out than theirs, the French long after sent a superior force to deter the British ships from the same practice, and ruled for some time absolute lords of those seas.

Therefore, as the treaty in 1713 was the basis of that of 1748, and the terms of it in relation to the fishery were plain and intelligible, it was not doubted but the administration would cause them to be punctually observed; more especially as they fell under the dominion of the British flag, whose honour was immediately concerned in securing the rights of the kingdom against all encroachment, and in protecting its subjects in every part of the globe.

Cape Breton was taken by the English in 1745; but it was restored to the French in 1748, by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle. The treaty of Utrecht is the common foundation upon which both nations formed their claims in America; but the terms of that treaty might have been better chosen to express the country comprized between "Penobscot, or Pentagoet, the River Saint Lawrence, and the Atlantic Ocean," which the British court afterward insisted was the district intended; or to express only that "part of the peninsula which begins at the extremity of the Bay of Fundi, extends along the coast, and terminates at Cape Canso," which, as the French court pretended, only was meant. The difference is very great, and the two courts seemed to have equal reason to complain of their negociators, who conducted the treaty of Utrecht, as the addition of a few words would have prevented a controversy, and precluded all doubt.

By the ninth article of the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, Great Britain was "to send two persons of rank and distinction to reside in France, as hostages, until such time as they should have an authentic account of the restitution of Cape Breton." Was not this prescribing the law like a conqueror? It was only a plume for France, such as she had taken before from Genoa; but it is an eternal reproach to the British negociators of that treaty, and an indelible stain upon the honour of the British nation. In fact, if the late noble John Earl of Granville had not been so violently opposed,

opposed, and artfully countermined, in his truly patriotic measures, Britain must have commanded an honourable peace: as it turned out, he had only to retire from bad measures, which ruined the war.

Commissaries were to be appointed by the treaty of peace to regulate matters in dispute; and the British court sent Governor Shirley and Mr. Mildmay to Paris, where their conferences with the French commissaries were ineffectual, like those at Seville; for the French prevaricated now, as the Spaniards had done then, with the British commissaries, who returned to England, when no satisfaction could be obtained from the court of France, which was artfully endeavouring to spin out the negotiation, and at the same time fortifying the places in question, as well as making new acquisitions.

The British commissaries, by a memorial dated the 21st of September 1750, set forth what was claimed by Great Britain as the real limits of Nova Scotia or Acadia; whereby it appeared that the island of Cape Breton, as also all others, both in the mouth of the River Saint Lawrence, and in the gulph of the same name, were asserted to be within the ancient limits of Acadia, though by the treaty of Utrecht given up to France.

It was expected that the French commissaries would have been equally explicit; but they confined themselves only to a negative assertion at first, and at last declared, that ancient Acadia began from the Cape of Saint Mary, from whence it extended along the coast, and terminated at Canso. This discovered that the French had invented imaginary limits: but the British commissaries, to demonstrate the right of their crown, produced proofs of the limits and boundaries at three different periods of time: 1st, at concluding the treaty of Saint Germain in 1632: 2dly, at the treaty of Breda in 1667: and 3dly, at the treaty of Utrecht in 1713. Thus it appeared from their own records, that from the treaty of Saint Germain to the treaty of Breda, and from thence to the time of the treaty of Utrecht, which was the last period of their possessions, the French made Acadia comprehend not only the peninsula, but also the continent on the other side the Bay of Fundy, and to take in the forts of Port Royal, Pentagoet, and Saint John, together with the same northern and eastern boundaries as were claimed by the British crown.

To these historical accounts was added the evidence of maps, both ancient and modern, French, English, and neutral ones; all which have extended the country, marked by them to be Nova Scotia or Acadia, to
comprise

comprise the whole of the peninsula, and part of the continent on the other side of the Bay of Fundi. But the crown of Great Britain, in consequence of the cession made by the treaty of Utrecht, ever after insisted on its right to Nova Scotia or Acadia, with the same ancient limits as acquired and possessed by France. Whatever, therefore, were the limits of this territory at and before the treaties of Saint Germain, Breda, and Utrecht, they were still the same reconfirmed to the British crown by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle.

If it had not been for the disputes which arose between the two crowns, no reasonable being would have thought it possible to doubt whether the country, called Nova Scotia by the English, was not precisely the same with that called Acadia by the French: But the French commissaries attempted to give their own country the honour of a prior date to England in the antiquity of their American settlements; which was foreign to the dispute, and easily confuted by the British commissaries, who "flattered themselves that Great Britain would never want authentic proofs for the security of her rights to such countries as she held by virtue of prior discovery; though she reclaimed Nova Scotia or Acadia only in virtue of the cession made to her of that country by the treaty of Utrecht."

Great Britain desired the cession of complete Acadia, that by this acquisition she might be able to secure her American settlements against continual usurpations, and prevent the inconveniences which compelled Oliver Cromwell, in 1654, to seize all the French forts in Acadia; and which several times reduced not only New England, but Great Britain, to the necessity of fitting out expeditions, in one of which Port Royal itself was taken by General Nicholson.

The advantages which the French might have made of Nova Scotia, and the want of an effectual barrier for securing the possession, trade, and fishery of the northern colonies against their efforts, sufficiently demonstrated the expediency of keeping it out of their hands, without considering it as a colony worthy of establishment and protection in a commercial light.

The French were fully sensible of these advantages, and exerted all their policy to get them in their power. While the British ministers were negotiating at Paris, the French were encroaching upon the British colonies, and building forts upon their territories in America: But if France had been persuaded, that the conduct of Irish affairs was soon to be put in

in the hands of ministers of a very different turn of mind to those who ruined the former war, it would have been an effectual method to have procured justice from her in a peaceable way.

The French well knew they were not able to carry on a war by sea, or in America, against the British nation; yet they knew, if they provoked Britain to it, they must rely on the bad conduct of its ministers, or to their own hopes, that Britain would be drawn in by foreign attachments to involve herself in a heavy and expensive war upon the continent of Europe, which would balance the weight she might acquire upon the continent of America. The French were not deceived in their policy, but they were in their views. The spirit of the British nation had been damped, but it was not extinct; the embers were glowing, and a proper hand was only wanting to spread up a bright and glorious flame.

The French induced the Indians to attack the infant colony of Halifax in 1749, when many British subjects were cut off by those savages; and complaints were made to the governor of Louisbourg, who returned only equivocal answers; but the Count de la Galissoniere acted more openly, and committed the first hostilities in Nova Scotia. He sent the Chevalier de la Corne in October 1749, at the head of seventy regular troops, and a party of Canada militia, to take post on Chignecto Bay, and to fortify himself there; under pretence that a great part of the peninsula, and particularly the neck of land which joins it on the continent, belonged to France, and was under his government.

La Corne erected a strong fort there, which he called Beau Sejour; and another near Bay Verte, which was called Shediak. The former was built upon the isthmus of the peninsula, and had twenty-six cannon, which commanded the basin and harbour of Chignecto, or Bobassin; and from the latter place they had a communication by water with Louisbourg and Canada, and other French settlements.

The French also seized Saint John's River, on the north side of the Bay of Fundi, and erected two forts there, whereby they engrossed the whole fur-trade of that river to themselves, which belonged to Great Britain before the peace. Thus, while Great Britain was tamely negotiating in Europe, France was boldly encroaching in America; which deserved severe chastisement, as it was a direct infraction of the treaty of peace, upon which the wax was scarcely cold.

These new forts encouraged the Indians to massacre the English stragglers, and protected the Acadian French in an open rebellion against the British.

British government. Major Lawrence was sent to reduce them to obedience in April 1750; when the French neutrals burnt their town, crossed the river, which made a part of the line, and threw themselves under the protection of La Corne, whose number was then increased to fifteen hundred men, well armed, and provided with ammunition, to repel Major Lawrence if he crossed the river; but he retired, as he was not strong enough to attack their united force.

When Major Lawrence retired, the French inhabitants returned, and renewed their depredations; which made Governor Cornwallis attempt to drive them out of the country. Major Lawrence was sent again, with about one thousand of regular troops; by sea, to Chignecto, where the Acadian revolvers were intrenched upon the south side of the river, from whence they were drove on the other side, where they were protected by the French regulars. The Major had orders not to pass that river to attack the French: however, he built a fort upon the south side of it, which was called from him Lawrence fort, where he left a strong garrison, within cannon-shot of Fort Beau Sejour, on the other side the basin, but inferior to it.

Captain Rous, in the sloop Albany, took a French ship, and carried her into Halifax; after which four English vessels were seized in the harbour of Louisburg. In the mean time, the French were making enormous encroachments on the back of Virginia and Pennsylvania, where the storm of war was collecting; but the French in Nova Scotia were reduced by the British troops, commanded by Col. Monckton, in June 1755; and the whole country cleared of French robbers * in 1758; when the governor issued a proclamation for encouraging the people, and cultivating the lands vacated by the French, which consisted of many hundred thousand acres, fit for agriculture, stocked, planted, and cleared.

While the French were acting with worse than Punic faith in America, their emissaries had the audacity to assert, that it was by the destruction of the liberty and independency of America that Great Britain intended to accomplish her project of giving law to Europe. The case was quite the reverse; and all the world knew it to be so. The ambition of France had been checked in Europe, and her old plan was now to be prosecuted in the new part of the world. Armies were introduced into these distant regions, and every scene of war was opened in a country that should have been the asylum of peace.

* They ought to have been so called, and not French neutrals, as the English had most ridiculously accustomed themselves to call those internal enemies.

In the war of 1744, the French found their fishery upon the banks of Newfoundland and Nova Scotia suspended by the loss of Cape Breton; Canada was also then endangered by a destined attempt upon Quebec: but that enterprize was impolitically dropt for a descent upon Brittany in 1746; while the French sent out a strong armament from Brest for the recovery of Cape Breton, under the command of the Duke d'Anville, whose project was disconcerted by the elements; for his fleet was ruined by a storm at sea, and the jail-fever destroyed most of his army, after they had landed at Chiboustou. The French likewise intended to reduce Annapolis with that armament, and to destroy the frontier settlements of the British Colonies: but M. Jonquiere, who succeeded the Duke d'Anville in the command, returned from Nova Scotia, with more loss, though with less ignominy, than Admiral Lestock and Gen. Sinclair returned from Brittany.

From the first establishment of colonies in North America, it was always conceived, that the possessors of the coast were intitled to the interior territory: therefore the British Charters ascertained the boundaries of the colonies only from north to south, and left them unlimited from east to west. But the French settled Canada to the eastward of the British colonies, where they met with little interruption in their establishment, which tempted them to move westward, so as to erect a line of forts to encircle the British colonies.

It is manifest, from their own reasons for building these forts, that the French intended to join Louisiana and Canada, to become masters of the lakes, and reduce the whole continent: but the building of these forts could not be carried on without the knowledge of the British ministry, who were totally inexcusable for temporizing and wasting the hours in fruitless negociations, when they saw an apparent design of maintaining usurpation by violence; for they might have concluded that a rupture was unavoidable, and that a delay could only serve to strengthen the enemy.

The French attempted to support their fictitious claims by inaccurate maps and charts; so as to claim by the pen what they intended to gain by the sword.

Formerly the English had only to send to their Indians to prevent the French from erecting forts, or making encroachments upon the territories of other nations; but the English lost that influence by a fatal neglect of Indian affairs. It was well known with how much humility the French solicited permission to erect a little hut, as a resting-place only, at

Niagara*: but it was soon afterward seen that they built a fort upon that spot, and were determined to keep footing there.

Governor Shirley returned to his government of the Massachusetts Bay in 1755, where he received orders from the Earl of Holderness to keep that colony in a state of defence. Party-spirit was then predominant in most of the colonies; but the governor had acquired intelligence that the French had greatly increased their settlements upon each side of the River Chaudiere, which falls into that of Saint Lawrence, a few miles above Quebec; and that they were proceeding to make settlements at about thirty miles distance, upon the carrying-place that separates the head of the Chaudiere from the Kennebeck. This latter-mentioned River afforded the French a shorter passage from Quebec for making descents upon the provinces of Massachusetts Bay, and New Hampshire, than any other route; and from which the Indians, during the war between them and New England in 1723 and 1724, made all their incursions and ravages upon the eastern parts of the Massachusetts Bay.

Governor Shirley was also informed, that the Norridgwalk Indians, who inhabited within the British territories, had given the new French settlers liberty to hunt any where in that country; as a recompence for the service the French were to be of to them in time of war with the English, by supplying them with provisions and military stores.

He was farther told, that the Arresgunnticook, Norridgwalk, and Penobscot Indians, were upon the point of breaking out into hostilities against the English. The governor laid these several matters before the Massachusetts assembly in April 1754, when he recommended to them the building a strong fort near the head of the River Kennebeck, above the head quarters of the Norridgwalk Indians, and to push on the English settlements there in a defensible manner; to secure the province from the encroachments of the French in those parts, and either hold the Indians in a due dependence, or compel them to abandon the river. The assembly looked upon it to be of absolute necessity that the French should be prevented from making any settlements on the Kennebeck; and, at their request, the governor went there with eight hundred men in the summer, when he found that the attempts which then engaged the French upon the Ohio, had prevented their making any settlements upon the Kennebeck. The governor, however, renewed a treaty of peace with the Norridgwalk and Penobscot Indians at Falmouth; and, with their

* Kennedy's Considerations, p. 16.

II consent,

consent, built two forts upon the Kennebeck; the one called Fort Western, about thirty-seven miles from the mouth of the Kennebeck; and the other Fort Halifax, about fifty-four.

Colonel Hopson succeeded Colonel Cornwallis in the government of Nova Scotia; but returned to England in December 1753*. He was succeeded by Colonel Lawrence as lieutenant-governor and commander in chief in Nova Scotia. He was directed to concert measures with Governor Shirley to attack the French forts in that province; and they agreed upon a plan to be executed in the spring; which was effectually done; while powerful supplies were sent from Great Britain, and all the American continent was in arms. The spirit of the British nation revived; it had slept almost as long as a feeble administration could support, or the old constitution would suffer; but it now began to shine with its ancient lustre. The colonies shewed an unexpected glare of public spirit and independent virtue, as will appear by the events of the late war, already recited in the first book of this history: and this spirit, if well conducted, and properly supported, will ever give freemen the advantage over slaves. It proved ultimately so then; for the subjects of his Britannic Majesty were victorious over all their enemies, assistant to their allies, the arbiters of Europe, and the consolidators, as well as founders, of a great empire in North America, solidly fixed, and permanently secured.

* London Gazette, N^o 9331.

F I N I S.